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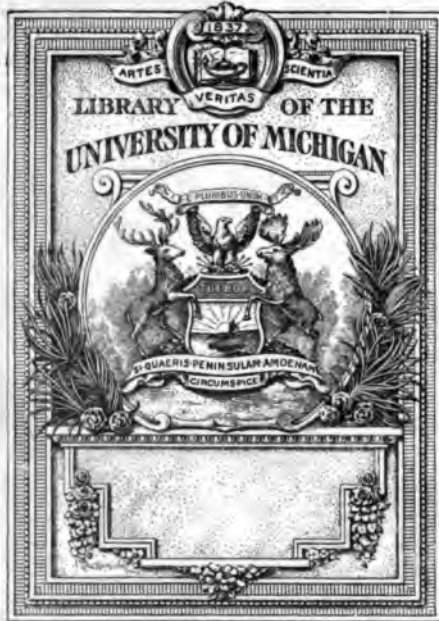
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1883.

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# ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1883.

## PART I.

### ENGLISH HISTORY.

#### CHAPTER I.

**The Recess—Sir Charles Dilke's Addresses—Changes in the Administration—Mr. Goschen on the Home and Foreign Policy of the Government—The Bankruptcy Bill and the Farmers' Alliance—The proposed Reform of the Government of London—Egyptian affairs—Lord Dufferin's Despatch—Annexation Policy in the South Pacific.**

**ANXIETY** rather than gloom may be said to have been the dominant feeling throughout the country at the opening of the year. At home, although there was less open defiance of the law amongst our Irish fellow subjects, the tranquillity was felt to be due rather to the firmness of Lord Spencer's government than to any real desire to promote more friendly sentiments. On the Continent the death of M. Gambetta, whilst possibly removing one of the obstacles to a settlement of the Egyptian question in a way favourable to British interests, removed also the one French statesman who seemed capable of directing the discordant sections of the Republican party, and suggested dangers arising from a rapid succession of weak administrations. In the Colonies the futility of the claim of suzerainty over the Transvaal, put forward for the Queen, was becoming every week more apparent; and the powerlessness of the local rulers to maintain order within their own boundaries, coupled with their refusal to keep peace amongst themselves, were regarded as significant proofs of the failure of Lord Kimberley's pacification policy.

It may have been with the special object of drawing away public attention from such matters, that Sir Charles Dilke, in a series of speeches addressed to his constituents at various meetings

held in the borough of Chelsea, studiously avoided all reference to those questions, on which he was most undoubtedly fitted to speak with authority. The advantages of local government, and the Ministerial programme for the approaching Session, formed the staple of his addresses. Of the measures to be proposed, those which might furnish the elements of a new Reform Bill were the most keenly canvassed. Sir Charles Dilke intimated that the Government at the time of his speech had come to no definite conclusion as to whether the reduction of the county franchise and a redistribution of seats should be brought forward separately, or, following the precedents of 1832 and 1867, as a single measure. The organs of public opinion were on this point no less divided than the Cabinet itself; and even when at a subsequent period an idea got abroad that the proposals would form the subject of two separate bills, the discussion as to which should obtain precedence was no less hotly discussed. On the one hand it was maintained that the result of such a separation would be to postpone the settlement of the question for five or six years, inasmuch as the hostile majority of the House of Lords would insist upon the test of a general election before acceding to that extension of the county franchise to which the majority of the House of Commons was pledged. On the other hand, those who urged the advantages of a "double-barrelled" reform were met by the argument that any such measure, if it passed the Commons at all, would come before the Upper House with such a small preponderating vote in its favour, that the Peers would have no scruples in rejecting it altogether. The assumption that redistribution would best be dealt with by a new and invigorated constituency was met by the objection that any measure of the kind would naturally be postponed until the energy of the new Parliament had exhausted itself, and a fresh dissolution was in sight. On the franchise question, moreover, the Liberals, with the exception of Mr. Goschen, were said to be unanimous, whilst, on that of redistribution, in whatever way the smaller constituencies were swept away, they could not fail to be divided. Sir Charles Dilke himself undoubtedly leant to this proposed separation of the two questions; and speaking a few days later at Bridgwater (January 10), the Attorney-General, Sir Henry James, expressed himself far more strongly in favour of two Bills, declaring that if the attempt were made to deal with the question in one Bill, certain failure would ensue. The Opposition would naturally insist upon having the whole Bill before them, in order to get the assistance of those Liberals whose seats would be endangered; and arguing from the precedent of 1867, when the Boundaries Bill and other measures relating to Parliamentary Reform were allowed to stand over until the following Session, Sir Henry James further hinted that residence might possibly be insisted upon as a voting qualification, forty-shilling freeholders being thus altogether swept away, except when living on their own holdings, and with them, as a logical

consequence, the non-resident voters for the Universities must also disappear. Lord Hartington, however, speaking ten days later (January 20) to his Lancashire constituents, seemed to regard the discussion of such questions as premature, expressing his belief that Parliament would have plenty of work before it in the ensuing Session without committing "the act of happy despatch" which would result from the passing or from the summary rejection of a Reform Bill in any shape. He preferred to see Parliament occupied in carrying out a part of the programme adopted by the Liberal party at the general election, and, foremost amongst such measures, he placed those for county self-government, and the recognition of tenant-right.

Meanwhile the condition of Mr. Gladstone's health had suddenly become such as to inspire his friends with considerable anxiety. A week's "campaign" in Midlothian, to which not only his constituency alone, but the country at large had been looking forward, as likely to furnish some clue as to the ministerial plans, had to be abandoned altogether. The possibility of the Premier's retirement, or at least of his withdrawal to the House of Lords, was openly discussed, as were the chances of his successor. On whomever the lot might fall, it was generally admitted that he would fail to keep the Liberal party together, composed, as it has ever been, of materials so heterogeneous; whilst the prospects of a fusion between the moderates of both parties were regarded as not wholly visionary, for it was urged that the restraints imposed by differences of opinion between Whigs and Radicals were scarcely felt by the latter, and therefore, as urged by the Conservative organs, that in an alliance between the moderate Whigs and the Liberal Conservatives lay the only probable safeguard against the dictatorship of the Irish Nationals in an otherwise equally balanced House of Commons. The eventuality anticipated was, however, not destined to arise; and, although Mr. Gladstone was forced to quit England for some weeks, it was not until he had filled up the subordinate places in his administration which had become vacant in consequence of the Cabinet changes at the close of the preceding year. A further concession to the Radical supporters of the Government was made by the appointment of Mr. J. Kynaston Cross, member for Bolton, to the Under-Secretaryship for India; whilst from the Whigs Mr. H. R. Brand, member for Stroud, was selected to replace Sir John Adye at the War Office in the office of Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. The succession, however, of Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, M.P., to Sir Charles Dilke at the Foreign Office, was sufficient evidence that the great Whig families were still powerful in the councils of the Liberal party, and were by no means disposed to break with their allies, in order to seek adventures in a field of political life to which they were strangers.

For the moment, the Egyptian policy of the Government continued to be the most attractive topic of discussion. Sir R. A. Cross, at Southport (January 20), whilst twitting the Government



with its vacillation, declared that whatever popularity it enjoyed was due to the valour of our troops and naval forces in Egypt. He desired before all things to see our interests in that country maintained, and, although disclaiming any thought of annexation, trusted that we should not scuttle out of the country until a stable and a humane Government was established. He objected to the convention especially on the ground that it contained no assurance that we might not have to do over again our work in Egypt, should the imaginary safeguards, for which Lord Granville stipulated, be swept aside by the Egyptians themselves or any foreign interloper. Lord Hartington, in his reply, whilst regretting the misapprehension of our intentions as displayed by the French, expressed his conviction that the dual control had proved itself to be radically unworkable. He looked to the increased strength of the Khedive's rule for a guarantee of order, and to his readiness to adopt the suggestions of his European advisers for a speedy reconstruction of his authority, and for the emancipation of Egyptians of all classes from foreign control. Meanwhile the English Government would give all its support to the "Financial" Adviser of the Egyptian Government (Sir Auckland Colvin), who, selected by the Khedive, was the servant of the Egyptian Government, acting in its interests and in those of the Egyptian people.

Two independent Liberals, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Forster, also addressed their constituents previous to the opening of the Session. The former at Ripon (January 22), after warmly defending the Egyptian policy of the Government, and their policy in proposing the reform of Procedure in the Commons, protested against the notion that a politician in his position is always desiring to trip up the Government, because on one point he cannot vote with it. On the subject of Ireland, he echoed Lord Hartington's warning against any concession to the demand for Home Rule. The Irish should be made to understand that the unity of the Empire is not to be broken up, and that no party would be found in England and Scotland to concede Home Rule, or to concede what may ultimately be construed to involve it; and he warned the country against "drifting" into Home Rule through despair of any other settlement. Mr. Goschen declared himself still hostile to the extension of the household franchise to the counties, but professed his willingness, in case Ripon should wish to be represented by a representative favourable to that measure, to resign his seat as soon as the Franchise Bill was brought in. Mr. Forster, speaking at Leeds (January 25), addressed himself chiefly to the question of the coming Reform Bill. For his own part he inclined towards the equalisation of electoral districts; and desired as the best step in that direction a strong Redistribution Bill; if some protection for minorities were needed, he would rather see it given in the shape of dividing constituencies into smaller sections, and giving one member only to each section—no voter having more than one

vote—than in the direction of any more complex scheme for the representation of minorities. With regard to Ireland, he strongly urged that the same treatment should be extended to her as was thought advisable for England and Scotland, and that not only should any new Reform Bill be made equally applicable to the three kingdoms, but that the same power of local self-government which might be accorded to the English and Scotch counties should be extended to Ireland, with no other limitation than that of retaining the control of the police in the hands of the central authority.

The question whether the County Government Bill should precede the Reform Bill, or should be reserved for a House elected on a wider county franchise, was one upon which the members of the Government themselves were not apparently agreed. Mr. Chamberlain, at Swansea (January 31), was the first to speak publicly his own feelings on the matter, though expressing at the same time his belief that the Radical section on this and on other questions were willing to postpone their wishes to the views of the Liberal party and its leader. At the other extremity of the political arena, Mr. J. Lowther, at Richmond (January 29), recognising the imminence of some sort of Parliamentary Reform, expressed his readiness to adopt the principle of plural voting based upon a property qualification, as an antidote to any large extension of the franchise. Mr. H. C. Raikes, the newly returned member for Cambridge University, followed, a few days later (February 12), at Bury St. Edmunds, with the suggestion that the agricultural labourers to be enfranchised under the coming Reform Bill, should be assigned as voters in the several Parliamentary boroughs, instead of forming part of the county constituencies.

Two bye elections—one in Ireland and one in Scotland—resulted in the defeat of the Government candidates. At Mallow (January 24) the new Solicitor-General for Ireland was unable to poll more than 89 votes, against nearly twice as many given to Mr. O'Brien, the editor of the *United Irishman*, actually under remand for trial for seditious language. In Haddingtonshire Lord Elcho succeeded to the seat held so long by his father, who had become Earl of Wemyss. His opponent was Mr. Finlay, who is supposed to have lost his seat by refusing to vote for the disestablishment of the Scotch Presbyterian Church; many Liberals holding that the time had arrived for bringing to an issue the promises given by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington, that the anomalies of the Scotch Church Question should be redressed.

The hints let fall by Mr. Chamberlain and others that the Government were prepared to consider and legislate on the question of Tenants' Compensation, roused considerable interest among the class most specially affected. The Farmers' Alliance resolved unanimously to press on Parliament two demands—compensation to tenants for unexhausted improvements, and the prohibition of

any increase of rent, based on the value which tenants' improvements have given to a farm. In both instances, landlords were to be forbidden to contract themselves out of the law. The farmers also demanded the abolition of the law of distress, and a law compelling railways to carry farm produce and manures more cheaply, for the abolition of extraordinary tithes, and for the division of rates between the landlord and the occupier. At the same time the Associated Chamber of Commerce expressed its readiness to withdraw the Bankruptcy Bill which it had presented in the previous Session, and to support the Bill of Mr. Chamberlain in his effort to render bankruptcy a less easy process and less pleasant episode in a trader's career. When speaking at Swansea (February 2), the President of the Board of Trade gave a general idea of the scope of his forthcoming Bill, of which the principal aim was to treat insolvency as the loss of a ship was treated, and by means of a judicial and impartial inquiry to ascertain how far blame was due on account of fraud or culpable carelessness; and if proven, to attach to the bankrupt some lasting and recognisable stigma.

Alluding to the probable demands of the Irish members for attention to Irish affairs, Mr. Chamberlain followed the lead of Lord Hartington; who had, in his speeches in Lancashire, fully admitted that there were numerous anomalies which needed redress, and that the problem of how Ireland could be best administered by an English Government was still unsolved. "We should blind ourselves," he said, "to the teaching of our own history, and to the open experience of every other country, if we did not recognise the existence of crime and the unfortunate fact that a large proportion of the population sympathise with those who commit crime—an indication of a social condition which is altogether rotten, and which it is the bounden duty of statesmen to investigate and to reform. There are only two other courses open to you. You may—as some truculent writers have urged—attempt to abandon altogether the idea of Constitutional government in Ireland, and to rule that country as a conquered dependency. How long do you suppose such a state of things would last? How long do you suppose that Englishmen, proud of their free institutions, would tolerate the existence of an Irish Poland so near to ourselves? It is too late for such a scheme, which now, at any rate, is entirely impracticable. The other alternative is separation, which I believe would jeopardise the security of this country, and which, I am sure, would be fatal to the prosperity and the happiness of Ireland. I reject both alternatives. I say that both are equally impossible and improbable. But it is to this conclusion you are inevitably driven if you accept the arguments of those public writers and speakers who have been urging you to abandon the work of further conciliation, and have been imploring you, as they say, not to truckle any more to Irish discontent. The existence

of Irish discontent, so long as there is any just cause for such discontent, need not discourage all hope in our remedies."

A few days later Mr. Courtney, the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, addressing his constituents at Liskeard, had arrived by a very different process of thought and argument at very similar conclusions. Ready as he was to allow anarchy to work its own end in foreign countries, he could not admit the *laissez-faire* policy to be applicable to Ireland; and whilst admitting, with Mr. Goschen, that there were signs in many quarters that out of sheer weariness we should end by conceding Home Rule to Ireland, he held that it was the duty of English statesmen to counteract this feeling, and to refuse to grant what was so loudly demanded by the Home Rule party; "because," argued Mr. Courtney, "the two countries are bound together by long strings of the past, we are practically knit together in one, and we are not two—we are not separate. Ireland itself is not what the natural science people call homogeneous. It is not the same from end to end. Parts of Ireland differ from one another, even as Scotland differs from Ireland, and thus men should take account in respect of Ireland of Belfast as well as of Cork, of Ulster as well as of Connaught. You cannot, therefore, without utter misconception, talk of Ireland and of the people of the south if you forget the people of the north, who are as much Irishmen as they, and who are as much and as fiercely, perhaps more fiercely, opposed to Home Rule than the people of the south are in favour of it. Further, I do not discern even now in Ireland that sincere, steady, and abiding permanent demand for Home Rule which could alone justify consideration of the question." At the same time he declared that "he was in favour of extending to Ireland those county government and Parliamentary franchise concessions which he understood were to form subjects for immediate consideration in the next Session. The extension of the franchise could not," he held, "be separated from the redistribution of political power; but whilst he was in favour of the representation of numbers—believing that if numbers were properly represented the representation of interests would follow—he emphatically pronounced against electoral districts."

It was, however, with reference to the Egyptian Question that Mr. Courtney's speech roused the greatest discussion. For the first time, almost, and alone amongst the members of the administration, he declared that it was only right that some of the cost of the war just concluded should fall upon the bondholders—in whose interests it had been undertaken—instead of its being divided between the Egyptian taxpayers, who were already taxed to the utmost, and the English income-tax payers, who were uninterested in the issues at stake. Although this view was indorsed by public approval, it was scarcely consistent with the official statements which from time to time had been put forward by various members of the Cabinet; and Lord Granville was, soon after the assem-

bling of Parliament, forced to state that Mr. Courtney's views on the Egyptian Question were personal to himself, and not those of the Government.

The other points of domestic politics of any importance referred to by speakers during the recess included the reform of the government of London, and the creation of a Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. On the latter point, a resolution had in a previous session been carried against the Government, and a sort of half promise had been given by the Premier that the wishes of the House of Commons should in some way be satisfied. Beyond, however, assigning to a special department of the Board of Trade the collection of agricultural statistics, the Government declined to go; and Mr. J. K. Cross, the latest addition to the Ministry, was charged to explain to his constituents at Bolton the views of the Cabinet. Mr. Cross declared (January 31) that to create a distinct portfolio of Commerce and Agriculture was to assign to it a seat in the Cabinet, which would not only fail to benefit the interests which the proposal was designed to serve, but would prejudice the general course of administration. Agriculture and commerce made up the whole, or nearly the whole, of our national activity, and "if the present members of the Cabinet had to push their claims aside to make room for a special representative of these all-absorbing, all-pervading interests, he would prove either a dictator—in which case he would be mischievous—or a pretentious intermediary—in which case he would be superfluous."

The proposal to reform the government of London, attributed to Sir William Harcourt, excited more curiosity than interest. In many quarters the expediency of preferring a local question—although affecting the metropolis—to the more pressing claims of the counties for a measure of self-government was discussed with some warmth. The agitation for the reconstruction of the London municipality had been conducted by a comparatively small party, who found their efforts rather chilled by indifference, than stimulated by opposition. Sir William Harcourt, however, almost from his first accession to office had appreciated the importance of the task, as well as its possible value as a political engine; and from the allusions by his colleagues in their speeches, the introduction of some such measure during the Session seemed assured. The course of events, however, prevented the Home Secretary carrying out his intentions, and the only clue to Sir William Harcourt's intentions was to be found in an informal, though presumably inspired, summary of the scheme published in the *Times* a few days before the meeting of Parliament. According to this document Sir William Harcourt proposed to adopt the existing Corporation of London as the governing body for the whole metropolis; although that inordinate representation of a small area would cease. The Common Council of the City would be a representative body based on the principle of direct election, already existing in the City; and the expedient of wards would be extended to the

metropolis generally. Each ward would return a suitable number of aldermen and councillors, and to the present City would be allotted a due proportion, regard being had to its importance as a centre of trade. In revising the representation, the terms of office now assigned to aldermen and common councilmen would be fixed for stated periods, and the Lord Mayor, whose position would be one of increased dignity and importance, would be chosen by the councillors, as in the case of other corporations. To this body it was proposed to assign all the municipal functions at present discharged by the existing Corporation and by the Metropolitan Board of Works. At the same time all details of local work could be left to the vestries, subject to the control of the Central Board. Although a revision of the judicial arrangements connected with the present Corporation would be necessary, the principle of retaining existing forms was as far as possible to be respected. Neither the Central Criminal Court, the Lord Mayor's Court, nor the City of London Court would be abolished, but the mode of appointing the presiding judges would be changed so as to assimilate it to that prevailing in respect of other parts of the country. At the same time the whole metropolitan area, extending over portions of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, would be constituted a county by itself for general judicial and financial purposes, with a bench of magistrates, a recorder, and such other paid judges as might be necessary. As to the question of the metropolitan police, it was stated that the bill proposed to incorporate the existing City police with the general metropolitan force and to retain the control of the whole in the hands of the Imperial Government. The last proposal was the only one which aroused much discussion, and the idea of placing so much apparently unrestricted power in the hands of a political department was received with little favour. By some sort of silent plébiscite the Duke of Westminster was designated as the first Lord Mayor of the metropolis whenever the bill should become law, but, as the result showed, the opportunity for testing the reality of this sentiment never arose.

The Egyptian policy of the Government had at the close of the previous year gone no further than the abandonment of the principle of the Dual Control, and the formal neutralisation of the Suez Canal. The latter proposal was laid before the European Powers, by whom it was favourably received, France holding aloof from any definite opposition. Her scarcely disguised hostility to the English policy was still further provoked by the formal termination of the Dual Control (January 11), Sir Archibald Colvin resigning his office and thus practically leaving the Khedive alone with the French Controller, who by the original arrangement sanctioned by the three Governments, and acquiesced in by the rest of Europe, found himself deprived of a *locus standi* in the Khedive's Council. Lord Granville, with the desire to conciliate the French Government, offered to accept a French Controller of

the Public Debt. M. Duclerc declined to negotiate upon these terms, although he seemed to suggest that if both the Daira and Domain were placed under the same control, he would not be altogether indisposed to see a Frenchman placed in charge of the whole of the Khedive's public and private revenues. On this basis Lord Granville declined to proceed, and M. Tissot, the French ambassador, through whom the negotiations had been carried on, shortly afterwards resigned.

The official and non-official mouthpieces of the Ministry, however, continued to assert that the policy of Lord Granville towards Egypt had been to avoid all acts which might suggest the idea of an English protectorate; although before the close of January Sir A. Colvin was formally installed as the 'Financial Adviser of the Egyptian Ministry,' Sir Evelyn Wood was gazetted Sirdar or Commander-in-Chief of the non-existent Egyptian Army, and to (Valentine) Baker Pasha was entrusted the reorganisation of the gendarmerie; whilst in various branches of the Civil Service Englishmen retained or returned to the important posts they held before the outbreak of the revolt.

The difficulties with which the English Government had to deal were summed up in a despatch by Lord Dufferin, wherein, before sketching out his proposals for the reorganisation of Egypt, he passed in review the circumstances under which our unwilling interference in Egypt became unavoidable and how by sheer force of events England at length stood alone willing and able to undertake a work in the Valley of the Nile, which it was in the interest of all to see accomplished. With no formal mandate from Europe, we had the advantage of the tacit assent of those nations whose hostility or even whose indifference would have added very seriously to the difficulty of our position. This friendly concurrence in our proceedings was unquestionably due to the general belief that in protecting our own admitted interests on the Nile we should create an effective guarantee for the interests of Europe at large. We thus asserted grave responsibilities towards Europe no less than towards Egypt. Having undertaken the task of establishing a good government on the Nile, it was no longer open to us to depart from an engagement deeply affecting the interests of Europe at large. To discharge the duty thus assumed by this country Lord Dufferin held that there were only two possible methods. One was to annex Egypt and govern it as a dependency of the British Crown; the other to set up a stable and self-sufficing Egyptian Government, giving it all the protection it might need, whether against external intrigue or internal weakness, until it was reasonably certain that Egypt could take its place among the free communities of the world. A vague and ill-defined middle course, by which a premature and illusory independence might be set up only to become the subject of a mischievous and illusory control in London, appeared to be more or less consciously present to many minds. Every such compromise, however attractive as a short and

easy way of getting rid of present responsibility, Lord Dufferin regarded as destined to end in disastrous failure. He confidently assumed that the policy of annexation would not commend itself to Her Majesty's Government; consequently nothing remained but to give the Egyptian Government whatever assistance it required for the reorganisation, or rather the creation, of Egyptian institutions, the consolidation of its own power, and the establishment of permanent order and tranquillity.

Lord Dufferin's proposed means for carrying out these reforms included the reorganisation of the army under European officers, the creation of a police force or gendarmerie to enforce civil law and to watch over civil rights, and the erection of native tribunals to be for a time presided over by Europeans. The legislative machinery contemplated to give effect to these proposals was to consist of a Council of Ministers having the sole right to initiate legislation; a second Council of fourteen, partly nominated by the Khedive, and partly elected by some rather obscure process, which was to operate as a check upon Ministers; and an elective assembly of forty-four members to be convened occasionally for purposes of discussion only; whilst, above all, the financial adviser of the Khedive, and appointed by him, would practically direct and inspire the general spirit of the administration.

Certain statements which had been made in the French Assembly in the course of a debate on a new law relating to Habitual Criminals (*loi sur les récidivistes*) had aroused considerable anxiety in Australia and among the missionary bodies of the Western Pacific. The probabilities of an overflow of the criminal classes from New Caledonia aroused once more the agitation for a policy of annexation. It was urged upon Lord Derby that the New Hebrides, if not annexed by Great Britain, would speedily fall into the hands of France, and by her would be applied to the vilest uses. In his reply, Lord Derby put aside at once any idea of a British protectorate, or of British annexation, but he admitted that there was a certain *primâ facie* case for discussing any cession to France, should any such proposal be made on the subject. He regarded, however, the question of putting down the traffic in South Sea Islanders (cloaked under the name of native immigration) to be a matter of greater importance, and calling for immediate intervention; and concluded by promising that the Government would do everything to regulate the traffic, and to consult as to the best means for enforcing the law against British subjects and others in the islands of the South Pacific. Lord Granville briefly expressed his concurrence in the views expressed by his colleague, and for the moment the subject dropped out of public attention, though shortly it was to be forced upon it again from a very different quarter.



## CHAPTER II.

The Session—The Queen's Speech—Prolonged Debate on the Address—Mr. Bradlaugh and the Oath—Debate on the Address—Mr. Forster and Mr. Parnell—The Grand Committees—Ministerial Measures.

PARLIAMENT assembled for its fourth session on February 15, the date to which it had originally been prorogued, but a full week later than was customary, even when administrative measures were supposed to be less pressing than Ministers had declared them to be, and when the dangers of prolonged discussion were less imminent than the previous record of the House of Commons presaged. The strain and work of the Autumn Session had, however, told upon some of its principal members; and both the leader of the House and the leader of the Opposition had temporarily broken down under the pressure. Sir Stafford Northcote was happily sufficiently recovered to appear in his accustomed place on the first night of the session; but Mr. Gladstone was forced to remain away in the South of France for some weeks after the opening of Parliament. His place, as on previous short absences, was occupied by Lord Hartington; whose leadership was accepted without demur by the whole Liberal party.

Although the opening of the session was marked by no pageant or royal procession, the approaches to Westminster were thronged by dense crowds, composed not only of idlers and sight-seers, but of delegates from the principal provincial towns, from the various Radical associations of London and the country, who had come to make a demonstration in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh. A platform was erected in Trafalgar Square, from which the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Sharman, and seconded by Mr. Joseph Arch, was put and carried by acclamation: "That this meeting, protesting against the flagrant wrong done by the House of Commons in violation of Northampton's constitutional right, calls upon the Government to enforce the law under which Northampton is entitled to the voice and vote of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, one of its members, three times duly elected, to serve in the present Parliament." Mr. Bradlaugh then rose and urged the meeting to disperse; since the Government had allowed it to be understood that a bill legalising affirmation of allegiance would be introduced forthwith, it was his clear duty to stand aside until that measure had been adopted by Parliament. This advice was accepted, and an hour or two later the following message from the Queen was read to the assembled members of both Houses:—

*"My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have summoned you at a date somewhat later than is usual, on account of the advanced period to which the labours of the last Session were protracted.

“ I have the satisfaction of maintaining with all Foreign Powers relations of friendship and goodwill.

“ At the close of the last Session I had the pleasure of recording my gratitude to my sea and land forces for suppressing with rapidity and completeness a formidable rebellion in Egypt. Since then tranquillity has been restored to that country, clemency has been shown by its ruler to the leaders of the rebellion, and the withdrawal of the British troops is proceeding as expeditiously as a prudent consideration of the circumstances will admit.

“ The reconstitution of the Government of Egypt and the reorganisation of its affairs under the authority of the Khedive have in part been accomplished, and will continue to receive my earnest attention. It will be my endeavour to secure that full provision shall be made for the exigencies of order, for a just representation of the wants and wishes of the population, and for the observance of international obligations.

“ I have already been able to fulfil the promise made by me to the Sultan and to the Great Powers of Europe that I would submit to their friendly consideration the arrangements which appeared to me to be the best fitted to ensure the stability of the Khedive's Government, the prosperity and happiness of the Egyptian people, the security of the Suez Canal, and the peace of Europe in the East.

“ To those objects my policy has been directed in the past and will be addressed in the future ; and I continue to rely with confidence on its just appreciation by other countries.

“ A Conference of the Great Powers has assembled in London to consider measures for better securing the freedom of navigation on the Danube, which is placed under their guarantee, and forms part of the public law of Europe.

“ The condition of Zululand, and the possibility of renewed disturbances there, have engaged my most serious attention. With a view to the preservation of peace and order, I have caused the former ruler of that country to be replaced in possession of the greater part of the territories held by him before the war. I earnestly hope that this step may lead to the establishment of a more stable government, and to the maintenance of good relations between the Zulu nation and the adjoining colony of Natal.

“ Papers on these subjects will be presented to you.

“ *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ The Estimates for the services of the coming year are in a forward state of preparation, and will be speedily laid before you.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ I am happy to state that the improvement in the social condition of Ireland, to which I referred in December, continues. Agrarian crime has sensibly diminished, and the law has been everywhere upheld.

“ At the same time the existence of dangerous secret societies

in Dublin and other parts of the country calls for unremitting energy and vigilance on the part of the Executive.

“Measures will be promptly submitted to you for the Codification of Criminal Law, for the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal, and for the amendment and consolidation of the laws relating to Bankruptcy and Patents. There will also be brought to your early notice bills for preventing Corrupt Practices at Elections, and for perpetuating and amending the Ballot Act.

“I have on previous occasions referred to the importance of effecting reforms in the Local Government of the different parts of the United Kingdom. Proposals for the better government of the metropolis will, in the first place, be submitted to you, and if time should permit, will be followed by other measures relating to reform of Local Government.

“Your attention will be called to bills dealing with the Conservancy of Rivers and the Prevention of Floods; with the Police in Scotland; with the Universities in that part of the United Kingdom; and with education in Wales.

“You will also be invited to consider a proposal which will more effectually secure to tenants in England and Scotland compensation for agricultural improvements.

“You have provided in recent years by a liberal devotion of your time for the most urgent among the needs of Ireland. The claims both of general legislation and of other portions of the United Kingdom will now demand from you a just regard. I trust, however, that you will be able to deal during the present year with some of the legislative wants of Ireland for which provision has not yet been made.

“I rely upon your proceeding with energy and prudence; and I beseech Almighty God now, as heretofore, to bless your labours.”

In the House of Lords the address in answer was moved by the Earl of Durham, who, after welcoming Lord Wolseley to that Assembly, commented briefly upon the Egyptian policy of the Government, supported generally Lord Dufferin's proposals of reform, and maintained that it would be unwise in the extreme to withdraw British troops altogether from Egypt until the rulers of that country had given some proof of their capacity to govern others. Turning to Colonial matters, Lord Durham admitted that although necessary changes had deprived Cetewayo of one-third of his former kingdom, it was only by this alternative that there could be any reasonable hope of his being able to govern his own share. He complimented the Ministry on the progress of order in Ireland, and urged his fellow peers not to view with mistrust any measure of agricultural reform which would increase and justify the confidence of English tenants, and induce them to develop the fertility of the soil, though he admitted that in England an enormous proportion of the permanent improvements on farms had been done by the landlords. The address was seconded by Lord Reay, who, in

claiming the usual indulgence for a new speaker, referred to his previous Parliamentary training in another country (Holland). His speech on the present occasion was in many respects a remarkable one, and included a survey of French policy towards and in Egypt since the previous summer, in which he showed that non-intervention had in reality been endorsed by the bulk of that nation. With regard to home affairs, he urged the Government to deal with the reform of the government of London; to extend the limits of local self-government in the counties; to recognise the claims of agricultural tenants, and to place the Scotch Universities on a more satisfactory footing. Lord Salisbury premised by saying that, in pursuance of the custom in vogue since 1841, he had no intention of moving any amendment to the address. He compared the Queen's Speech to the ordeal by fire: a number of burning questions were lying about, and through these red hot ploughshares the Speech moved with delicate steps, scarcely touching one. It was impossible to gather from its phrases whether the British troops were to be withdrawn from Egypt, and if so, when; whether the mysterious arrangements for the preservation of the Khedive's authority which had been submitted to the Powers had received their approval; and whether, in the assurance of the friendly attitude of foreign Powers, France had been intentionally omitted or casually forgotten. The measures of local self-government, which had excited such general attention, were referred as a sort of supplement to the measure for the government of the Metropolis; whilst, as regarded Ireland, the Speech was so ambiguous as to leave it impossible to say whether or not any Irish legislation would be proposed. There were, continued Lord Salisbury, two interpretations to be placed on the peculiar character of the Queen's Speech—the dealing with great questions by innuendo—either the head of the Government was divided by so great a distance from the body that symptoms of paralysis supervened—or else that the Government, imitating the skilful tactics of Lord Wolseley, were erecting behind a screen of mild and unobtrusive language a masked battery of destructive legislation. Proceeding to review the events of the recess, Lord Salisbury twitted the Government with having pursued in Egypt for six months a policy of peace, which on the withdrawal of Mr. Bright from the Cabinet gave place to a sounder policy. The change, however, came too late to avert the results of previous vacillation. Had intervention taken place sooner, the Khedive's government, under the sanction of the Ottoman Power, might have been upheld, and its future conduct under British influence would not have been difficult; but now the withdrawal of our troops would be the signal for the renewal of old intrigues by natives or by foreign Powers. The interests of France in Egypt were not, as Lord Reay had argued, and as the Government seemed to believe, the interests of individuals, the bondholder, the merchant; they were, unfortunately, sentimental interests, derived from the exploits of their armies under the First Napoleon, and of their engineers

under the Third. The difficulties of France in Egypt had been increased by the weakness of the Central Government, and there seemed a similar weakness or conflict of opinion in the English Administration. One member declared that the troops would be at once withdrawn; another that they would not be recalled until certain objects, not easily attainable, had been achieved; Mr. Chamberlain on the one hand declared that, considering the English interests in Egypt, it was impossible to look with apathy upon anarchy in that country; whilst the Secretary for the Treasury (Mr. L. H. Courtney) delivered an inspired panegyric on anarchy, as the highest blessing within the reach of a nation. The same might be said of Ireland. Formerly, the landowners were powerful to protect the English Government and to maintain the connection between the two countries. Their power had been straitened, and a greater burden was thrown upon the Central Government. In presence of the rising popular feeling in Ireland, the Ministry was without a settled policy. Lord Derby had declared that his remedy for Irish evils was the spending of a million or two on emigration; Lord Hartington at once hastened to assure the world that such a proposal was utterly opposed to the feelings of the Irish people. Mr. Herbert Gladstone was in favour of Home Rule, to which Mr. Evelyn Ashley would never consent. Mr. Chamberlain had declared that so long as Ireland was without an institution of local self-government worthy of the name, so long the seeds of discontent would remain ready to burst forth into luxurious growth; and Mr. Gladstone, in his conversation with M. Clémenceau, was reported to have said that the object of his policy was to produce a state of things "which would make the humblest Irishman realise that he was a governing agency, and that the government was to be carried on for him and by him." These views, however, were far from being accepted by Lord Hartington, who had expressed his doubts as to the pacifying results of extended self-government, and held "that it would be madness to give Ireland greater local autonomy unless some assurance could be obtained from the Irish people that this boon would not be used for the purpose of agitation." In conclusion, Lord Salisbury protested against this inconsistency on the part of the Administration, which, however necessary to ensure party cohesion, could not be pursued without danger to the interests of the Empire.

Lord Granville, in reply, after having paid a well-merited compliment to Earl Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan, for the improved condition of Ireland, passed on to consider Lord Salisbury's strictures on the Egyptian policy of the Government, and to defend it from the charge of weakness and vacillation brought against it by its opponents. He contrasted the tone adopted by Lord Salisbury with his complaints against the Government in the previous Session for having issued the dual note. With regard to the manner and method chosen for our armed intervention in Egypt, he expressed his conviction that the landing of a thousand men

at Alexandria before the action of the fleet, as had been suggested, would have been an act of madness; whilst alluding to the delay which had occurred before the bombardment took place, he added, "I believe that if we had resorted to force before exhausting every possible means to avoid it, if we had not thereby convinced Europe of our determination to do this, the danger of an early intervention on our part would have been immense. I very much doubt, whether it would not have been fatal to peace, and whether it would not have led to a general European war."

Turning next to Lord Salisbury's speeches at Edinburgh, in which the Government was held up to reprobation for having asked the permission of Europe to invade Egypt, and in face of a refusal having taken possession of that country, Lord Granville declared:—"If they had been guilty of that their conduct would have been inconsistent and audacious. If Europe is not indignant, it is just possible that Europe doubts every assertion the noble Marquess made. I am at a loss to know when and where we asked Europe for leave to invade Egypt, or when Europe refused us permission to invade Egypt. As to taking Egypt, we have not taken it, and we do not intend to take it in the future."

The two aims of the Government had been the maintenance of Tewfik and the removal of Arabi, both of which the Government held to be necessary to the pacification and restoration of order and prosperity in the country; because the sudden removal of Tewfik's predecessor had sensibly weakened the ruling authority. As to our future policy in the Nile Valley, "Some are of opinion," said Lord Granville, "that it is desirable to annex, or what amounts to the same thing, to maintain a complete protectorate over Egypt. This is a policy which Her Majesty's present Government could not easily pursue, considering the statements they have invariably made to Parliament and to Foreign Powers. Besides, I believe it is entirely out of the question as a wise measure on the part of this country. Lord Palmerston was always strongly against it, and Lord Beaconsfield once told a foreign Ambassador that he would not take Egypt as a gift. India has been mentioned, but there is this difference, it should be borne in mind, between India and Egypt. India is, comparatively speaking, isolated from European nations, other than ours; whereas Egypt has as neighbours many of the nations of Europe, and their inhabitants are swarming in Egypt. This, in itself, would constitute an immense difficulty if we were to take upon ourselves the whole of the government of the country. The other alternative proposed is that, having by means of our sailors and soldiers achieved that remarkable success, we ought to leave Egypt entirely to solve its own problems. In the first place, if we wished to wash our hands completely of Egypt, I am convinced that other Powers would intervene. In the second place, as we did enter into military operations, and as we did carry them

to a successful issue, it appears to me that we should be absolutely without any justification for those operations if we were to leave Egypt in a state of anarchy and without a reasonable prospect of having a stable and beneficent Government. The noble Marquess wishes me to state the exact date of the withdrawal of our troops. My Lords, I cannot conceive that it would be prudent for me to make such a statement. We shall not keep our troops there any longer than is necessary; but it would be an act of treachery to ourselves, to Egypt, and to Europe if we withdrew them without having a certainty—or, if not a certainty, because we cannot have a certainty in the affairs of this life—until there is a reasonable expectation of a stable, a permanent, and a beneficent Government being established in Egypt. The noble Marquess says that our influence in Europe consists in our troops, and that when they are withdrawn, the memory of their prowess will fade away. But before the expedition, and under the joint-control, there is no doubt that our influence was very strong, and that influence has, I believe, been increased by the events of the last six months. It is all very well for the noble Marquess to twit us with respect to the abolition of the Dual Control. Does he say we ought to have maintained the Control or not? There was not even an innuendo that we ought to have maintained it. Last year he urged us very much not to rely on France, but to rely on ourselves; and now he makes it, in a sort of indirect manner, an accusation that we are not in agreement with France. I doubt whether any one in this House is more desirous than I have been all my life to maintain the best possible relations with France. I do not think it quite reasonable, but it is certainly natural that there should be some little irritation at this moment in France. But I believe that the real interests of both countries are identically the same in regard to the government of Egypt—that it should be orderly and stable, and such as best to conduce to the prosperity and peace of the country. I can most sincerely say that we shall hope for the good feeling of France. My noble friend who seconded the motion referred to the approval by the Powers of our action. There is no phrase in the Queen's Speech to that effect, because we have had no official communications on the subject. From the French Government we have had no communication whatever. That may be an unfavourable symptom. But the state of political affairs in that country may sufficiently account for the silence of the French Government. From Turkey we have had no communication at all, except that the Sultan approves of the abolition of the Control. With regard to Germany, Italy, and Austria, general expressions of approval have been received; and information has reached us from St. Petersburg that the Russian answer will be of a somewhat similar nature." After bearing testimony to the high services rendered by Sir E. Malet, and by stating that in sending Lord Dufferin as his colleague as the person most fitted to aid and advise in the work of reconstruc-

tion in Egypt, Lord Granville concluded by expressing his belief that the policy of the Government would be that best calculated for the peace and prosperity of Egypt, which it was the interest of France and all the Powers, and undoubtedly of this country, to secure and maintain.

The Duke of Abercorn, whilst bearing testimony to the improvement of the state of things in Ireland, attributed it not to the remedial legislation of the Government, but to the vigour with which Lord Spencer had carried out the law. He did not, however, regard this improvement as solid or permanent, and expressed his belief that any relaxation of vigorous measures would be followed by a renewal of outrages. As to the extension of local self-government in Ireland, he believed that any legislation in that direction, or for household suffrage in Ireland, would at the present time be a fatal and permanent blow to the whole loyal population by placing the whole local and representative power of Ireland in the hands of the party of sedition, and could lead but to one of two alternatives—the disintegration of the Empire or civil war. “The future aspect of Ireland,” added the Duke, “with such possible changes was a most dark and gloomy one. The only ray of light that could be hoped for in its future horizon was that which would arise from a rule of unvarying firmness and justice—not one halting between sentimental concession and undecided coercion. But, whatever might be its future, in looking back to the policy of the last three years, history would record the name of Mr. Gladstone as that of the statesman who, without evil intentions—but who, warped by prejudice and infatuated by party spirit—had wrought greater ruin and desolation on Ireland, and greater degradation of its national character, than any Minister who for two centuries had governed that country.”

Earl Cowper, on the other hand, said that after passing such stringent measures of repression and coercion, it was impossible not to offer remedial legislation, and he was convinced that the Liberal party would never have consented to vote for the former but upon the assurance that the latter should but remain a dead letter. The Marquess of Waterford then at full length reviewed the working of the Irish law courts, accused the Government of removing those officials whose assistance was of paramount importance to the Assistant Commissioners in forming correct estimates of fair rents, and declared that for political purposes the Government abetted a mere parody of justice. Lord Carlingford warmly defended the Land Commissioners and, their assistants, and whilst promising to investigate the particular charges brought by Lord Waterford, expressed his regret at the tone of the speeches delivered from the opposite side; and assured the House that, whilst continuing to maintain order and punish crime, the Government would never give up the hope of redressing, in due time, all proved grievances in Ireland. After a few remarks by the Earls of Belmore and De La Warr, the address was agreed to *nem. dis.*, and ordered to



be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with the White Staves.

In the House of Commons the proceedings were somewhat more diversified. At the beginning of the sitting, before calling new members to the Table, the Speaker read the following letter, which he stated he had received "from Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the members for Northampton":—

"Sir,—On March 2 last I was for the third time duly elected one of the burgesses for the borough of Northampton to serve in the present Parliament, and have ever since been ready to do all things by law required to entitle me to sit and vote. The House on March 6 last, without hearing me, thought fit to prohibit me from fulfilling the obligations imposed upon me by statute. My constituents petitioned to be heard at the bar of the House in support of their right to my vote and speech as one of their lawful representatives, and I, through you, applied for leave to state to the House the grounds of law upon which I claimed to be entitled to obey the law, and to take my seat. The House did not express its pleasure either on the petition of my constituents or on my application. In two suits I have endeavoured to obtain the judgment of the High Court of Justice, first on the legality of the admission of the call by me, on February 21 last; and, secondly, on the lawfulness of the act of the House in preventing me from complying with the statute. On the first point the Court refused to give judgment, demurring on the ground that the pleadings (which followed precisely the recitals in the 'Journals' of the House) were so drawn as to necessitate judgment in my favour; and also refused to allow the issues of fact to be tried, on the ground that such action was friendly, and therefore allusive. On the second point, the Court said that it refused to suppose that the House of Commons would do 'an act which in itself was flagrantly wrong'; and further, the Court refused to permit the exact facts to be ascertained by a jury, on the ground that the order of the House must be taken to imply an adjudication of contempt. I beg, Sir, under these circumstances, to respectfully state that, accompanied by my introducers, I shall according to statute, and the law and custom of Parliament, present myself at the opening of the Session, to be called by you to the Table, in order that I may do all things which may be lawfully required of me to enable me to sit and vote pursuant to the unimpeached return of my constituents.—I have, &c., CHARLES BRADLAUGH."

Mr. Labouchere at once rose, and asked the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington)—who, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, was acting as Leader of the House—whether it was the intention of the Government to bring in an Affirmation Bill, and promising, on behalf of Mr. Bradlaugh, that the latter would not present himself at the Table until the fate of the Bill had been decided. Lord Hartington at once announced the intention of the Attorney-General to ask for leave to bring in such a Bill

on the following day, and Sir R. A. Cross gave notice of his intention to give his utmost opposition to such a Bill on its second reading. Mr. Bradlaugh, who had during this time been seated within the House, then withdrew; and Mr. Parnell at once rose to inquire, as a matter of privilege, whether any letter relative to the imprisonment of Mr. Healy, a member of the House, had been received. The Speaker then read a letter from the Chief Justice of Ireland, stating that Mr. Healy, having failed to enter into recognisances to be of good behaviour, had been arrested and imprisoned. Lord Hartington, in moving that the letter do lie on the Table, pointed out that, according to the precedents, the offence of which Mr. Healy was accused was not covered by the privilege of Parliament; and that the House had never been in the habit of interfering in such cases. A member of Parliament could not, argued Lord Hartington, be imprisoned at all on mere civil process; if imprisoned for contempt of Court, it is the duty of the House to inquire into the matter: but where the commitment is for a crime or for anything partaking of the nature of a criminal offence, Parliament is accustomed to leave the imprisoned member to his legal remedy. Under the circumstances, therefore, he said it was not intended to appoint a Select Committee, as in the case of Mr. Gray, there being no ground for supposing that the privileges of the House had been infringed.

Mr. Parnell complained of the scanty information given in the letter of the Lord Chief Justice as to the offence of which Mr. Healy was accused, and also of the delay in dealing with his case, by which it might be inferred that the object was to silence a formidable political opponent for the Session. It was the first time, he said, that a summary jurisdiction, intended for rogues and vagabonds on the highway, had been employed to check political opposition; and he ended by moving that a Select Committee be appointed. The Attorney-General replied that this was not the proper opportunity for discussing the political aspect of the question. But in regard to the legal point, he pointed out that by a Resolution of the Lords in 1625 it was declared that treason, felony, and the refusing to give sureties for keeping the peace were not covered by Privilege of Parliament; and Mr. Trevelyan explained that the delay was entirely due to Mr. Healy and Mr. Davitt.

Mr. Gorst complained that no information was given of the nature of the offence; and Mr. J. M'Carthy, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor argued that a member did not lose his protection of privilege except for an actual breach of the peace, and that the matter required further investigation. On a division, Lord Hartington's motion was carried by 353 to 47.

Mr. Acland, the recently elected member for East Cornwall, then moved in a maiden speech the address in answer to the Queen's Speech. After referring to the absence of Mr. Gladstone

and the restoration of Sir Stafford Northcote to health, Mr. Acland touched upon the more important points of the Speech, expressing his belief that the policy of guaranteeing the security of the Suez Canal, and effecting a settlement that would ensure contentment, peace, and prosperity to the Egyptian people, with as little risk as possible to the peace of Europe, would entitle the Government to the gratitude of all nations. Referring to the Bills mentioned in the Speech, Mr. Acland said he hoped it might be possible, in touching the question of local government as it affected England and Scotland, to deal with Ireland on similar principles at the same time. No mention was made in her Majesty's Speech of the question of Irish distress. The reason for that had already been expressed by more than one of her Majesty's Ministers, that the present condition of the law was adequate to deal with the distress. As to the pledge of special legislation for the Sister Isle, he appealed to the generosity of those who represented Ireland, and who had had a generous measure of the time of the House during the last two Sessions, not to think them inconsiderate of the claims of Ireland if they, at any rate this Session, ventured to give precedence to a subject of very great importance to the whole of Great Britain. If Ireland were left free of agitation for a few months it was possible there might be no more crime to prevent.

The address was seconded by Mr. Buchanan, the member for Edinburgh, who, referring to the Egyptian campaign, remarked that, while proud of the exploits of the army, they were all glad that the war was quickly over, and they would infinitely rejoice when it was in the power of her Majesty's Government to withdraw her troops from the Valley of the Nile. With regard to Ireland, the gratifying diminution of agrarian crime in the country was some evidence of the legislation on which they had been engaged for the past two years. There was no use disguising the fact that they were face to face with a conspiracy which aimed at every one, no matter what his station might be, who was entrusted with the enforcing of law and order; and he joined in an expression of regard for those who had endeavoured to discharge their duty in dread of assassination. Having touched on the measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech, he said he should be glad to find that at some time during the present Session Her Majesty's Government might be able to state their intentions with regard to putting Scotch business and legislation on a satisfactory footing of permanency under a single Minister.

After an appeal from Mr. Alderman Fowler for some clearer and fuller explanation of the Government policy in South Africa, and the retort from the Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) that in the absence of papers such a discussion would be futile, Sir Stafford Northcote rose amid cheers from both sides, and commenced by thanking the House for its kindly expressions of goodwill to himself, and joining in the regret at Mr. Gladstone's

enforced absence. Before touching on the Speech, he commented on the prearranged scene between Mr. Labouchere and Lord Hartington in regard to the Affirmation Bill, and complained that if the Government had made up their minds beforehand they should have given the information in the Queen's Speech or in some other way, which would have prevented the excitement through which members had been obliged to make their way to the House.

"I want to know what all this means," pursued Sir Stafford Northcote, "whether there was really an intention that the House should be left in the dark as to what was to be done, and whether there was to be a question put by the hon. member for Northampton, and answered by the noble Marquess, which was to smooth away the anticipated struggle. I must say I do not think that such methods of proceeding conduce to the dignity of this House. I cannot but think that this great question—for it is a great question—of the oath or affirmation which members are to take—I cannot but think that it is neither consistent with the dignity of this House, nor with the feelings of the great body of the people of this country that such a question should be treated in so loose and uncertain a manner." As to the Bill which had been announced, he added that he should subject its principles to the severest criticism and opposition.

With reference to the Egyptian paragraphs, he called on the Government to state distinctly what their Egyptian policy was; whether the occupation was to be for half a year or half a century, and how the reorganisation of Egypt was to be effected. In the previous session all debate was stopped on the plea that it was better not to interfere in a matter in which the English and French Governments were in perfect accord. They were even led to believe that there would be no warlike proceedings until they were suddenly aroused by the firing of cannon and other warlike symptoms. Sir Stafford Northcote then referred to the complacent way in which all unpleasant topics had been omitted from the Speech, as, for instance, all mention of India and agricultural distress, the falling-off of trade, and the state of Ireland, the condition of which country did not justify the optimist tone of the Royal Speech. Admitting the partial success of Lord Spencer's government, he entreated the Government not to deal in ambiguous phrases such as those contained in the last paragraph in the Speech about measures which might be introduced, and, alluding to the boasts of the Ministerial strength, he reminded them that they had attained it by sacrificing nearly one-fourth of their Cabinet Ministers and more than one-fourth of their principles, and he recommended them not to take so much pains to justify their complete consistency; but to adopt the saying of the late Sir James Graham, when taunted with an alteration of views, "I changed my mind, and there's an end of it."

Lord Hartington, on behalf of the Government, at once rose

to reply. After congratulating Sir S. Northcote, and thanking him for his references to Mr. Gladstone, assured the House that the latter's absence was not enforced, and that if his presence were necessary, there was nothing in the state of his health which need prevent him appearing in the House. Referring to the remarks with reference to the Affirmation Bill, Lord Hartington thought the Opposition somewhat hard to satisfy, for whilst they blamed the Government in previous sessions for not legislating in this matter, they now announced their uncompromising hostility to a Bill of which they had not seen the contents. If no reference to the proposed Bill appeared in the Queen's Speech, it was because they did not consider the proposal of sufficient importance. As to the remarks of Sir S. Northcote on the Egyptian question, he remarked that the time had now come when the Opposition should cease its criticisms or bring them to a definite issue. Full information, he said, had been laid on the table that evening. The occupation might last, perhaps, six months, and there was no ground, he maintained, for the desponding and gloomy anticipations in which some authorities indulged.

"The restoration of law and order is proceeding," continued Lord Hartington, "with great expedition under the guidance of Sir Evelyn Wood, Baker Pasha, and other British officers. The army is to a certain extent already organised, and in a short time there will be a force in Egypt which will be amply sufficient for the protection of the country and for the preservation of order. It will then be possible for us to relieve ourselves of a burden, and also the Egyptian Government of considerable expense, caused by the maintenance of our troops in the country. The occupation is simply for the purpose of preserving tranquillity in the country, and we trust it will not be for long. The recent history of Egypt certainly does not justify the gloomy anticipations which seem to be popular in some quarters. The people of Egypt may not be—certainly are not—at the present moment capable of exercising the powers of self-government; but at the same time qualities have been displayed by some of her people which justify us in hoping and trusting in the future. Our experience up to the present time has shown that the rulers in Egypt are ready and willing to receive and to be influenced by European advice, and that the failure of the Dual Control, as far as it was a failure, was due, not to the unwillingness or to the incapacity of the English rulers to accept such advice, but to the unavoidable inconveniences attaching to the dual nature of the Control, and to the fact that an army was kept on foot which was too large for its purpose and was disorganised, and which was, therefore, a prey to ambition and to fanatical influences. With regard to the circular issued shortly before, abolishing the Dual Control, no formal intimation had been received from any of the Powers, but verbal assurances had been given by the Governments of Germany, Austria, and Italy, to the effect that they are all favourable to the English proposals. The

French Government was almost the only one from which the Foreign Office had not received any opinion upon the Circular, Russia even being stated not to be unfavourable to the general plan proposed by her Majesty's Government." Referring to the other topics of the Speech, Lord Hartington justified the connection of the Metropolitan Bill with the County Government Bill, and maintained that until greater simplicity were introduced into county government all subsidies in aid of local taxation would be swallowed up in the vortex of bad administration. As to the Irish paragraphs, he protested that the Government had every right to congratulate themselves on the condition of Ireland, and expressed a strong hope that the instigators of the assassinations would be got at. There was no intention, he added, to bring in any important measures for Ireland, though there might be one or two which might not require much time.

With this survey of the events of the recess from opposite points of view, the debate, in former times and under ordinary circumstances, would have come to an end; and indeed, for any practical results obtainable from the discussion of abstract resolutions, it might have as well been closed at once on the present occasion. But there was no intention on the part of a certain number of members to allow this opportunity, the only one afforded by the rules of the House until the Appropriation Bill was introduced, of ventilating the wrongs of the special classes or sects of whose interests they had constituted themselves the champions, Lord Randolph Churchill, the leader of the Conservative "Lighthouse," or Fourth Party, whose tactics were often as damaging to his Constitutional allies as to their traditional opponents, rose as soon as Lord Hartington sat down. His chief aim was to push home against the Government the complaint let fall by Sir Stafford Northcote that it had intentionally and persistently evaded every attempt to discuss their Egyptian policy. On two occasions in the previous Session attempts had been made, with the approval of the Leader of the Opposition, to bring forward a vote of censure; but on each occasion "the Prime Minister had resorted to all the arts of Parliamentary strategy in order to prevent the discussion of any such vote." As to what had been done in Egypt, of which the appointment of Sir Auckland Colvin as financial adviser of the Egyptian Government was the latest expression, such an act, although accepted by Lord Hartington as firmly fixing the basis of our policy in Egypt, seemed to be a complete reversal of the principle laid down in Lord Granville's despatch of November 4, 1881, "the Magna Charta" of British policy in Egypt. On this despatch Lord Granville had said: "It cannot be too clearly understood that England desires no partisan Ministry; such a Ministry, founded on the support of a foreign Power, or upon the personal influence of a foreign diplomatic agent, is neither calculated to be of service to the country it administers, nor to those in whose interest it is supposed to be maintained." Turning to Ireland, he twitted the

Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) with having pronounced a serious censure on his own colleagues which the public would cordially endorse. From the ranks of independent Liberals next rose Sir Wilfrid Lawson, who repeated the charge made by Lord Randolph Churchill that the Government had evaded all formal discussion of their Egyptian policy. Appealing to Sir Stafford Northcote, who had denounced the war as unjustifiable and unnecessary, he asked him to support an amendment to the Address which declared that no sufficient reason had been shown for the employment of the British forces in Egypt. This amendment found a seconder in Mr. Labouchere, who not infrequently discharged the duties of candid friend and irresponsible critic on the Ministerial side of the House in much the same spirit as that which inspired Lord Randolph Churchill in his indiscriminating onslaught upon friend and foe. Mr. Labouchere, however, was of opinion that it was a policy consistent with that which had induced the Government to enter on war in behalf of bondholders to appoint an English financial agent to collect the debts which the bondholders claimed as properly due. Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) retorted on behalf of the Government that, in spite of what had been said by previous speakers, there appeared to be no burning desire on the part of the House to have a very full or long discussion of Egyptian affairs; whilst the tactics of the winter Session seemed to indicate that the leaders of the Opposition were scarcely in earnest in their demands for a vote of censure. Without anticipating any debate which might arise on the papers he then laid on the Table, Lord E. Fitzmaurice would not admit that the war had been a bondholders' war, but insisted that it was only under the stress of dire necessity that the Government had departed from the cherished principles and traditions of the Liberal Party—the policy of non-intervention. It was the condition of anarchy into which Egypt had fallen—anarchy hostile to English interests—which forced the English Government to intervene. If Arabi and the military party did not actually interfere with the Suez Canal, they were in such dangerous proximity to our great highway that common prudence and the instinct of self-defence urged us to anticipate any possible interruption. As to the choice of Sir Auckland Colvin as financial adviser to the Khedive, the act was the Khedive's own, although the English Government were fully prepared to accept that appointment as the main safeguard of English influence and interests in Egypt.

On the second night of the debate on the Address, Mr. A. Balfour, who had re-joined the Fourth Party, discussed the Government policy from another point of view. Declining to endorse the Radical view put forward by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, he proposed his own amendment, which censured the Government for not having intervened earlier in Egypt, and by this means secured all the advantages to England without having recourse to military measures. This amendment was seconded by Mr. H. S. North-

cote, who spoke in defence of the Dual Control, of which the establishment had been inevitable, and of which the results were, on the whole, beneficial to Egypt. Mr. Henry Richard, speaking on behalf of the Peace Party among the independent Radicals, denounced the war and praised Arabi, but he would not combine in doing so with men who had done all in their power to force the Government into hostilities. When the announcement was made, said Mr. Richard, that the city of Alexandria had been bombarded, a ringing cheer ran through the House, which would have been intelligible from a lot of schoolboys before a display of fireworks, but not from an intelligent body of Christian men when told that a city of 200,000 inhabitants had been bombarded with shot and shell. Mr. Chaplin referred all of our complications in Egypt to the feeble policy of the English Government, and declared that by the display of a little more foresight, and by having troops at hand to land as soon as the bombardment was over, the revolt might have been stopped, and all the subsequent difficulties avoided. He concluded by advising the Government to rebuild Alexandria and pay an indemnity to the Egyptians. Then they might await shame and ignominy at the hands of the people of this country, and the scorn and derision of every civilised nation—very good reasons, one would suppose, why his counsel should not be taken. Mr. Rylands did not like the war, but the House and the country had approved of it, and he was not going to say anything more about it. Mr. Gorst criticised the amendment of his old ally, Mr. Balfour, and advised him to remodel it. Mr. E. Clarke promised his vote to Sir Wilfrid Lawson; and Mr. Bourke declared that if Arabi were innocent of evil and criminal intentions, the whole theory of the war was wrong, and the theory of the reorganisation of Egypt must be wrong also. He asked whether further papers were to be produced regarding Arabi's trial, as it was impossible to come to any judgment on the Egyptian question without knowing what was passing at that time. He believed that the war was totally unnecessary, and among other proofs of this he mentioned that no proposal was ever made by this Government to inquire whether there was anything in the Egyptian grievances. In fact, the country had been entirely misled as to the causes of the war. There were the massacres of June and the arming of the forts, but Arabi had been acquitted by our own officials of complicity with the first; and as to the arming of the forts, it was shown that the Khedive presided at the council which sanctioned this, and refused Admiral Seymour's ultimatum. With regard to the future, he was of opinion that if we left Egypt at once we should have our work to do over again.

So far the speeches from both sides of the House condemning the policy of the Ministry had provoked no reply from the Treasury Bench, and had attracted no unofficial apologists. The empty benches, however, attested the want of real interest provoked by the debate. Mr. Bourke's attack, however, could not be allowed



to pass unanswered. On Sir Charles Dilke, who had been cognisant of the whole history of the Egyptian imbroglio, devolved the task of placing before the House Lord Granville's action and aims. After alluding to the rather mixed condition the debate had drifted into, he travelled anew over the old familiar ground relating to the origin of the war in Egypt, contributing an episode in the Constitutional history of Egypt whilst the Chamber of Notables was under the "guidance" of the military party. That Chamber at first refused to meet; but subsequently, under coercion, consented. They were then called upon to sign a decree deposing the Khedive, those who were in favour of the proposal rising in their places. At the same time, it was intimated that in case they refused their heads would be cut off. The Military party and the National party never acted together; whilst, man for man, Cherif was a more authorised man than Arabi, in spite of the latter's endeavours to stimulate public confidence. Sir C. Dilke, moreover, denied categorically that we had gone to Egypt in the interests of the capitalists; and, in answer to the charge that we had interfered too late, he pointed to the danger of a European conflagration if we had not taken the other Powers with us. Admitting that there had been a National party, he denied that Arabi had been at the head of it. As to the future, Lord Dufferin was in favour of a reduction of the British force. All the Powers, with the exception of France, had expressed their approval of our views, and the Government strictly adhered to Lord Granville's despatch of 1881, that they did not desire a partisan Ministry. Sir S. Northcote said he did not think this an altogether convenient opportunity for discussing the Egyptian question, and he believed that others would arise; but as two amendments had been moved, he wished to say that for him to support Sir W. Lawson's would be a mere seeming agreement. What it meant was, that in the reconstitution of Egypt, British forces should not be employed. To that he could not agree, but he could agree with Mr. Balfour's proposed condemnation of the past, since he had always been of opinion that if greater firmness and wisdom had been shown by the Government at the end of 1881 and the beginning of 1882, all that we needed for the protection of our interests might have been attained without war. The policy of the Government had been a policy of dawdling. Sometimes they had been too rash, and sometimes they had been too slow. The late Government had surmounted more serious difficulties than had arisen out of Arabi's proceedings, and the present Government had sacrificed many of the advantages which they had inherited from their predecessors. Lord Hartington commented at length on the tactics of the Opposition and the half-support they had at last brought themselves to give to Sir W. Lawson. The precise amendment on which the House was asked by them to vote was vague and meaningless. Although the Government were told that they ought to have done something which they did not do, nobody had enlightened them as to what those steps were, nor when they

ought to have been taken. He required that the Opposition, if they wished to challenge the Government policy, should state what steps the Government could have taken, and at what point they could have acted differently. As to the result, though they regretted the war, the Government were perfectly satisfied with what they had achieved.

Sir W. Lawson's amendment, owing to an informality, was negatived without a division, and that proposed by Mr. Balfour by 179 to 144.

The Conservatives, although they had not succeeded in obtaining any support from the Radical section of their opponents, professed themselves fully satisfied with the results of the division, their numbers (125) having been recruited by the accession of 19 Parnellites. Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Richard, Mr. Labouchere, and others voted with the majority.

Although the division had not been taken till nearly midnight and the debate on the Address again adjourned, the House at once proceeded to further business. The Bankruptcy Bill, the Patent Laws Bill, the Ballot Act (Amendment) Bill, the Criminal Procedure Bill, the Criminal Court of Appeal Bill, and the Corrupt Practices Bill having been brought in by their various sponsors, the Attorney-General moved that the House should go into committee on the Parliamentary Oaths Act. In a moment the storm burst forth. A preliminary division was taken, and the motion was carried by 160 to 70. Dr. Playfair then took the chair, and put the question that the chairman do move the House for leave to bring in a Bill "amending" the Parliamentary Oaths Act. Mr. Chaplin moved that progress should be reported. Mr. Onslow announced that the Opposition was determined to resist the Bill to the utmost. Mr. Beresford Hope declared, amid loud cheers, that whether the principle of the oath were right or wrong, the Government was humiliating the Parliament of England before Bradlaugh and his mob. The motion for reporting progress was lost by 156 against 69, and then Lord Henry Lennox rose to move that the Chairman do leave the chair, incautiously announcing that he would obstruct to the utmost a most obnoxious measure. This motion was put and lost by 151 against 68.

Lord Claud Hamilton then appealed to the Government to give way. Lord Hartington, in refusing to do so, made the most of Lord Henry Lennox's declaration of obstruction. Mr. Balfour retorted by challenging him to apply the gag—which could not be done, because the minority was over forty and the majority less than two hundred—and added that he himself had no desire to obstruct Government business. Mr. Molloy moved to report progress. This was lost by 145 against 64, but immediately afterwards the combat was adjourned until midnight on Monday.

Eighty or ninety Bills were then brought in, and read a first time; amongst which the local prohibition of Sunday traffic in liquor held a conspicuous place; whilst of the older class those for

the improvement of the criminal procedure, for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and the Borough Franchise Bill (Ireland) were the most important.

So far the debate on the Address had proceeded without any special reference to Irish affairs, and no member of the Parnellite party had spoken. It became, therefore, a matter of much speculation whether that section of the Irish members would postpone to a later period the discussion of their grievances with a view to some practical legislation thereon, or whether they would, as on former occasions, utilise the debate on the Address for a general survey of the political situation, and would attempt to arrest public attention on the misdeeds of the Irish Executive and the sufferings of the Irish people by submitting an amendment which would bring into prominence those extreme demands for Ireland which were outside the range of practical politics. Shortly after the House assembled (on February 19), Mr. Parnell put an end to all doubts as to the course he proposed to take by announcing that when the discussion on English questions was concluded, he proposed to bring the condition of Ireland under the notice of the House. Before this, however, could be done, Sir William Barttelot took occasion to call attention to the position of the agricultural question in England, and expressed his regret that there had been no mention in the Queen's Speech of the topic of agricultural distress, which, he contended, was on the increase. The tenants had already lost more than one-third of their capital, and were threatened with another bad year. Among other causes of complaint he mentioned the danger of foreign diseases by the administration of the Cattle Diseases Act, and the inequalities of local taxation. He found fault with the Government because they had treated with contempt all the recommendations of the Royal Commission except the compensation for unexhausted improvements. He hoped, however, that they would bring in a good Bill on this subject, and would not attempt to make party capital out of it.

Each speaker who followed urged a different remedy for a state of things which all admitted to be serious, if not critical. Mr. W. Fowler examined the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and showed the defects of the Settled Lands Act, holding that the cheap transfer of land would afford an immediate if not a permanent relief. Sir Massey Lopes was sorry that, after eight years of agricultural depression, the matter was not even alluded to in the Queen's Speech. He thought that the Government ought to do something to lighten local burdens, seeing that the adoption of Free Trade had taken away the privileges of the agricultural classes. The present Government had imposed new taxes on the farmers equal to these subventions. What the farmers required from Parliament was fair taxation. Mr. J. Howard doubted whether any perceptible relief could be given by the reduction of local taxation, and dwelt on the difficulty of taxing

personal property, and held to the view that remission of rent was a better cure for agricultural distress than remission of taxation. After some remarks from Colonel Harcourt, impressing on the Government the necessity of taking measures for the relief of agriculture, Mr. Inderwick expressed a hope that the Government would turn their attention to the subject of the Extraordinary Tithe, and would effect a settlement. This was possible now, for the sum was small, and the quarrels over it had been fought out with good temper, but ill-feeling would be bred by further delay. It involved only some 120,000*l.*, but the difficulty arose from the fact that whatever form a readjustment took it would have to be applicable to the whole tithe system of the country. Mr. Gregory, on the other hand, thought that there would be no great difficulty in providing for a commutation of the extraordinary tithe by transferring it from the tenant to the landlord.

Various other speakers followed, amongst whom was Mr. Illingworth, who maintained that manufacturers were suffering as severely as the farmers. Treating the extraordinary tithe question from a Liberatorist point of view, he declared openly that if the tenant were relieved from paying tithe the landlord would appropriate the money. To expect relief from any measure in reference to local taxation was a delusion, but he thought a demand would soon be made for the reorganisation and reappropriation of the tithe. Sir W. Hart-Dyke, whilst promising that the Opposition would carefully consider any genuine tenants' compensation, warned the Government that if they proposed to give to the tenant compensation for a tenant-right he had never purchased, they would provoke the most strenuous opposition. Mr. Goschen, who next followed, removed the discussion to far wider fields of speculation and argument. He did not think that barren words of sympathy in the Queen's Speech would have done much good, and as for the relief of local taxation, he pointed out that a million and a half had already been remitted, but scarcely a shilling per acre of difference of taxation resulted to the individual farmer. How many shillings per acre did those who talked of further remissions wish to take off? At the same time, he thought that the Opposition laid too much stress on the grant in aid of local taxation, and agreed with the Government that county government ought first to be settled on a broad basis before local taxation could be dealt with in a comprehensive manner. Agricultural depression, he suggested, might be due in a great measure to the depreciation in the price of gold, caused by the demonetisation of silver in Germany and the resumption of specie payments in America, which had led to a general fall in the prices of commodities, for which the farmers received less; while their rents, payable in gold, remained unchanged. After Mr. Chaplin had attacked, and Mr. Mundella had defended, the administration of the Cattle Diseases Act, and Mr. J. Lowther had expressed a deep conviction that only by a return to protectionism could agricul-

tural distress be permanently relieved, the matter was allowed to drop, and the debate on the Address again adjourned. The discussion on the introduction of the Affirmation Bill was then again resumed. Since the previous evening, the Conservatives, satisfied with the display of strength they had exhibited, had intimated through Sir Stafford Northcote that they would not further delay the introduction of the Bill, whilst reserving to themselves the right of opposing it on a subsequent opportunity. This view was supported by Sir R. Cross and Mr. Newdegate; who, with the more prominent members of the Opposition, at once left the House, and thus avoided the imminent danger of a closure vote. A number of Conservatives, headed by Mr. Chaplin, and of Roman Catholics, led by Colonel Aylmer, continued to protest against this surrender; but a division was soon afterwards taken, and by 184 to 53 leave was given to introduce the Bill, which was thereupon read a first time.

On the following day (February 20) the debate on the Address was again resumed, and the Irish policy of the Government passed in review. It was, however, by Mr. Gorst, Q.C., the member for Chatham, and the legal adviser of the Fourth Party, and not by an Irish representative, that this subject, which was destined to arouse much bitter feeling, was brought forward. The key-note of the subsequent debate, which lasted through three nights, was struck by Sir Herbert Maxwell in a question addressed to the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan), and almost identical with one already put by Sir Stafford Northcote. His question was, "whether one Sheridan, described by James Carey in the course of the inquiry at Kilmainham Court House as having acted as intermediary between the Irish Invincibles and their allies in London, was one of the men mentioned in the negotiations that led to the release of the suspects from Kilmainham Gaol last spring, and of whom the hon. member for the city of Cork, before his release, said, 'He hoped to make use of and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation, as he knew all its details in the West;' and, with regard to whom the member for Bradford said in this House on May 15, 'It gave me a sort of insight into what had been happening, which I had not before, that a man (Sheridan) whom I knew, in as far as I had any possibility of knowing, was engaged in these outrages, was so far under the influence of the hon. member for the city of Cork that upon his release he would get the assistance of that man to put down the very things he had been provoking.'"

Mr. Trevelyan, who had previously admitted that to the best of his belief the two were identical, now wished to refer Sir H. Maxwell to Mr. Parnell for a reply to the first question, and to Mr. W. E. Forster for an answer to the second. Beyond this the Government declined to make any statements or to express any intentions, and Sir William Harcourt appealed to the House to support

him in declining to answer any questions which might hamper the Executive.

Mr. Gorst then moved his amendment, which expressed the hope that "the recent change in Irish policy would be maintained, that no further concessions would be made to lawless agitators, and that secret societies would continue to receive the energetic vigilance of the Government." The meaning of these apparently harmless words was obvious. Mr. Gorst and his friends saw that the disclosures made by Carey and other informers at the Dublin trials might throw a new light on the 'Kilmainham transaction,' because just prior to leaving prison Mr. Parnell was looking forward to the putting down of outrage in the West of Ireland, by the agency of the man Sheridan, against whom the most damning evidence of his intimate connection with the Phoenix Park murderers was being established. The Opposition, moreover, whilst ostensibly anxious that the Government should go on with its policy of repression, were not unwilling to show that the abandonment of the policy of concession, which marked the moment when Mr. Forster separated himself from his colleagues, had been, at least, temporarily abandoned. Whilst thus wishing to discredit the Ministry, Mr. Gorst could in a sense declare that the amendment was not necessarily unfriendly to the Government, since it expressed confidence in them so long as they pursued a certain course. At Easter last, he said, things had got so bad in Ireland that a new departure was necessary, and at that time there were two policies presented to the Cabinet—one for strengthening the law, supported by Mr. Forster; the other for employing the outrage-mongers, associated with the name of Mr. Chamberlain. The latter triumphed, and hence the Kilmainham negotiations, of which he gave a sketch, expressing a decided opinion that Mr. Gladstone had been the dupe and the instrument of an "inner circle" in the Cabinet, who, like the "inner circle" of the "Invincibles," had for their first object the destruction of Mr. Forster. At the time the "suspects" were released the Government, he maintained, must have been aware from Mr. Forster's memorandum that Sheridan had been an outrage-monger, and Sir William Harcourt, who had publicly welcomed his aid, was an incompetent Home Secretary if he did not know Sheridan's character. Then came the murders in Phoenix Park, which had been preceded by murders of humbler men, and the Government suddenly abandoned Mr. Chamberlain's policy, and reverted to Mr. Forster's. Since then the determination to administer the Crimes Act—passed in a hurry—was the reason why agrarian crime had been diminished, and his object in moving the amendment was to confirm the Government in the course which had so far proved successful.

Although there was no evidence or reason to suppose that Mr. Gorst's charges were endorsed by the leaders of the Opposition, Sir William Harcourt at once rose to repel them, and at the same

time to deny with much warmth that there had ever been any such change in the ministerial policy as the amendment suggested. It was true that at Easter the Government found that they could not go on as they were, and that Mr. Forster's Protection Bill had failed to produce the effects expected from it. The shutting up of the suspects did not sensibly diminish crime. "On the contrary," continued the Home Secretary, "the more people were shut up, the more crime increased. But from what quarter did the first proposal to release the suspects come? If I am not mistaken, from the Conservative benches (Sir John Hay's). Was Mr. Forster of a different opinion? Not at all. He thought that a different method must be adopted. It was one of his own conditions. We all thought so. . . . The (new) Bill was all prepared . . . the Bill was substantially the one I had the duty of conducting (subsequently) through the House, though it was different in some material particulars . . . I think the alien and search clauses were increased in severity, but generally speaking it would be an accurate statement to say that before the resignation of Mr. Forster, and before the murders in the Phoenix Park, the Government had resolved that they must try a different method of procedure." Up to Easter, 1882, the Cabinet was following the advice of Mr. Forster in its policy towards Ireland. This assertion provoked loud cries of "No" from the Fourth Party. The Home Secretary, however, replied that those hon. members knew better. There had been no more strenuous opponent of bills for the preservation of peace in Ireland than Lord Randolph Churchill himself. The causes of Irish crime were, first of all, the imperfect organisation of the Irish police, and the present and late Government alike ought to accept their share of the responsibility for this. The improved condition was due to Lord Spencer, and especially to Mr. Jenkinson. The second cause was the inappropriate nature of the legislation proposed by means of one aimless Coercion Act after the other. Men were shut up as suspects, but crime did not diminish. Sheridan had been in prison, and Mr. Forster had let him out. The suspects were released because the Government had reason to believe that they would not disturb the peace, and the only difference between Mr. Forster and his colleagues was as to the sufficiency of the assurances they gave. Since then, the organisation of the police had been improved, and the new system which had been substituted had worked vigorously and successfully. Addressing himself to the leaders of the Opposition, the Home Secretary asked whether the tactics of last week in regard to the Egyptian policy were to be repeated, and appealed to them either to move a direct vote of censure, or to refrain from a course of action which could have no effect but to weaken and embarrass the Executive.

In answer to this direct appeal to the front Opposition bench, Mr. Gibson at once rose and expressed his inability to understand the wishes of the Ministry as interpreted by Sir W. Harcourt.

The Home Secretary had first rebuked the Opposition for not having proposed a vote of want of confidence, and then accused them of endeavouring to snatch a miserable party advantage by paralysing the Executive Government. He denied that there was anything in the nature of censure in the amendment, and maintained that it was impossible for Parliament to refrain from referring to disclosures about which everybody else was talking. They cast a lurid light on the Kilmainham transactions, and, in touching on this topic, he reproached the Government with not having at once repudiated the co-operation of an outrage-monger, and declared that, but for the rapidity with which they changed their front after the Phoenix Park murders, and passed the Crimes Bill, their fall would have been inevitable. Incidentally, he protested against the imputation on the police involved in the Home Secretary's reference to them, and asserted (apparently with Mr. Forster's acquiescence) that there had been no such reorganisation as the Home Secretary had described. Turning to Mr. Parnell's followers, he challenged them, in powerful language, to explain at once the suspicions cast on the Land League by the recent revelations, and especially he insisted that an account should be given of what had been the uses of the secret service funds placed at their disposal. As to Mr. Parnell personally, the debate, he said, amid loud cheers, could not close without some explanation from him. Next he addressed Mr. H. Gladstone, and told him that, but for the protection of his name, he never would have dared to make his gratuitously mischievous speech at Leeds, and that any other subordinate Minister would have been severely reprimanded. As to the future, if agitation and experimental legislation were suspended for a time, and if justice were fairly and firmly administered, he confidently hoped that Ireland would become peaceful and even loyal.

In spite of this appeal to Mr. Parnell, the only Irishmen who took part in the night's debate were Mr. T. D. Sullivan and Mr. O'Connor Power. The latter, whilst admitting that Mr. Gorst's amendment could lead to no practical results, saw in it not a direct censure of the Ministry, but a bar to future remedial legislation. The discussion, moreover, which it provoked would embitter party warfare and complicate the difficulties of the Irish question. Mr. O'Connor Power sketched out the line of policy he should like to see the Government adopt—the organisation of an efficient police force, the establishment of local control in the creation of local responsibility, the reform of "the Castle" administration, and "the speedy exorcism of the demon of political assassination by the vigorous assertion of the majesty of the law." He declared that the true Irish people were "not the miserable gang of miscreants who, acting upon foreign example, and instigated by foreign gold, had cast a stain upon the country; that it was not from teachings of modern Socialism, but from the memories of a powerful, law-abiding nationalism, that Ireland drew her inspiration." After an appeal from Lord Lympington to both parties not to listen to the



language of panic, but to persevere in the task of governing Ireland according to the Constitution, Lord Randolph Churchill speedily and clearly defined the party lines which the debate seemed in danger of losing. He reviewed Sir William Harcourt's method of dealing with the police and the "suspects" of Ireland, and with questions arising thereon in the House. He went through the various episodes of the Kilmainham compact, pointing out the contradictions of the various Ministerial explanations. He insisted on the vacillation of the Government in dealing with men whom they knew, or ought to have known, to be conspirators. At the same time, Lord R. Churchill denied that the intention of the amendment was to censure the Government for the past, but rather to obtain some guarantee that in the future the Liberal party would profit by the terrible lesson they had learned. It was not "ancient history" to which they were calling attention, but the affairs of yesterday, and the Opposition had a right to insist on an assurance that the change in their policy brought about by the Phoenix Park tragedy would be maintained. After dwelling at length on the condition of Ireland and the mismanagement of the present Government, he called on Lord Hartington to say whether he agreed in the spirit of Mr. H. Gladstone's Home Rule speech and in his criticisms of the Irish Government. If he refused to do so, he (Lord Randolph Churchill) had no hesitation in prophesying a renewal of agitation in Ireland, and that disorder without slight hope of cessation for many years would reign throughout the country. The evening's debate was closed by Mr. Goschen, who showed that whatever might have been Mr. Gorst's intention in moving the amendment, Lord R. Churchill's "explanation" must fail to commend it to the Government. He maintained that the question raised by the Kilmainham disclosures was not yet ripe for discussion, and the amendment, therefore, could have no effect but to throw odium on the Government and increase its difficulties. The moment was not ripe for forming a judgment on the transactions referred to in Mr. Gorst's speech; and in the meanwhile the Government was fighting with its hands tied, for if it affirmed or criticised the evidence given in Dublin it would draw upon itself the disapprobation of the whole country.

Mr. Goschen's speech was so warmly received by all sections of the Liberal party, that Lord Hartington naturally showed a desire to take a division in the course of the sitting. Sir Stafford Northcote, however, insisted upon an adjournment, to which, after a protest from Sir William Harcourt at the delay, the Government consented. The principal feature of the following day's debate was the maiden speech of Mr. William O'Brien, the newly elected member for Mallow. The discussion of Mr. Gorst's amendment had been resumed by Sir H. Maxwell, who challenged Mr. Parnell to explain his relations with Sheridan; and asked Mr. O'Brien whether he had no regret to express for having nominated James Carey as member of the town council of Dublin. Mr. O'Brien

replied he knew nothing of James Carey beyond what he had been told, when he supported his candidature for the council, and it was not till three weeks after his election that he met him. Looking back over the circumstances he would do the same again to-morrow if asked under the same state of things. While men's lives were trembling in the balance in Dublin, the House, he contended, should not attempt to condemn and sentence men before they had been tried, and he would not be any party to it. Discussing the administration of the Crimes Act, he said freedom of speech was destroyed in Ireland, and a ghastly mockery of justice had been set up. The jury panels prescribed by the Crimes Act were select and exclusive enough, but they had been ransacked for men of one creed and one class, whose prejudices and whose interests were worked upon to take vengeance for the privileges and powers and money they had lost. The trials at two of the Commissions were conducted by judges whose ferocious partisanship disgusted and revolted public feeling. These proceedings ended on gallows after gallows with dying cries of innocence, and the only answer the Government had attempted to give to these charges was the answer of silence and suppression, of evasion and prosecution. If they had the result of this policy in the evidence of James Carey, if wrongs of that kind produced deplorable and awful crimes at the hands of desperate men, then let the Irish people lay at the doors of the administrators of the Crimes Act, not the credit of having detected these crimes, but the folly, the wickedness, and the guilt of having caused them. Sir John Hay disputed that he had ever at any time desired that the Irish suspects should be released purely and simply. Mr. George Russell, on behalf of the Whigs, deprecated any extension of local self-government to Ireland, at all events for a considerable time to come—whilst on the other hand, Mr. Jesse Collings, speaking for a knot of extreme Radicals, was in favour of an immediate concession of Home Rule. Mr. Plunket, referring to the recent vague and oracular utterances of various members of the Government on this subject, entreated responsible ministers to pause before talking even of granting Home Rule to such men as the members for Dungarvan and Mallow. While giving full credit to those who were now entrusted with the government of Ireland, he protested against a policy which during two years and a half he verily believed had done more harm than had been done during any other period of twenty or thirty years. The Attorney-General for Ireland contended that there had been no such change of policy as the amendment contemplated, and showed that the Crimes Act had actually been drawn up in all its essential points before Mr. Forster left office. As to Mr. O'Brien's contention that crimes were produced by the Crimes Act, it was absurd as well as contrary to the fact, for the crimes occurred before the Act was passed. As a matter of fact, the Act had almost put a stop to crime, and, in reply to Mr. O'Donnell, he pointed out to him that the Land

League was put down by the ordinary law as an illegal association working by terrorism and leaving crime and outrage in its track.

At this point the debate, in which the interest of members barely sufficed to keep a House, was again adjourned; but, as the event proved, beneath these barely smouldering embers there was a dangerous fire still burning, which at any moment might be kindled into flame. It was, however, still under somewhat depressing conditions on the third day of the debate on Mr. Gorst's amendment, that Mr. T. Lowther, who had himself once been Chief Secretary for Ireland, resumed the discussion. He deprecated the idea that the amendment was designed as a censure on the Government, and declared that although the Opposition might not approve of all Lord Spencer's acts, they were anxious to strengthen his hands. It was in the matter of the Kilmainham negotiations that the separation of the Opposition from the Ministerial Liberals was made complete. Mr. Lowther had, during the recess, expressed his opinion that "the arrangement" then made with the Parnellites "came within measurable distance of infamy, and was scarcely distinguishable from an act of the grossest political corruption." So far from withdrawing or modifying those words, he was still of opinion after all the conversations, explanations, and references of which it had been the subject, that the Government had persistently evaded every opportunity of instituting a full and impartial inquiry into the whole of the circumstances connected with the incident. He held to the opinion, which he believed was shared by the great mass of people, that "the proceedings which culminated in the withdrawal of Mr. Forster from office, were set in motion by a state of things that had its ramifications within the circle of the Cabinet," and that Sir W. Harcourt's ignorance of this was not feigned, but real, inasmuch as in Mr. Lowther's opinion the Home Secretary himself was marked out as the next victim of ostracism by the Caucus. His estimate of the condition of Ireland, which he maintained was justified by numerous passages in speeches made by members of the Government and their supporters, was altogether at variance with the optimistic tone of the Queen's Speech. He expressed, on the other hand, his firm conviction that a large proportion of the Irish people were opposed to English rule, and asserted that no man deserving the name of statesman would refuse to face that fact. The vague language of the Government had done immense mischief in Ireland, and, as was shown on Mr. Healy's trial, where it had furnished arguments in defence of crime. The Government had deprived themselves of the assistance of the gentry and loyal middle classes, and now stood face to face with the people, and though he hoped that a better feeling would be restored by firm administration of the law, he believed the legislation of the present Government was the greatest evil ever inflicted on the country.

It was obviously impossible that Mr. Forster, in face of these repetead challenges, should remain silent; but though some sort of

defence was anticipated, and possibly some statements which might be seized on by the Opposition as the means of discrediting the Ministry, yet no one on either side or of any party of the House was prepared for the line which the ex-Secretary for Ireland adopted. Mr. Forster commenced by remarking that though the amendment might be a convenient mode of raising a discussion, it could have no other effect but to weaken the Irish Government—to destroy it if carried—and he hoped, therefore, that in the end it would be withdrawn. He then proceeded to give a further account of the circumstances of his resignation, ridiculing the idea that he had been driven from office by the newspapers, as somebody had said—and correcting various misrepresentations in the Home Secretary's speech of Tuesday. In the first place, he said, he did not promote the negotiations neither did he resign solely because the assurances given by the "suspects" were insufficient, but because he did not get the additional powers which he thought necessary. The assurances the suspects gave were unsatisfactory to him, he said, because they were conditional on the Arrears Bill and because he did not want assistance from Mr. Sheridan or any other Land League organiser. Indeed, the name of Sheridan shocked him, but the main reason of his resignation was that he did not get fresh powers. After defending the Protection Act, which, however, he admitted would have been more useful if passed two months earlier and if accompanied by some of the powers of the Crimes Act, "It is not quite correct to say," remarked Mr. Forster, in allusion to Sir Wm. Harcourt's statement, "that the provisions of the Crimes Act had been accepted by the Cabinet before my resignation. I had let my colleagues know what I thought should be the main provisions of that Bill, the introduction of which I regarded as necessary and urgent; and I had had a draft prepared, but in point of fact the Cabinet had come to no actual decision with regard to those provisions, although it was admitted by all that some kind of Bill was absolutely necessary." He was in favour, he said, of giving it precedence over the Procedure Rules; and, alluding to Sir Wm. Harcourt's reference to the police, he said he knew of no such changes in the police organisation as had been described. Passing then to the recent disclosures, he said they increased the suspicion formerly existing against the Land League, and made it incumbent on Mr. Parnell to give some explanation of his knowledge of these transactions. No mere disclaimer of connection with outrage would be sufficient. "We have had disclaimers before," continued Mr. Forster. "Do not let the hon. member suppose that I charge him with complicity with murder; but this I do charge against the hon. member and his friends—that he has allowed himself to continue the leader and avowed chief of an organisation which not merely advocated, and ostensibly and openly urged the ruin of those who opposed it by 'boycotting' them, and making life almost more miserable than death; but

which prompted or organised outrage and incited to murder. The outcome of the agitation was murder, and the hon. member ought to have known that this would be the natural result; and it is hard to understand how he did not know it, and why he did not separate himself from it altogether and disavow and denounce it. Let me illustrate my meaning. Cases have occurred in which gentlemen have got into this House, and have been removed from it by reason of bribery. Many are not found guilty of bribery themselves, because they took good care not to know what were the acts of bribery. But suppose bribery became rampant, it was very hard to believe, in some cases, that the candidate did not know where the money went. The hon. member for Cork was not merely in the position of a candidate; he was also in the position of the chairman of a committee. He was the man who, more than any other, derived advantage and power by the help of this terrorism, and he is bound to show how it was that he did not find out that this terrorism was used, and he ought to tell us the steps he took to find it out. We know that he took none, and we know that he has been content to reap the advantages." Mr. Forster then proceeded to put a number of direct questions to Mr. Parnell, which the latter was bound to answer; for whether he inquired into the actions of those with whom he was associated, "he was and is responsible for them; and the only ground on which he can escape responsibility is utter ignorance of their conduct; and if there was utter ignorance, it was a careless and I may say a reckless ignorance. I cannot believe in his absolute ignorance." Mr. Forster went on to quote from the various Nationalist newspapers violent speeches by Mr. Brennan, Mr. Boyton, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Redpath, all organisers or officials of the League, which, he said, were nothing less than incitements to murder. In like manner he read passages of a similar tendency from the *Irish World*, whose subscriptions were the backbone of the League, and extracts from the *United Ireland*, of which Mr. Parnell and Mr. M'Carthy were proprietors, in which murder, arson, attacks on women, &c., were described as "incidents of the campaign," and "indications of the spirit of the country."

In the midst of an increasing uproar, raised by the Irish members, to which cheers from all other parts of the House, except from the Treasury Benches, replied, Mr. Forster went on to say, "My charge is not against the member for Mallow but against the member for the city of Cork. It is true that he remains part proprietor of this paper; I charge it against the hon. member for Cork, and I have never heard of his attempting to disavow any connection with articles of this kind. It has been often enough stated and shown by statistics that murders followed the meetings and the action of the Land League. Will the hon. member deny and disprove that statement? I will repeat again what the charge is which I make against him. Probably a more serious charge was never made by any member of this House against

another member. It is not that he himself directly planned or perpetrated outrages or murders, but that he either connived at them, or when warned"— Here the right hon. gentleman was interrupted by Mr. Parnell, who exclaimed "It is a lie." This was followed by, and almost simultaneously, Mr. O'Kelly repeating three times, "It is a lie." "It is, I say, a lie." Loud cries of "name him" followed—and the Speaker—who had on more than one occasion warned Mr. O'Kelly, named him as disregarding the authority of the Chair. Lord Hartington at once moved the suspension of the member for Roscommon, which, in spite of a suggestion from Mr. Monk that the hon. member should be allowed to withdraw the offensive expression, his suspension from the sitting was carried by 305 to 20. When order was re-established, and Mr. Forster able to resume his speech, he went on to develop his charges against Mr. Parnell, whom he accused of never using his influence to prevent murders when the opportunity offered, that he alluded to them without horror or reprobation, but merely as "prejudicial when a suitable organisation exists among the tenants themselves." In conclusion, Mr. Forster protested against the then motion of Mr. Jesse Collings to the effect that the Land League was a constitutional agitation. "This is," said Mr. Forster, "the first time in the history of either England or Ireland in which an agitation has been conducted by appeals to personal injury to individuals and not by appeals to the voter or to public opinion. But these are doubtful experiments in agitation, of which the hon. member may claim the great credit—that he will endeavour to succeed, not by appeals to constituencies, but by a terrorism and injury to individuals. And no wonder that from such an agitation as this has followed the first political assassination that has disgraced our annals for hundreds of years. There is abhorrence of it in England and Scotland. Until the hon. member expresses regret and repentance for having set on foot such an agitation as this, I can have no communication with him. Still, the abhorrence in Ireland is not so great as it ought to be, because of the efforts of the hon. member and his friends to demoralise the Irish people by intimidation and terror. The constituency in Mallow was threatened; and it is being found out that the shopkeepers of Mallow did not dare to vote against the hon. member because of the threats that were brought to bear upon them. But there is one ground for hope—nay, there are two grounds for hope and encouragement in the state of Ireland—one is, that the Irish Government has now the power to uphold the law, and will use it; and the other is that the member for Cork and his fellow chiefs in this so-called agitation have been found out. The cruelty and the wickedness of this agitation have been unveiled, unmasked, and exposed."

After an attack so direct, and charges so scathing, it was anticipated that Mr. Parnell would at once rise to reply; but in spite of the calls for the Home Rule leader from all parts of the

House he remained seated, and the debate was on the point of collapsing, when Mr. R. Yorke rose to postpone the imminent division. All interest in the discussion seemed to wane as suddenly as it had blazed out; but the speaking was wearily protracted for some hours, the House on one occasion narrowly escaping a count-out. The only approach to a defence of the Land League was made by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who held that there never had been an administration of Ireland "so disastrous, so mischievous, and so futile" as that of Mr. Forster, whom he looked upon as chiefly responsible for the large and disastrous increase of agrarian outrages. Mr. O'Connor ridiculed the charges brought against Mr. Parnell by the ex-Chief Secretary, who, he averred, "had laid before the House every sentence he could find in the lunatic correspondence of any newspaper, home, continental, and antipodean, and had pressed it against the members of the Land League." When Mr. O'Connor sat down, no member presenting himself to continue the debate, in spite of the renewed calls for Mr. Parnell, the Speaker put the question, and the division was about to be taken, when Lord Hartington rose and said that information having been received from what was supposed to be an accurate source that Mr. Parnell would move the adjournment of the debate, neither he nor Sir Stafford had risen to speak. Mr. Parnell then intimated that it was his intention to move the adjournment at the proper time, to which Lord Hartington rejoined that but for his interposition at the last moment the division would have been concluded, and he could not have moved the adjournment. But, though Mr. Parnell was at liberty to choose his own opportunity, public indignation was aroused by the imputations cast on the League, and he could not shake off the responsibility of giving an explanation. The silence of the leaders of the League raised a *primâ facie* case against it, and they were bound to place at the disposal of the House and the country all materials for coming to a judgment. On the general question, he said he adhered to his Lancashire speech that the state of feeling in Ireland was not such as to make it desirable to deprive the Executive Government of any of its functions; and with regard to Mr. H. Gladstone's speech, so frequently criticised, he remarked that, though he had only read an imperfect summary of it, he was ready to say that if that was a fair representation of the speech as a whole, there was much in it with which he could not agree. After a general defence of the Irish policy of the Government, and a criticism on the attitude of the Opposition, he touched on the Kilmainham transactions, and expressed his regret that the course adopted by the Opposition had only increased the original misunderstanding with regard to this matter, and he challenged the Opposition to raise a direct issue before the House; going at considerable length into the circumstances of the negotiations, and of the release of the suspects.

With reference to the authorship of the Crimes Bill—concern-

ing which Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Forster had given wholly contradictory versions—Lord Hartington weighed rather to the Home Secretary's view than to that put forward by Mr. Forster. "This particular matter," said Lord Hartington, "had been submitted by Mr. Forster to the Cabinet. The usual course is, that when the general principles of a measure are accepted the draft is prepared by the responsible Minister and submitted to the Cabinet for the consideration of the details, and that was the course adopted in the present instance. The measure was considered both before the resignation and since the resignation of my right hon. friend." In this remark Mr. Forster interfered with a distinct negative, but Lord Hartington went on to add that Mr. Forster was at that time frequently absent from the Cabinet Council, detained by his duties in Dublin; and, he added, "A Committee of the Cabinet was, I am perfectly convinced, appointed before the resignation of my right hon. friend, and it proceeded with the elaboration of that measure in a form very much resembling the form in which it was ultimately introduced in this House. I am satisfied myself from inquiries I have made this evening that the Committee was appointed, and the details of that Bill were read before the Committee, before the resignation of my right hon. friend." Mr. Parnell then formally moved the adjournment of the debate; and Sir Stafford Northcote, in answer to Lord Hartington's challenge, declared his intention of bringing forward a formal motion with regard to the Kilmainham transactions.

The opinions of the English, and especially of the London press on Mr. Forster's speech were singularly unanimous. Without regard to party, and by all shades of opinion, the challenge thrown down to the head of the Land League was pronounced to be straightforward, and demanded an equally frank reply. Mr. Parnell was distinctly arraigned as having either connived at outrages, and at incitements thereto, or else, that deliberately closing his eyes and ears to what was passing around, he was content to profit by the terrorism exercised in his name. The Conservative papers affected to see in Mr. Forster's charges an indirect censure of the Cabinet he had himself quitted, and condoled with Lord Hartington on the part which he had been forced to display as moderator between the bulk of his party on the one side, and the Home Rulers, the extreme Radicals, and the small following which had grouped itself round the ex-Minister on the other. The Irish journals regarded Mr. Forster's diatribe as rather the desperate effort of a discredited politician, who was anxious, by any means, to recover his influence among his party, and to find a way back to office, if necessary, at the expense of his former colleagues. That Mr. Parnell should have hesitated to have replied at once to the bitter taunts and thinly-veiled charges levelled at him was the cause of general surprise. The basis of Mr. Forster's attack was to be found in a pamphlet, nearly twelve months old, 'The Truth



about the Land League,' to the production of which the ex-Chief Secretary was not altogether a stranger. The pamphlet had been scattered far and wide, and its contents could scarcely have been unknown to Mr. Parnell, although personally he had hitherto failed to reply to the charges it contained. The reproduction in the House of Commons of these charges at a moment when public attention was riveted on the proceedings at Dublin, and on the revelations connected with the Phoenix Park murders, was from a hostile point of view a fair tactical move; but Mr. Forster had never assumed such an attitude, and openly announced his intention of remaining true to the traditions of party allegiance. His speech, therefore, although levelled against Mr. Parnell, and the fruits of his baneful activity, was at the same time capable of being taken as a censure upon those who let him loose again upon the world. The experiment which the Government had decided to attempt against the advice of Mr. Forster had been obviously successful. With the exception of the Phoenix Park murders, which might fairly have been regarded as planned as much to discredit Mr. Parnell as to terrorise the English Government, offences against person and property had sensibly diminished since the Kilmainham arrangement; whilst a very evident coolness had sprung up between the Nationalists at home and those in America, whence the funds to prolong the struggle had been mainly drawn.

Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the opening of the seventh night of the debate on the address was looked forward to with keen interest. Previous, however, to Mr. Parnell's rising, Sir Stafford Northcote gave formal notice of his intention to move for a Select Committee to inquire into all the circumstances connected with the Kilmainham arrangement; and stated his intention of asking Lord Hartington to reply to the latter's somewhat vague and indiscreet challenge, to give a day for the discussion of the motion. Whilst the usual string of questions was being gone through the House and its galleries were rapidly filling, so that when Mr. Parnell rose he found an audience greater perhaps than had been assembled within the precincts of the House since it had began its sittings in the present building. The Prince of Wales, Cardinal Manning, the leading Peers, many of the judges, and former members of the House of Commons, occupied the parts of the House allotted to strangers; whilst in the House itself there was barely standing room for the members themselves. Mr. Parnell began in a cold, unsympathetic tone, which he maintained throughout, by saying that he did not expect to produce the slightest effect upon the House, or upon the people of this country. He merely desired to explain his position to the Irish people, upon whose support he alone relied. He looked upon Mr. Forster as little better than an informer without the informer's excuse that he wished to save his life. Out of many hundreds and thousands of speeches, the right hon. gentleman had selected nine or ten extracts framed and uttered by others than himself (Mr.

Parnell), and upon these he accused him. In this he displayed the ignorance which had characterised his tenure of office as Chief Secretary. If Mr. Forster, he asked, objected to the *Irish World*—and he (Mr. Parnell) never read the paper, for its ideas and aims were not his—why did he not exercise his common law power of suppressing it? When he (Mr. Parnell) was asked whether he approved of the articles in *United Ireland* he had nodded assent, but he was surprised to find immediately afterwards that Mr. Forster was dealing with paragraphs which appeared when he was in prison. The moment Mr. O'Brien was released he suppressed the head-line, "Incidents of the Campaign." The evidence given by Carey in Dublin had been greatly garbled by correspondents of the London newspapers, and in any other case than that one of conspiracy much of Carey's evidence would never have been received. So far as it went, he alleged that he believed the money supplied to them came from the Land League. This was mere conjecture, but so far as it referred to the relief given to the families of prisoners it was true enough, for it was the custom of the League to assist all such persons indiscriminately. With regard to the man Sheridan, whose services he had offered to Mr. Forster, why did not the right hon. gentleman also mention Davitt and Boyton who were named to him at the same time for a similar purpose? Mr. Parnell next went on to accuse Mr. Forster of having attempted, but without success, to injure his (Mr. Parnell's) position with the Irish people, and reverting to the sarcastic title of 'Uncrowned King of Ireland,' applied to himself, he concluded with a bitter onslaught on the late Chief Secretary, which was received with loud expressions of approval from the small knot of Home Rulers; but which awoke no response in other parts of the House.

"I say it is impossible to stem the torrent of prejudice that has arisen out of the events of the past few days. I regret that the officials charged with the administration of this Act are unfit for their post. I am sure the right hon. gentleman the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant must admit that to the fullest extent, and when he looks round upon the right hon. member for Bradford he must say, 'Why am I here while he is there?' Why was he (Mr. Forster) deposed—he, the right hon. gentleman who had acquired experience in the administration of Ireland—who, according to his own account, knew everything, although he was almost invariably wrong? Why was he deposed, and the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan)—a 'prentice, although a very willing hand—put in his position? I feel that the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant must say with the Scriptures, 'I am not worthy to unloose his shoe-latchet.' It would be far better, if you are going to pass an Act of this kind and to administer it as you will be obliged to administer it—up to the hilt—it would be better, far better, to have it administered by the seasoned politician now in disgrace and retirement. Call him back to his post—send him to help Lord Spencer in the congenial work of the

gallows in Ireland. Send him to look after the secret inquisitions of Dublin Castle. Send him to distribute the taxes which an unfortunate and starving peasantry have to pay for crimes not committed by themselves. All this would be congenial work for the right hon. gentleman. We invite you to man your ranks and to send your ablest and best men to push forward the task of misgoverning and oppressing Ireland. For my part, I am confident as to the future of Ireland. Although the horizon may be clouded, I believe our people will survive the present oppression as they have survived many and worse ones—and although our progress may be slow, it will be sure. The time will come when this House and the people of this country will admit, once again, that they have been mistaken, and that they have been deceived by those who ought to be ashamed of themselves—that they have been led astray as to the right mode of governing a noble, a brave, a generous, and an impulsive people; and when they will reject their present leaders who have brought them into the terrible courses into which the Government appear determined to lead Ireland. Sir, I believe that they will reject these guides and leaders with as much determination, and just as much relief, as they rejected the services of the right hon. gentleman the member for Bradford.”

Mr. Parnell having thus chosen to make a personal onslaught on Mr. Forster rather than to give a categorical reply to the charges made by the latter, produced a feeling of disappointment throughout the House, but it rendered it less difficult for Mr. G. Trevelyan, to defend the Irish policy of the Government since Mr. Forster's retirement from office. The Chief Secretary, while regretting that Mr. Forster had made this an opportunity for directing so powerful an attack on the connection between agrarian crime and the Land League, thought Mr. Parnell would have done better to make his position clearer than he had done. His connection with those who had undoubtedly recommended violence and outrage was a condition ever present to the rulers of Ireland, and they would have given much had his explanation been satisfactory, and if he had not taken a course which dried up the hopes of conciliation. With regard to the debate, while expressing gratitude for the tone in which Lord Spencer and he himself had been spoken of, he deeply regretted that the amendment had been proposed, because its adoption must be fatal to the Irish Executive. Vindicating the administration of the Crimes Act, he showed by statistics how successful it had been in putting down crime; and maintained that it was only by educating the Irish people into the conviction that crime was criminal that a perfect cure could be effected. The policy recommended by Mr. Collings would be fatal, and what was required was patience in repressing crime and in redressing grievance. Replying to Mr. O'Brien's charges, he read extracts from *United Ireland* to illustrate the sort of writing which had been put forth, and, tracing its connection with the attacks on Mr. Field and Judge Lawson, he declared, amid loud cheering, that the Govern-

ment was determined to take notice of any writing which seemed to them to endanger the life of any public officer.

The rest of the evening was spent in mutual recriminations, each party in turn repudiating responsibility for Irish anarchy, and discussing whether or not the amendment was intended as a censure of the Ministerial policy. At length, the House began to give unmistakable signs of weariness, of which Sir Stafford Northcote at once took advantage to sum up the case against the Government. He thought that the debate, though discursive, had been very instructive, and as to the argument that it would weaken the Executive, he replied that nobody had ever proved it, and that it was more important that the country should thoroughly understand what was going on. There had been expressions used by Ministers in the course of the debate, and revelations had been made by Mr. Forster as to the past which proved that some assurance was needed that the new policy would not be countermined as Mr. Forster had been. Of course, the debate was being conducted at a great disadvantage in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, with whom the decision must rest, and from whom on a former occasion significant words had dropped which had changed the face of the situation. The Opposition did not find fault with the present action of the Irish Executive, but they asked for a security that the spirit manifested in the speech of Mr. Collings would not find representatives in the Cabinet.

Sir Stafford Northcote, like many of the previous speakers, had insisted with more or less conviction on the rumour which had found such general credence that the change in the Irish policy, of which Mr. Forster's retirement and the Kilmainham "compact" were the most palpable results, had been due to the remonstrances of the Radical section, of which Mr. Chamberlain was the mouthpiece in the Cabinet. To him, therefore, was left the task of closing the debate on behalf of the Government. Replying to the personal attacks on himself, Mr. Chamberlain admitted that there had been a change in the policy of the Government at the beginning of April, 1882. It was discovered then that the first Coercion Act had not been as successful as was expected, and it was then determined that the question of arrears should be dealt with; but, at the same time, every member of the Cabinet was agreed that some such measure as the Crimes Bill should be passed. The only difference was as to the time when this Bill should be introduced. Touching on the Kilmainham negotiations, he pointed out, among other things, that Sheridan's services never had been employed, and that the only question which weighed with the Government was Mr. Parnell's frame of mind. He denied that there had been any turning over a new leaf at all, and, replying to the personal charges against himself, he refused to be made responsible for the opinions of Mr. Collings or the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and treated with contempt the charges of favouring outrages and intriguing against Mr. Forster. The object of the amendment was to dis-

credit the policy of conciliation and to rely solely on the policy of repression. The debate then closed, and the Parnellites having withdrawn in a body, Mr. Gorst's amendment, accepted (very reluctantly, as was averred) by Sir Stafford Northcote and the leaders of the Opposition, was negatived by 259 to 176; neither party receiving support from seceders from the opposite side.

Before the division was taken, however, Lord Hartington, referring to a passage of arms between himself and Mr. Forster, explained, as the result of inquiries he had made, that the Committee of the Cabinet on the Crimes Bill had not been appointed when Mr. Forster resigned, but Lord Spencer had received assurances that it would be passed, and it was announced by Mr. Gladstone in the House on the day of Mr. Forster's resignation.

Mr. Parnell's declaration of independence of English opinion was scarcely likely to enlist the English press in his favour. With scarcely a single exception his speech was disapproved, and his silence in the presence of Mr. Forster's gravest accusations was accepted by some as guilty acquiescence, and by others as an affected indifference which failed to convey the idea of innocence. With the more direct charges brought against him by the ex-Secretary he had not attempted to deal, whilst it was obvious that he had devoted considerable time and trouble to find materials for refuting Mr. Forster on minor points. The attitude of the Liberal party towards the latter was such that any straightforward grappling with the charges would have secured for Mr. Parnell sympathies on both sides of the House; but his laboured treatment of trifles and his ill-timed recrimination marred the effect of a speech which had been looked forward to with unparalleled interest.

At a further distance from the scene of his Parliamentary *fiasco*, Mr. Parnell may be said to have found compensation. In Westmeath the Secretary of the Land League, Mr. Harrington, was returned unopposed, although at the time undergoing a sentence of imprisonment for a speech delivered at Mullingar; whilst at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Mr. John Morley, the eminent publicist, and an extreme Radical, was placed at the head of the poll with 9,443 votes, while but 7,187 had been given to Mr. Gainsford Bruce, the Conservative candidate. The success of the candidate, who in the main supported the Irish and foreign policy of the Government, was the more significant, inasmuch as it was gained in spite of the attitude assumed by the principal local organ. Mr. Cowen had long separated himself from his party on both questions; and though, perhaps, not overtly hostile to Mr. Morley's fitness, his newspaper, the *Newcastle Chronicle*, had abstained from all advocacy of the Liberal candidate. Mr. Morley's open avowal of his opinion on the Bradlaugh incident had estranged the Catholics and many of the Anglican Liberals, whilst the desire to level a blow at the Gladstone Cabinet determined the Home Rulers to vote for a candidate whose efforts would be chiefly directed to dislodging Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. The result of the voting singularly belied the expectations which had been formed. Mr.

Gainsford Bruce had, it is true, polled nearly two thousand more votes than had been given to the Conservative candidate at the General Election, and Mr. Morley had lost at least one thousand votes, which had been then thrown for Mr. Ashton Dilke; still the local Liberals, who declined Mr. Cowen's lead, found themselves strong enough to place their candidate at the head of the poll, and to free themselves from the charge of being wanting in independence and self-reliance. Even the Irish Liberal organs, which felt no sympathy with Mr. Morley's adhesion to Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan, admitted that the honour conferred upon him was reflected upon the constituency which had recognised his talents as a political thinker and writer.

When the House of Commons met the next day (26) Sir S. Northcote at once claimed a day for the discussion of his demand for an inquiry into the now threadbare Kilmainham "compact." To this Lord Hartington demurred, declaring that the previous week's debating had mainly turned upon the policy of the Government at that juncture; and insisted that by its vote on Mr. Gorst's amendment, the House had virtually decided the question and endorsed the action of the Government. After a protest against Lord Hartington's sudden change of front, Sir S. Northcote decided to wait and consider what his next step in the matter might be, and the rest of the sitting was devoted to a discussion on the administration of the Crimes Act. For the first time, probably, Mr. Parnell spoke to empty benches or to stopped ears. Yet his attack upon the Irish Executive was biting and occasionally overstepping those bounds of restrained invective he usually observes; as, for instance, when he declared that the Irish judges should not be allowed to try political cases because they owed their places on the Bench to political reasons. After a prolonged debate, in which no new element of attack or defence was introduced, Mr. Parnell's amendment was defeated by 133 against 15, and an attempt, though it proved fruitless, was made by Lord Hartington to bring the debate on the Address to a close. Nor were his efforts in the same direction, and in spite of the urgent state of public business, more successful on the following day (Feb. 27), for when the long preliminary business had been disposed of, and Sir Stafford Northcote had given notice of his intention to renew his request for a day to discuss the Kilmainham transaction after Mr. Gladstone's return, this matter was once more reopened by Mr. Reginald Yorke. He recounted the steps which he and Sir Stafford Northcote had taken to secure an inquiry, and he made an appeal to Lord Hartington which he probably knew would be entirely thrown away. The Secretary for War denied that he had renewed the challenge to the Opposition made originally by Mr. Gladstone, and he expressed the opinion that to waste further time on this subject would be highly detrimental to the public interests. Mr. Lowther and Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett tried to carry the discussion a little further. The only point, however, which

the Opposition had to go upon as to the "treaty" was that when Mr. Chamberlain asserted in the House of Commons that all the communications which were made to him by Captain O'Shea were placed before Mr. Forster, the latter did not make the customary sign of assent. At length the subject was allowed to drop; and Mr. Justin M'Carthy moved an amendment to the effect that the distress in Ireland, and the unsatisfactory condition of the country generally, deserved the serious attention of Parliament. It having been found, however, that he had incapacitated himself by moving the adjournment of the House on the previous night, Mr. A. O'Connor thereupon took up the question. Colonel Colthurst seconded the amendment, pleading for an extension of the system of outdoor relief; Mr. M'Carthy also urging the Government strongly to take steps for the relief of the distress prevailing in the West.

Mr. C. Russell protested against the doctrine, which he attributed to the Opposition, that the disorders of Ireland were due to the remedial measures of the Government, and while approving a firm administration of the law, warned the Chief Secretary that he could never succeed in his work of pacifying Ireland unless he at the same time pursued the policy of redressing grievances. He protested, also, against the doctrine that Ireland was not to be legislated for until she was quiet, or until England and Scotland had had a turn; and among the questions to be dealt with he indicated the reform of the Land Act, county government reform, and a reorganisation of the magistracy. Mr. Trevelyan, replying on behalf of the Government, delivered an important speech to an empty House. In answer to Mr. Russell's appeal he declined altogether to mix up repression of crime and redress of grievances, stating that the Government had ready several Bills for Ireland—a Union Rating Bill, for instance, a Lunatic Bill, a Registration Bill, a Sunday Closing Bill, and Sea Coast Fisheries Bill. Dealing with the representations as to the distress, he said this was a subject which had given the Government even greater uneasiness than the assassination plots; and admitted that the results of his visit to the West left on his mind no doubt that the population was passing through a crisis. The distress was chiefly to be found in over-crowded districts, and it was the opinion of the Government that it would be a cruel kindness to go on pouring out public money upon a system of relief which was for the advantage neither of the Exchequer nor of Ireland. They thought they would do better by reverting to the machinery of the Poor Law as applied between the years 1849 and 1879, by encouraging self-reliance at home, and by giving assistance without exercising compulsion to those who wished to get a home elsewhere. That might seem to be a cruel policy, but it was the only wise one. The holdings were too small, the land was losing its productiveness through over-working, the facilities for going into debt were lessened, and the people's resources were disappearing. If left to themselves,

the people would be willing to accept the only remedy of emigration. Was it right, he asked, that the taxpayers of England and Scotland should be made to contribute to keep up a state of things and a system which could lead to no permanent relief? In reply to Colonel Colthurst, he went at length into the statistics of the last famine and of the present crisis to justify the refusal of the Government to relax the conditions of outdoor relief and its determination to deal with distress according to the existing law.

Mr. Gibson, while admitting the existence of distress in several parts of Ireland, laid the responsibility of meeting it on the Government. But he held, also, that a judicious application of the Poor Law might be advantageously supplemented by a sympathetic system of emigration, such as that promoted by Mr. Tuke for the benefit of the smallest holders.

At this point it was hoped and believed that the debate might be allowed to close; and it is possible that a firm attitude on the part of the leader of the House might have brought about this result. By its emphatic vote on Mr. Parnell's amendment, as well as by its undisguised inattention and empty benches, the House had clearly manifested its weariness of the tactics of the Irish party and their coadjutors. Nevertheless, the debate on the Address was allowed to drag on during two more sittings. Lord Hartington, although strongly urged by irresponsible advisers to bring the unpractical discussion to an abrupt close, perhaps guessed that this step, however sure of obtaining the approval of the consciences of members of all shades, might only aggravate the evil it proposed to mitigate. It was, moreover, an open question whether the new rules, stringent as they were, contemplated any limitation of a debate on the Address; and although at the time of their discussion, this point had been definitely raised, it had been put aside by the leaders of both sides, who may have recognised the existence of a widespread feeling that when the powers of moving the adjournment had been so greatly restricted, some opportunity should be left to independent members to review, if even at inconvenient length, the general policy of the Government, especially after the comparative freedom of control which the Executive enjoyed during the recess. Lord Hartington, indeed, as soon as the division on Mr. Parnell's amendment had been taken, appealed to Mr. J. M'Carthy to postpone his amendment dealing with the distress of the south and west of Ireland, until the Report on the Address was brought up, promising him at the same time ample opportunities for raising a discussion. Mr. M'Carthy, however, refused to give way, and two nights more were spent in endeavouring to wring from the Government the promise of further Irish legislation in the course of the Session. The amendment of the Arrears Act, the reform of the Parliamentary and Municipal Franchises, or the remodelling of the whole system of Local Government, as the sole means of alleviating the widespread distress in certain districts of Ireland were the chief points pressed



by the Home Rulers. A strong majority of them further protested against the migration proposals of the Government, in the efficacy of which, to judge from Mr. Childers' dismal forebodings, the Cabinet itself had but little confidence. At length, after eleven nights, the debate, which with difficulty had been kept alive, collapsed, Mr. O'Connor's amendment being defeated by 163 to 32.

An attempt was then made by Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett (March 1) to raise a discussion on the Egyptian policy of the Government, but was somewhat unceremoniously coughed down, and the Address was agreed to. Without further delay the report was at once brought up, and after Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice had explained the course adopted with reference to Lord Dufferin's despatch on Egyptian reform, the prefatory work of the session was ultimately brought to a close.

Meanwhile, however, some efforts to advance the current business had been made at various times, and by means of constant questionings the Opposition had brought out some of the acts and intentions of the Government. The Postmaster-General's apparent readiness to sacrifice to the chances of a trade competition the rights of conveying the mails between Dublin and Holyhead called for a very determined protest from Lord Claud Hamilton, who found himself for the nonce the mouthpiece of the Irish Nationalist party. The outcry was so loud, and the advantages of giving to the London and North-Western Railway a complete monopoly so precarious, that after a convenient reference of the question to a select committee, the Government was glad to find an easy way of satisfying at once its own consciences and the loudly expressed claims of the Irish constituencies. On the matter of the "Ilbert Law," which would render Europeans in India liable to be tried by qualified native judges, the Government was not less skilful. The point was raised by Mr. Onslow on the third night (Feb. 19) of the Session, and in spite of the apparent determination of the Indian Council and Cabinet to support the Ilbert Bill, the Session was allowed to close without any formal vote being taken, Mr. J. H. Cross announcing from the first that it was not the intention of the Government to submit the question to the House. Mr. Chamberlain further (Feb. 22) announced the intention of the Government to propose the appointment of a joint committee of the two Houses, to consider the question of a Channel Tunnel; and the same gentleman, in assenting to the second reading (Feb. 27) of the two Patents for Inventions Bill, introduced by Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Anderson respectively, announced that they would, in common with his own bill on the same subject, be referred to a Grand Committee. As these Grand Committees were in future to be nominated by the "Committee of Selection," it was assumed that the importance of the nominating body, hitherto consisting of five members, should be greatly enhanced. On the motion of the Chairman, Sir John Mowbray, the number

was forthwith increased from five to seven members; whilst the suggestion of Mr. Rylands to augment the number by three additional names was set aside, as was also a proposal, far more warmly defended by the Nationalists, to substitute the name of Mr. J. M'Carthy for that of Mr. Mitchell Henry, who was the reverse of popular among the followers of Mr. Parnell.

As soon as the Address had been voted the House of Commons was able to resolve itself into Committee of Supply, and Mr. Playfair announced his retirement from the Chairmanship of Ways and Means. On the motion of Lord Hartington Sir Arthur Otway succeeded him; but previous to his taking the Chair Mr. O'Shaughnessy induced the Government to accept a resolution in favour of compulsory education in Ireland; whilst Sir Wilfrid Lawson made an ineffectual attempt to persuade the House to express its regret at the increased burdens thrown upon the people of the United Kingdom, in consequence of the operations in Egypt. The cost of these operations was stated by Mr. Childers to be 4,575,000*l.*, of which 640,000*l.* would be defrayed out of Indian Revenue. In the previous Session (July 27) 2,300,000*l.* had been voted "for strengthening Her Majesty's forces in the Mediterranean;" but the withdrawal of the French fleet from co-operation had thrown the whole expense upon the British Government. According to the compact, the cost of the expedition after September 15, was to fall upon Egypt, but this date was subsequently altered to October 1. In the original estimate, no allusion was made to the cost of the Indian Contingent; but during the Autumn Session Mr. Gladstone had stated that the charges in respect of that body would reach 1,180,000*l.*, and these figures, in a revised estimate, were but slightly altered, the charges incident on this country, including transport, being placed at 3,360,000*l.*, and those for Indian troops at 1,140,000*l.*, making a total of four-and-a-half millions. After the close of the campaign it was found that these estimates had been exceeded by only 75,000*l.*; consequently, deducting the sums which would not come into course of payment until the following financial year, the amount required in addition to the sum voted in July 1882 was 1,595,000*l.* Half a million included in this represented that portion of the cost of moving the Indian Contingent, which the English Government decided to defray. The total military force sent to Egypt had amounted to about 27,000 men, of whom 6,200 had been furnished by India. So that, after a due allowance for the naval forces employed, the proportionate charge to India would be about one-seventh of the total cost of the campaign. The consequence of adding this charge to the already voted estimates of the year, would in the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer entail a deficit of something between 750,000*l.* and 1,250,000*l.* on the financial year. And at that date, a month from its close, Mr. Childers felt that it would be out of the question to propose any further taxation, and consequently reserved his scheme for dealing with

the deficit until his regular Budget speech. Mr. Onslow was supported by Lord George Hamilton, speaking for the Conservative leaders, in objecting to the principle of throwing upon India any portion of the cost of the Egyptian war, but in the absence of official papers found it impossible to raise any serious discussion; but Mr. W. H. Smith, and many subsequent speakers from the same side of the House, twitted the Government for their departure from the principle, so strongly insisted upon in the Midlothian addresses of Mr. Gladstone, of meeting the liabilities of each year out of its income; an impossibility, as it was shown, in the present case, since the deficiency was to be paid out of the floating balances, and to be made good out of the income of the succeeding year. The grant in aid, 500,000*l.*, to the Government of India, was then, after some further discussion, agreed to (March 2), but the Army Supplementary Estimate for 728,000*l.* provoked a somewhat longer discussion, which was only terminated by the assurance that, if not voted, the Committee would have to sit on the following day (Saturday), in order that Supply might be closed within the required period. The points chiefly touched upon in the discussion were the costliness and insufficiency of the land transport, the mortality among the horses, and the complaints against the medical service. The Navy Vote for 350,000*l.*, taken on March 5, opened up the question of the purchase of a house and land at Port Said, for 76,000*l.*, from Prince Henry of the Netherlands, and used by the purchasers as a hospital and head-quarters. On this occasion Mr. Gladstone took part in the debates for the first time since the commencement of the Session. Some hours were spent in thrashing out this somewhat trivial question, but the objectors only numbered nineteen when a vote came to be taken. On the more interesting and tragical episode of the murder of Professor Palmer, the Government were subjected to a searching cross-examination, led by Mr. O'Donnell, but the vote was ultimately agreed to without a division, as was also one for 17,500*l.* for the Civil Charges of the Expedition to Egypt, but during the discussion Sir W. Barttelot referred to the declaration of Lord Hartington that the troops would be withdrawn in six months, and called on Mr. Gladstone to repair the mischief which might arise from this unqualified statement. Mr. Gladstone replied that Lord Hartington's remark was merely the expression of a hope founded on the circumstances as far as they had gone. Our departure from Egypt would depend on the accomplishment of the purposes for which we went there; but it was impossible to fix any definite time, although the Government believed that considerable progress had been made. Mr. Ritchie and others expressed satisfaction at this statement, but Sir W. Lawson expressed regret that the first thing done by the Premier on his return was to dash the hopes excited below the gangway that the business would soon be over.

Affairs in the Transvaal having offered the occasion for

numerous questions, to which the Ministerial replies seemed unsatisfactory, Mr. Gorst attempted to raise a more exhaustive discussion on a Supplementary Vote of 14,000*l.*, by reading a letter describing cruelties practised by the Boers on the natives, and asked for some assurance that the Government would take measures for the protection of the natives. Mr. Ashley and Mr. Gladstone replied that we had no power of interference by the Convention, except by moral influence; that the Government had done all in its power for the protection of the natives, and they promised to make inquiries into the alleged cruelties. Upon this, Mr. Gibson and Mr. W. H. Smith appealed to the Government to give a speedy opportunity for discussing the state of affairs in the Transvaal, and Sir R. A. Cross moved to report progress. This was negatived by 128 to 96, after which Mr. Gladstone promised that an early day should be given, and this promise he renewed a week later.

As on many similar occasions, it was thought advisable to discuss the policy of the Government in both Houses on the same night. In the House of Lords the task of opening the debate devolved on Viscount Cranbrook, who, in commenting on the recently published papers relating to the inaction of the Government in South Africa, insisted strongly on the fact that the Convention with the Boers was an admitted failure, and that natives who were faithful to this country during the period when the Transvaal was under British rule had been treated with exceptional ferocity. He particularly wished missionaries to speak out, in order that the full extent of the misdeeds of the Boers might be known. He called upon the Government, therefore, to say what steps would be taken to protect natives residing outside of the Transvaal from the lawless acts of the members of the Transvaal Republic. Lord Derby was of opinion that the best thing to be done was to do nothing. He admitted fully that a great deal of internecine strife was going on, and that the Convention had been set at naught by the Pretorian Government. He attributed the disturbances in the Transvaal, in the first place, to quarrels among the natives themselves, in which Boer filibusters had taken part. He would remonstrate once more, but he did not think that any good would result, nor did he see that anything practical could be done. If force were resorted to by the Government, it would be useless to send a small number of troops, for we had had sufficient experience of the unwisdom of this in recent years. An adequate expedition would cost as much before it arrived on the scene of operations as the fee simple of the lands in dispute, and the moment the army turned its back Boer encroachment would begin again *de novo*. He was prepared to do what he could to succour refugees, but he was of opinion that the British public did not desire to be again mixed up with the troubles in the Transvaal. Earl Cairns, amid the approving cheers of the Conservative peers, pointed out that the Boers admitted openly that they had broken

the Convention, and that they had no excuse to offer except that the Convention was a bad one. Lord Derby's speech would be received in Pretoria before his remonstrances, and it was quite safe to predict that after reading it remonstrances would be treated with perfect contempt. If in the face of these incursions into native lands the Government still maintained the fiction of the Queen's suzerainty, a great empire would practically be placed in the position of a receiver of stolen goods. The Earl of Kimberley thought that the root of the difficulty was that the Government did not possess the sympathy of the white people of South Africa in their attempts to protect the natives. Earl Stanhope recommended the Government to cut itself adrift from all connection with the unhappy existing state of things by tearing up the Convention. The Marquess of Salisbury, who was apparently unwilling to join issue with Lord Derby on the point of the advisability of a new conquest of the Transvaal, urged that the matter in dispute was simply whether the policy of the Ministry in South Africa was a success, or whether, on the contrary, it was not a complete failure. Earl Granville closed the debate by expressing the hope that perhaps the country would not restrict its historical retrospect to two years ago, but would consider the position in which the present Ministry were placed by the act of their predecessors in annexing the Transvaal. The tendency of the argument of the noble marquess and of Lord Cranbrook was in favour of violent measures, though neither of them had ventured to recommend that such measures should be taken. The subject was then allowed to drop without any specific issue having been raised.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Gorst's motion was made the basis of a more direct attack on the Government policy, but before its discussion could come on a somewhat sharp "scene" occurred between Mr. Gladstone and the Opposition leader with reference to the discussion of a resolution put down by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, which practically involved a vote of censure on the Government. The fray commenced by Sir S. Northcote asking whether the Government would fix a day for Sir M. Hicks-Beach's motion on the Transvaal. Mr. Gladstone repeated that he could give no answer until after he saw what became of Mr. Gorst's motion. Upon this Mr. Gorst said he would refrain from bringing forward his motion then, on the express understanding that the Government gave an early day immediately after Easter for the resolution to be moved by Sir M. Hicks-Beach. Mr. Gladstone said he was not aware of any public reason why Mr. Gorst should not bring forward his motion; and he pointed out that the pressure of public business, already very severe, was not likely to be relieved after Easter. Sir M. Hicks-Beach gave notice that he would repeat the question a few days later, and he added, amid loud cheers from the Opposition; that as his motion was a direct challenge on an important question of policy—such

as no previous Government had ever declined—if the answer he received were still unsatisfactory, he should feel it his duty to endeavour to obtain facilities for discussion by the use of the forms of the House if necessary, and even at the risk of some delay to the Government business. Mr. Gladstone replied that he would not be deterred by these threats from adhering to his opinion that the question of the Transvaal would be more conveniently handled—by himself, at least—on Mr. Gorst's motion, and that he should give no answer in regard to the other until he saw what became of it.

After a short interval, during which Mr. Marjoribanks obtained the promise of a Select Committee to inquire into the harbour accommodation on the coasts of the United Kingdom, Mr. Gorst rose to call attention to the position of British subjects and friendly natives in the Transvaal. He deprecated any desire to cast censure on the Government, and declared his sole object to be to bring before them and the House the injuries which had been inflicted on the Bechuana people by the Boer Government in direct violation of both the letter and spirit of the Convention of 1881. Reminding the House that the Prime Minister, in the account he gave of the Convention, had represented the retention of the suzerainty as the means of protecting the natives outside the frontier, he related in detail, chiefly from the Blue-books, the numerous cruel and treacherous attacks made on the chiefs Montsioa and Mankoroane by Dutch freebooters. Immediately after the signature of the Convention he had warned the House that the two native chiefs would certainly be punished for their loyalty to the English, but he was assured by Mr. Grant Duff and by the Prime Minister that the interests of the natives were safe in the hands of the Government. In March 1882 M. Joubert himself wrote some extraordinary letters to the chiefs declaring that the British agents were stirrers up of mischief all over the world, and that one of them was a poison strewer. That was the spirit in which the Convention had been observed. After detailing the subsequent outrages as set forth in the published papers, he said that it was not for him to devise a remedy. He denied that the resolution pointed to a new South African war. He simply appealed to the Government to carry out obligations into which they had voluntarily entered. Mr. Alderman Fowler, in seconding the motion, said that the Boers left the Cape Colony on the abolition of slavery in 1834, and ever since then they had pursued a career of rapacity and crime.

Mr. John Morley, in a maiden speech, regretted that the Government did not abandon the Transvaal altogether immediately after its accession to office. He maintained that Mankoroane had only himself to blame, and that Mantsioa was not much better, and pertinently asked why we should take any steps to prevent men of this type being absorbed by the Transvaal Boers. The Transvaal Government, he asserted, had done all it could, and the

fault lay with the imperfect boundary-line, and with the Convention, which imposed on the Boer Government the impossible duty of keeping peace on the border. We had before us the alternative of annexing the country or leaving the new State to found itself; but personally he hoped that, as we were not under the smallest obligation to interfere, we should not move a single man.

Mr. Evelyn Ashley, speaking on behalf of the Government, said he joined heartily in condemning, as discreditable to humanity, the events on the western frontier of the Transvaal, and had no desire to minimise them; but he denied that these chiefs were of the peaceable character described. In fact, disturbances had been going on ever since we knew the country, in 1851. The tribes were always contending against each other for the mastery; otherwise the Boers would have had no chance against them. At the same time, he admitted that these chiefs had claims on the British Government, and the Government had done much on their behalf not merely by remonstrances, but by actual proposals to send a police force to clear out the marauders. These proposals, however, had been frustrated by the refusal of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Governments to join in them. The only effectual mode of interference was by sending an expeditionary force of our own, but that meant a continuous occupation, and eventually annexation. We had no obligation to interfere, and to yield to the natural impulses of humanity would be unstatesmanlike. But the Government hoped, he said in conclusion, to be able to devise a plan for providing for these chiefs in safety and comfort, as we had provided for other chiefs.

The debate was then by consent adjourned, but if, as was asserted by their opponents, the Government, in proposing to renew it at a morning sitting, hoped to avoid further discussion of a policy which they could scarcely otherwise defend than as tentative, they were greatly mistaken. The public, although perhaps inadequately informed as to the special claims of the rival powers in South Africa, was very generally decided against any renewal of hostilities against or in behalf of Boers or Bechuanas. A widespread conviction, irrespective of party feeling, showed itself as much averse to affording help to the Cape Colonists to put down the Bechuana and other local chiefs, as to employing a British force on a long and costly war, the only possible outcome of which would be to leave the colonists at some future date exposed to attacks from beyond the Transvaal, without the existing protection of a semi-neutral zone to impede the advance of the invaders. Mr. Forster, as the unfaltering champion of native rights, found his powerful speech awake but little sympathy from his own side of the House, whilst its tone furnished Mr. Gladstone with a fair excuse for drawing away the discussion from the vital point at issue—the exact line to be adopted by the Queen's representative in South Africa towards the Colonial Government on the one hand, and on the other towards the native chief-

tains whose alliance we had courted, and whose interests we were morally bound to defend. Mr. Forster's speech, however, was more than a pleading on behalf of the natives—it was a serious indictment of the policy of the Cabinet, of which he had until recently been a member. He spoke in warm terms of the progress in civilisation made by the Bechuanas under the very light hand of the Queen's Government, which had promised never to desert them, if they would stand by the loyalists in their opposition to the Boers. They had loyally performed their part of the contract in spite of the threats of the Boers; and when the latter proceeded to carry their threats into execution, it was proposed that we should abandon our allies to their fate. He did not believe that the Government of the Transvaal was too weak to restrain filibustering expeditions; at any rate it was strong enough to defy the Queen's Government. Supposing the chiefs were compensated with land or money, what was to be done for the missionaries, who were also entitled to consideration? Some cries of "No, no" were raised on the Liberal benches at this question. Mr. Forster nevertheless went on to say that the missionaries had built churches, schools, and chapels, and if their buildings were destroyed, they, too, would be entitled to compensation. His sympathy with the South African natives was not recent. It had grown with his growth, and he thought it a very dangerous policy to say that England was too weak to protect her allies. Carried out logically, it meant the conversion of the Cape into a mere naval station and the abandonment of our Indian Empire.

An attack so direct, supported by insinuations and suggestions of hesitation, if not of double-dealing, could not be allowed to pass without an immediate reply, and Mr. Gladstone on behalf of the Ministry at once rose to vindicate its course of action. Twitting Mr. Forster as "a man of peace" clamouring for war, he asked him whether in speaking of being in earnest in our remonstrances to the Boer Government, he meant that we should resort to war to support them. If this were so, declared Mr. Gladstone, it ought at the same time to be borne in mind that South Africa was the only part of the world where we had never been able satisfactorily to get rid of our difficulties at any time. He did not think it had been proved that the Transvaal Government was guilty of complicity in the crimes that had taken place, but assuming it to be so the fault lay with the entire population of which the Government was but an embodiment. He did not believe that before the Convention of 1881 Bechuanaland was free from violence, nor was it true that the people were ever our allies in the sense that we asked for military assistance from them. The only portion of the speech which even seemed to defend the Convention, was a subtle distinction drawn first of all by Lord Palmerston, and now utilised by the Government, between acquiring a right to interfere and incurring an obligation to do so. Colonists, Mr. Gladstone said, are always going beyond their own frontiers, and the



difficulties in Bechuanaland are constantly occurring elsewhere in South Africa and wherever the process of colonisation is going on. To undertake a difficult, costly, and almost hopeless expedition, 1,100 miles from our base of operations, would be in his opinion a step out of all proportion to the objects in view. He did not dispute that there are some chiefs who had strong claims upon us, and the Government would endeavour to recognise those claims. He concluded by alluding to Mr. Gorst's motion, Mr. Cartwright's amendment, and Sir. M. Hicks-Beach's threatened motion as the "three obstacles," which stood in the way of a speedy settlement of the question and of a solution of the South African imbroglio. Sir M. Hicks-Beach pointed out in a very thin House that if the difficulties in the way of enforcing the Convention were as great as the Government alleged, they ought to have been foreseen before concluding it. He could not support Mr. Gorst's motion, because if it meant anything it meant war. The policy of the Government, however, practically amounted to this, that we must go to war or disgracefully abandon our allies.

The debate was shortly afterwards adjourned; and although the order remained on the books, many weeks passed before an opportunity for bringing it to a definite issue arose. From the outset, however, it was whether any serious intention existed in the minds either of its supporters or opponents to test by a division the position of opinion in the House.

Mr. Sellar's attempt (March 6) to reform private bill legislation, although it commanded the support of the most competent authorities, bore no practical fruit. The principal point on which he insisted in a speech of great lucidity and force was that bills, after having passed through the present preliminaries, instead of being considered by Select Committees, should be referred to Commissions established for England, Scotland, and Ireland, with a power of appeal to a Parliamentary tribunal to be established for the purpose. Mr. Davey seconded these resolutions. Mr. Raikes, while he held a change to be absolutely necessary, saw objections to Mr. Sellar's scheme, and sketched out another by which he would appoint five Commissioners to prepare draft orders on the local inquiries carried on by assistant-Commissioners, and these draft orders he proposed to embody in Provisional Order Bills to be passed by Parliament. Mr. Dodson, while admitting the necessity of a reform, could not concur in the particular scheme proposed by Mr. Sellar. The Government would agree to the first resolution affirming the necessity of reform, recognising that it was a repetition of a resolution passed in 1872; but it was not to be expected that the Government would be able to do anything during that Session; a forecast which the future did not belie.

By dint of a strong effort the supplementary Civil Service Estimates had been passed within the statutory period, although to do so it had been requisite to sit through the greater part of one night (March 9) and the greater part of the day following,

which was a Saturday. The items relating to Ireland naturally gave rise to the greatest amount of discussion. The expenses of the Land Commission since its establishment in 1881 had already reached a total of 200,000*l.* a sum which alarmed the sensitive and economical Nationalists, whose guardianship of the public purse was a matter of notoriety. Mr. Trevelyan, however, was able to show that for this sum rents had been reduced by 130,000*l.* in 24,000 cases decided by law; whilst in 30,000 other cases reductions amounting to 80,000*l.* per annum had been agreed to before the Commissioners. Outside the Courts, moreover, reductions of at least an equal amount had been submitted to by the landlords, and the proportion of these to the disputed cases was rapidly increasing, so that in the course of the ten years originally assigned for the duration of the Land Commission, there was fair reason to believe that the half million or more tenancies existing throughout the country would be dealt with.

The ordinary Estimates for the year were also laid before Parliament before Easter, although little or no progress was made with any of them. The Army Estimates (1883-4) amounted to 15,606,700*l.*, a net increase of 148,600*l.* as compared with the original estimates of the preceding year, but these by supplementary estimates for 728,000*l.*, and the sum of 900,000*l.* for army services included in the vote of credit, had brought the total expenditure for 1882-3 up to 17,086,000*l.* The number of men to be provided for was 137,632, an increase of 4,727; but here again, to the 102,905 provided for in the previous year's estimates 10,000 men had been afterwards added on the despatch of the expeditionary force to Egypt. The total for the effective services amounted to 12,689,900*l.*, being thus divided:—Regular forces, 4,525,200*l.*; auxiliary and reserve forces, 1,429,800; commissariat and ordnance store establishments 5,592,400*l.*; works and buildings, 739,400*l.* various services, 403,100*l.*, showing a net increase in the effective services of 281,300*l.*; but the total of the non-effective services was 2,916,800*l.*, showing a net decrease of 132,700*l.*

The largest item of increase for the effective services was 151,000*l.* for provisions, forage, &c., the cost of provisions and allowances in lieu being increased by 105,000*l.*, and cost of forage and allowances in lieu by 15,000*l.*, and lodging allowances by 9,000*l.* Under the head of clothing establishments, services, and supplies, there was an increase of 50,000*l.*, and under army reserve force pay and allowances, 48,000*l.*

An increase in the vote for militia services was to provide for the training of the Irish militia, which had not been called out in 1881 or 1882, involving an extra expenditure of 143,000*l.* The vote for naval armaments had been reduced by 115,000*l.*, in consequence of naval gun carriages being now provided for in the army estimates; but on the other hand there was an increase of 95,500*l.* for gunpowder, small arms ammunition, torpedo vessels,

and accoutrements. An increase of 31,000*l.* also occasioned by the occurrence of leap-year, the extra day's pay and charges falling within the financial year 1883-4. The actual strength of the British army (on paper) during the same period was stated as follows:—Regular forces at home and in the colonies, 127,611; Army Reserve, first class, 33,500; second class, 9,000; militia, 142,874; yeomanry, 14,404; volunteers, 247,921; regular forces on Indian establishment, 61,641; total, 636,951. Towards the cost of maintaining these forces various payments would be made by the colonies—viz., Honduras, 5,000*l.*; Natal, 4,000*l.*; Mauritius, 1,800*l.*; Hong Kong, 20,000*l.*; Ceylon, 103,000*l.*; the Straits Settlements, 50,000*l.*; and Malta, 5,000*l.*; total, 205,000*l.* Lord Hartington, in introducing the estimates (March 12), pointed out that the expense of training the Irish militia would practically account for the net increase in the year's estimates, though the real increase was about 115,000*l.* more, which would in future have to be provided out of the Navy votes, where the charges for gun-carriages, torpedo, and electric stores supplied to the navy would appear. He admitted that the recruiting season had been a bad one, but this he attributed to the raising of the limit of age from 18 to 19 years, as well as to the general improvement of trade, and possibly also to the mobilisation of 10,000 men of the Reserve in the summer. The Reserves then called out were those of a year and a half—that is, men who had joined the Reserve in 1881 and during the first half of 1882. These should have furnished a contingent of 11,644 men, of whom 11,039 actually presented themselves. After deducting those unfit for service, 10,582 remained with the colours. There still remained after this first summons 17,000 men of the First Class Army Reserve and 27,000 of the Militia Reserve. Lord Hartington calculated that the actual number in the Reserve was then 25,687, and would reach 31,000 before the close of the year. To increase still further this force he proposed to take a vote for the establishment of a Supplemental Reserve, to be composed of men who, having completed their service in the Army Reserve, might volunteer for a further period of four years, but would only be liable to be called out after all the other Reserves had been exhausted. Amongst the other more important changes effected or proposed Lord Hartington stated that the militia had been provided throughout with Martini-Henry rifles; that all guns for both army and navy would be made of steel; that experiments would be made with both the colours grey and kholkee, recommended by the Committee as alternative substitutes for the traditional scarlet tunics, which were pronounced to be both visible and unserviceable. In deference, however, to popular feeling, the scarlet uniform would be retained for parade and full dress. After a languid discussion in a more than usually empty House, the vote for 137,632 men of all ranks at home and abroad was agreed to.

The Navy Estimates in like manner showed a trifling increase

(273,099*l.*) on those of the preceding year, excluding the supplementary expenditure entailed by the expedition to Egypt. The total sum set down as required for the service of the year 1883-4 was 10,757,000*l.*, of which the principal items were—wages to seamen and marines, 2,633,300*l.*; dockyards, 1,556,400*l.*; machinery and ships built by contract, 767,153*l.* On all these an increased expenditure was anticipated; but upon victuals and clothing, 937,400*l.*; and naval stores, 1,122,500*l.*, there would be a certain saving in consequence of the stocks on hand being large. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, in introducing the estimates (March 15), especially dwelt upon the policy of the Admiralty, which was to concentrate as much money as possible upon the ship-building votes. The number of tons to be built in the dockyards during the year would amount to 11,224 of armoured and 3,948 of unarmoured—total, 15,172 tons; as compared with 14,816 tons in the preceding year. The classes of ships on which the work was to be done were—ironclads, 12; corvettes, 3; sloops, 4; steel steam cruisers, 5; gun vessels and boats, 11; other vessel, 1—total, 36. Of the ironclads, the *Conqueror*, at Chatham; the *Cordelia* corvette, at Portsmouth, three of the sloops, two of the steam cruisers, after delivery by the contractors; four of the gun-vessels, and a composite paddle-wheel would be completed; whilst 4,252 tons (weight of hull) was the amount intended to be built by contract in 1883-4, of which 2,270 tons would be upon unarmoured ships. The Government, said Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, refused to rush into a new era of ship-building, but they were anxious to construct two ships of high speed and great buoyancy, the *Mersey* and the *Severn*, which, although not altogether armoured, had their machinery and magazines protected, and might possibly prove to be the pioneers of a new category of war-vessels. The total force required for the sea and coastguard services, including 12,400 marines, was set down at 57,250 men and boys, showing a slight reduction (250) in the number of the previous year, due to changes in the artificer and labouring classes.

The other Parliamentary business transacted before Easter, which fell unusually early, may be briefly summarised. In the House of Lords two Bills successfully passed through all their stages, one introduced by Lord Stanhope for Prohibiting the Payment of Wages in Public Houses, and one for rendering permanent the Act passed in 1878 for Prohibiting the Sale of Liquors on Sundays throughout Ireland. In the original Act the five largest towns were exempted from its operations, but the Government now desired to make the law applicable to the whole kingdom. But the second and third reading was taken without division, although certain protests were raised against the policy of the measure.

Lord Lansdowne's motion for a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the Land Act was opposed by Government,

and, after a long and interesting discussion, withdrawn. Lord Lansdowne was chiefly desirous to ascertain the reasons which seemed to stand in the way of tenants who might wish to purchase their holdings. Great stress was laid on the purchase clauses when the Land Bill was under discussion, and it was asserted that the tenants were eager on all sides to become landowners. The experience of the first few months did not bear out this view, but Lord Hartington, on behalf of the Government, declared that tenants were too much occupied in obtaining a settlement of their rents to think of aught else. When things were more settled down the Government would be better able to judge of the drawbacks to the existing Act, and if after investigation further legislation were necessary to make the purchase clauses more easily available, an amending Act should be at once brought forward.

The Braithwaite and Buttermere Railway Bill, by which it was intended to open up the lake district, although opposed by Lord Mount Temple, was read a second time in the Lords (March 5) by 46 against 11; but on the other hand, in the House of Commons, the High Beech and Epping Railway, which threatened to invade a portion of Epping Forest recently acquired as an open space for the enjoyment of the public, was, on the motion of Mr. Bryce, member for the Tower Hamlets, saddled with a regulation (230 to 82), which rendered its construction, as proposed, impossible (March 12).

In the Lower House, however, although the debate on the Address and the necessities of the public service had absorbed nearly the whole of the Session before Easter, Mr. Chamberlain succeeded in putting forward his Bankruptcy Bill. The chief innovation of the Government measure was the transfer to the Board of Trade of the power hitherto vested in the Judge in Bankruptcy, and in its other provisions it closely followed the lines of the measure introduced in the previous Session. Mr. Stanhope, on the part of the Opposition, attempted to delay the course of the Bill by proposing a resolution to the effect that the House of Commons was not prepared to entrust to any public department the powers conferred by the Bill. After a short debate this was negatived by 89 to 45, and the Bill read a second time (March 19), on the understanding that in due course it would be referred to the Standing Committee on Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures, one of the two Grand Committees, of which experiment was to be made under the new Rules of Procedure. On the same understanding a Bill on the same subject, introduced by Sir John Lubbock on behalf of the Institute of Bankers, was not only read a second time (March 19) but reached the Committee stage (March 20) without opposition. Mr. G. Anderson's Bill for extending the Cruelty to Animals Acts, so far as to put a stop to pigeon shooting, was warmly opposed by Sir H. Maxwell and others, who argued that such a measure, if passed, would seriously interfere with recognised and legitimate sport. The majority,

however, on the second reading (March 7), 195 to 40 was so decisive as to assure its subsequent success in the House of Commons.

The claims of Ireland for further legislation came before the House on two occasions. The Borough Franchise Bill (March 7), introduced by Mr. Dawson, proposed to extend to that country the franchise as enjoyed by urban voters in England and Scotland. Mr. Mulholland, presumably speaking for the Ulster Conservatives, moved a resolution declaring that in the unsettled condition of Ireland it was inexpedient to make any large changes in the parliamentary franchise in Ireland. Mr. Trevelyan said the Government would support the Bill, because the Liberal party, out of office, had supported it, and also because they desired to have equality in England and Ireland, and, as far as possible, to assimilate the two countries. Mr. Plunket opposed the Bill, and Colonel King-Harman was speaking against the Bill at the hour of adjournment.

The debate was resumed on the following day, but no result was arrived at, and ultimately the Bill was withdrawn (March 19), and another, dealing slightly differently with the details of the measure, remained for a long time on the Order Book. On March 14 Mr. Parnell moved the second reading of the Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) Amendment Bill, which he said had been drafted for the purpose of remedying defects in the Act of 1881, some of which were foreseen and pointed out at the time of the passing of the Act, and others of which had become evident during the working of the Act, and in consequence of the judgment in the well-known case of *Adams v. Dunseath*. The Bill also provided for the inclusion of certain classes which were left out of the Act of 1881, such as the leaseholders and occupiers of town parks. He further proposed to extend the operation of the purchase clauses. The chief provisions of the measure were: (1) the dating of the judicial rent from the gale day succeeding the application to fix the fair rent; (2) power to the Court to suspend proceedings for ejectment and recovery of rent pending the fixing of a fair rent on the payment by the tenant of a rent equal to the poor law valuation of his holding; (3) a definition of the term improvement as any work or agricultural operation executed on the holding which adds to the value of the holding, or any expenditure of capital and labour on the holding which adds to its letting value; (4) direction to the Court that, in fixing fair rent, the increase in the letting value of the holding arising from improvements effected by the tenant or his predecessor in title shall belong to the tenant, and the landlord shall not be permitted to ask for an increase of rent in respect of such increase of letting value; (5) the use and enjoyment by the tenant of his improvements shall not be held to be compensation for such improvement; (6) the presumption as regards the making of the improvements to be for the future in favour of the tenant; (7) power given to leaseholders and to

holders of town parks to apply to the Court to fix a fair rent ; and lastly, the Land Commission to be permitted to advance the full amount of purchase-money, and in the case of holdings under 30*l.* the period of repayment is to be extended over fifty-two years instead of thirty-five years.

The rejection of the measure was moved by Mr. Chaplin, chiefly on the ground that it was in the highest degree impolitic that the relation between owners and occupiers of land should be altered every year. Finality was as much to the interest of the one as the other, and Mr. Parnell's measure was as great an advance upon Mr. Gladstone's measure of 1881, as that was upon the legislation of 1879. Mr. T. A. Dickson, an Ulster Liberal, appealed strongly to the Government, either to support Mr. Parnell, or to bring in a Bill of their own to remove some of the most flagrant anomalies of the Act of 1881. In reply Mr. Gladstone at once rose to state the course the Government was prepared to adopt:— Referring to the progress made by the Land Courts, he said that about 90,000 contentious cases had been entered. Of these 30,000 had been settled, and at the close of January 60,000 remained. The settlement was going forward in the courts at the rate of 2,350 a month. The rate of settlement had risen from 14 to 100 a day, or 30,000 a year, and they were justified in expecting, without any undue haste, that there would be a further increase in the rate. But, apart from the cases referred to the courts, a great many reductions were going forward under the operation of the Land Act. Putting these together, he held that in the main the Land Act, as it was now at work, was effecting the great purpose for which it was passed. Coming to the Bill, Mr. Gladstone said that the Government differed organically from it. The Bill amounted to a virtual reconstruction of the Irish Land Act, and the Government at no time since the passing of the Act had used any words or done any act which would justify any one in supposing that they were prepared to concur in such reconstruction. The Government believed that in the main the work of the Land Act was being done, and they wished it to be understood that they could give no encouragement to any plan for disturbing the main provisions of the Act. With respect to the ominous words of Mr. Parnell that the rents now being fixed by the courts were to be regarded as rack rents, and that the people of Ireland were unable to pay them, he respectfully differed from him both upon principle and fact. He would go further, and say that he not only did not believe that they were unable to pay but that they were not unwilling to pay these rents, and that they were showing at this moment a laudable and general anxiety to fulfil the contracts into which they had entered. He hoped Mr. Parnell would give to the House the assurance that the renewed crusade he was about to announce was one that would be conducted within the lines of strict legality, and that no countenance would be given to those who might seek to disturb the peace of the country or the law

of the land. But, returning to the Bill, the Government could promise to it no support, and enter into no undertaking to disturb the main provisions of the Land Act. It might be said, "Do you intend to introduce any Bill with regard to matters of detail?" The Government did not intend to introduce any such Bill. The need for amendments was a secondary need, and he was not prepared to undertake to burden the House with an embarrassment such as that, in addition to other embarrassments. Looking at the general interest of the empire as a whole, and looking especially at the interest of Ireland—looking at the sacrifices they had demanded and exacted from certain classes in Ireland it would be a violation of their duty were they now to give encouragement to the demand for new sacrifices which they did not think in the main justice required; while, as regarded the people of Ireland—they had done substantial justice to their demands, and they could not be too clear in announcing that no encouragement would be received from the Government to the entertaining of further schemes and proposals of change to which they were not prepared to give support, and which they did not believe would be either to the honour or advantage of the country.

Mr. Bryce, on behalf of the Independent Liberals, expressed his regret that the Government had given no promise that the questions dealt with in the Bill would be dealt with in the present, or at the latest, in the following Session. On a division Mr. Parnell's Bill was rejected by 250 to 63; all the Irish members, except the Conservatives, voting for the second reading; as did the bulk of the Independent English Radicals, whilst the majority was composed of the Conservatives, English, Scotch, and Irish, the Whigs and the Ministerialists.

After a short, but somewhat bitter debate, on the condition of the Scotch crofters (March 20), the House adjourned for the Easter recess. Before this, however, the names of the newly established "Grand Committees" were reported. Each of the Committees was to consist of sixty-four members, Mr. Sclater-Booth being the chairman of that relating to Law and Justice, and Mr. Goschen of that relating to Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures.

Outside the walls of Parliament public interest had been languidly moved by the Cabinet change, and the succession of Lord Carlingford to the Presidency of the Council, where he had been acting for Earl Spencer, attracted but little attention. It was announced also that Lord Spencer, as Viceroy, would remain a member of the Cabinet, a somewhat unusual arrangement, and that the duties of the yet uncreated minister of Agriculture would be assigned to the Lord President. Neither this reform nor the expected promotion of Lord Rosebery to be Lord Privy Seal, with a special interest in the management of Scotch business, was destined to be carried out.

Platform speeches, in spite of Parliament being in Session, were more numerous than ever; members of both Houses apparently



recognising that the party forces were best organised locally, and that to keep up an interest in political life, it was necessary that some of its chief actors should be constantly face to face with the electorate.

Thus Lord Carlingford, addressing a meeting at Coventry (February 27), declared emphatically that there was nothing more to know with respect to the Kilmainham transaction, and complained that this matter should be unscrupulously used for the direct purpose of damaging the Government in the opinion of their countrymen, and setting the English public against the remedial and reforming measures carried for Ireland. The Government were condemned not for what they did, but for what they never did—for what their accusers in the teeth of all evidence and assertions, in the teeth of their own assertions, in the teeth of the assertions of Mr. Forster himself, had assumed. This transaction, a simple, though an important and difficult one, had been disguised and overloaded with fiction and tales. There had been no new departure in the policy of the Government, and Lord Spencer had not changed his views, for he went to Ireland with the assurance that Government would obtain powers from Parliament against crime more effective than the former Act. The only change was that the terrible tragedy in Phoenix Park enabled the Government to press the Crimes Bill through the House of Commons without the operation of the new Rules. Lord Spencer's intentions and policy and plans of government had never changed and had remained the same as when he assisted in framing the Crimes Bill in Whitehall.

On the same night Lord Randolph Churchill, at Woodstock, denounced the Ministry as a Government of Imposture, an administration of make-believes, whose every act was a fraud or a sham. And in a more serious vein Lord Cranbrook, addressing a meeting of the Westminster Conservative Association, asked if they trusted the men in power or not. They had among those men—for the first time in the Government of this country—those who had pronounced opinions, which in fact amounted to Republicanism. They had men who were avowed enemies to the Church Establishment, and who were, he believed, bent on destroying the religious schools of the country, and again he would ask them, were they satisfied with the men? Were they satisfied with the policy? They had the House of Commons disorganised, they had Ireland in a condition that admittedly she had never been in for years before. Were they, too, satisfied because the Colonies were distracted and distrustful from what the men in power said? They had basely deserted their countrymen in the Transvaal, and were they satisfied with what was going on in Central Asia? They had ceased to talk of anything being formidable in Central Asia, but there was a Russian tide flowing unceasingly on there, and advancing on the mountains that formed the boundaries of our great Indian Empire. He did not say Russia would invade India, but

it was only by keeping up the feeling that England was predominant and all-powerful, and that there was no greater Power than the British one, that we could maintain our position. And yet what was the conduct of Mr. Gladstone now? Why, wilful ignorance closed his eyes, and enabled all this to go on as though he were not alive to the dangers and difficulties that were menacing our country.

The by-elections, meanwhile, had done nothing to indicate any great change in public feeling. At Newcastle (February 24), Mr. John Morley had, in spite of the divisions in the Liberal party in that city, carried the seat by 9,443 votes against Mr. Gainsford Bruce, the Conservative candidate, who polled only 7,187, although he had been promised by the leader of the Irish party some two or three thousand votes. Mr. John Morley, whose brilliant career as a publicist had not prevented him from looking at politics with a practical mind, had been accepted by the Liberal Association as its candidate in spite of the silent opposition of the senior member (Mr. Cowen) and his party, and in spite of the more open discontent of the working men who desired to send to Parliament a member of their own body. In the face of these difficulties his success was long regarded as doubtful, but when the result was known, the credit due to the Liberal Association and to the stanchness of its supporters was fully recognised. In other constituencies the "caucus" had failed, and had probably aroused discord instead of promoting union and displaying strength; but in Newcastle its selection was more than ordinarily fortunate; although Mr. Morley's success suggested that even with the caucus the personal qualifications of the candidate would still weigh for much. In Mid Cheshire the Conservatives showed (March 14) that there was no falling off in their attachment to their principles, and to their local leader. Hon. A. de Tatton Egerton polled a heavier vote (4,214) than had been given to either of the other members of his family who were returned at the head of the poll at the General Election. On the other hand, the Liberal candidate, Mr. G. W. Latham, polling only 3,592, showed that the Liberal party had lost upwards of 200 supporters since he had come forward as its champion three years previously.

The attempts of a gang of Irish Americans to blow up the Local Government Board and the *Times* office (March 15), although unattended with loss of life, produced a feeling of insecurity bordering on panic, not only in London but throughout the United Kingdom. Alarming stories of the discovery of arms and explosives were greedily swallowed, and the fears of the public were daily fostered by sensational reports of the most trivial circumstances. The Government, in possession of far more information than it allowed to transpire, unintentionally added to the alarm which it desired to allay. The police force was increased, the principal public buildings were placed under military guard; and Cabinet Ministers were constantly watched over at home, and in

the streets by detectives and ordinary constables. These were facts patent to all, and it is not surprising that on such a basis the wildest rumours arose. London was to be wrecked or destroyed by simultaneous explosions of dynamite in various districts; the Houses of Parliament, the Bank of England, the War Office, were to be blown up or burnt down. Woolwich Arsenal, Portsmouth Dockyard, and other such places were to be sacked and rendered useless. After awhile, and especially after the capture of Dr. Gallagher and his associates, through the instrumentality of the Birmingham police, the panic subsided; but the dread inspired by the knowledge that a new and most destructive agent, nitro-glycerine, was practically within the reach of almost any miscreant with an aptitude for chemistry, was long in wearing off. It was, moreover, admitted by the police at the trial of Dr. Gallagher that a very considerable quantity of this dangerous explosive had, in their belief, been manufactured, and that only a portion—the greater portion, it is true—had been discovered.

### CHAPTER III.

The Easter Recess—Mr. Bright at Glasgow—The Birmingham Campaign—Mr. Childers' Budget—The Irish American Plot—The Explosives Bill—Mr. Bradlaugh and the Affirmation Bill—Government Defeat—Irish Bills and Irish Distress—The Pensions to Lords Alcester and Wolsley—Mr. Pell's Resolution on Local Rating—The Agricultural Holdings Bill.

ALTHOUGH the short duration of the Easter recess hampered the movements of ministers who might have wished to have interviews with their constituents, the small opportunities offered were not wholly thrown away. Mr. Bright, in fulfilment of a long standing promise, went down to Glasgow to take his seat as Lord Rector of the University, an honour conferred on him some months before. The bestowal on him of the freedom of the city and other ceremonials afforded Mr. Bright ample scope for oratory. His speeches, however, for the most part dealt with the past, and sketched in vivid tones the political struggles in which he had played a prominent part. The first of these addresses was delivered in St. Andrew's Hall (March 21) on his installation as Lord Rector, an honour conferred upon Edward Burke exactly a hundred years before, and four years later upon Adam Smith. Mr. Bright spoke of his own disadvantage in never having had a university training, and said he felt a certain sense of humiliation in addressing such a body of people as that before him. He asked himself what it was that had brought him there in range of their sympathy and favour. It must be because of some sympathy with his political labours. He had taken some part in politics, and had perhaps been of some service in the administration of the government of the country. University education, however,

seemed to him very imperfect, since it had done so little in eradicating warfare. The poverty and misery which had so long existed in Great Britain were in great measure to be attributed to their having for centuries trodden in the footsteps of the Cæsars. There could be nothing better, nothing greater to interest students, than to direct their earnest attention to some of those questions in the great political field that immediately concerned them and those with whom they were connected. Referring to the struggle with slavery in America, Mr. Bright said there had been nothing perhaps in ancient or modern history to surpass or even to equal it, and remarked that if justice and morality had stepped upon the scene the whole of the vast calamity might have been avoided. The Crimean war, he said, had been caused by the passionate vindictiveness of a Minister abroad, and he held that Russia was not permanently weakened by the war in question, and Turkey was not permanently made in the least degree more secure. He also gave it as his opinion that where the greatest armies existed there nations were involved in the greatest peril. Mr. Bright next spoke at length on the colonies, referring to the wars in which we had been engaged at the Cape, in India, in China, in Abyssinia, and Egypt. These wars were, he said, the price we paid for the great historical and marvellous dependency of the Indian Empire.

On the following day, Good Friday (March 22), the freedom of the city of Glasgow was presented to Mr. Bright, who in returning his thanks expressed his surprise that so many differences of opinion existed on political questions. He believed the difficulty arose because men, in discussing political questions, or in examining them, did not go to the root of the question, but were influenced by the husk, and never got at the kernel, and fought about that which was really not the matter in dispute. When he looked back to the agitation for the abolition of the Corn Laws, it seemed astounding that there could on such a question have arisen so great a contest.

“At the present,” he added, “we are all agreed upon the question, and we look into each other’s faces and we ask, How is it possible that anybody—that a great party in the country and the great majority in the House of Commons—when I went into the House there was a majority of thirty in favour of maintaining the Corn Laws—how comes it that there could be such a Parliamentary party combined together for the purpose of supporting so iniquitous a law as that we were warring against? It ended, as you know, in the conversion of the Government that was elected to support that law. It went further. The party drove out of office their trusted leaders. But the law was repealed, and we have had the advantage of it. And we now, at thirty years, or five-and-thirty years’ distance, look back with astonishment that there ever could have been such a contest over so simple a matter.”

It was the same with the questions of Parliamentary reform, of

Law reform, and of justice to Ireland. If the men in the House of Commons had applied their minds, apart from mere party considerations, to these questions and tried them by the unalterable standard of justice to the people for whom they were about to legislate, would it have been possible that such great conflicts could have arisen? If he were speaking to the Conservative party he should ask them to look upon the past and to see whether they, themselves, and their fathers had not been moved by unworthy fears, and whether it was not possible for them now to follow a different course, and to receive with rather more open minds the claims of various classes of people for more favourable consideration in the legislation of Parliament.

Optimist views, such as these, however, were but little shared by those who regarded Parliament as the arena in which contending parties should measure strength and fight out their differences to the last, at the risk even of rendering legislation impossible. Mr. J. Lowther, starting from the premise that freedom of speech in the House of Commons had been stifled by the new Rules, told his constituents at Kirby Moorside (March 27), that the House having discharged less business than was usual, it was proposed to remove from the immediate control of the House the consideration of details, by referring the principal measures to the Grand Committees which he described as "carefully packed representatives of the Birmingham caucus," and which he prophesied would end in signal failure. At Rochester Sir Arthur Otway, the newly appointed Chairman of Ways and Means (March 27), hoped there would be no need for the application of the new Rules, which moreover were never intended to curtail free speech, but to prevent wilful obstruction, whilst at Scarboro' Mr. Dodson, who had held the same office, but had since become a Cabinet Minister, anticipated that with the new Rules of Procedure the long accumulated arrears of business affecting England and Scotland would be disposed of. This need not prevent the Ministry doing that which they believed in their conscience to be right towards Ireland; but if their policy failed in bringing the reward it merited, the Government would at all events have cleared their own consciences towards that country.

But it was in the midland counties that the chief reconnaissance in force of the Government position was to be made; and to test the strength of advanced Liberalism in its head quarters, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gibson visited Birmingham itself, and the former in his speech to the Birmingham Conservative Association (March 28) at once joined issue with Mr. Bright on the subject of military expenditure. It was Mr. Bright's habit, said Lord Salisbury, to look at only one side of the account. He knew how much money was spent, but he never told how much we had gained. Lord Salisbury next ridiculed the composition of the Ministerial party, which was kept together by

a distribution not of places but of policy between Whigs and Radicals.

“The result is a movement of perpetual zigzag. At one time you move in the direction indicated by the moderate Liberals, at another time you move in the direction indicated by the Radicals. It is rather like one of those Dutch clocks which we used to see in our infancy, where an old woman came out at one time, and an old man came out at another; when the old man came out it was fine weather, and when the old woman came out it was the reverse. I would not for a moment attempt to instance who is the old man or who is the old woman; but we may say safely that the mechanism of our political system is this, that when it is going to be fine weather Lord Hartington appears, and when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain appears you may look out for squalls. But zigzag policy has had its very serious effects. It has tainted, it has marked the policy of this Government in all the great questions with which they have had to deal, and their failure, which in many respects I consider to have been great, I think is due not to the inability of the men—for there are many of them of very great capacity—but to the fact that they were attempting the impossible task of combining two opposite tendencies . . . . The evil of this zigzag policy is greater even than the evil would be of adopting a definite line advocated by either of the elements which belong to the Government. If Mr. Bright’s own policy were pursued to the utmost, dishonouring and disastrous as we should think it, at least we should know where we were; we should know what we have to expect; but the peculiarity of this policy is that you never from one day to another can tell which side of the Government policy is to prevail—which section of the Cabinet is to be master. Mr. Gladstone recently made a very satisfactory speech in answer to the Irish agitation. He refused to adopt their Bill. In the words of the ordinary phrase, he has put his foot down, but it seemed to me that he put it down very much as a gouty man puts his foot down—with a great desire to lift it up again . . . . I confess I was sorry when I read last night the announcement from Mr. Dodson that the Government intend to clear their conscience with respect to Ireland. I did hope that the Liberal conscience was cleared by this time. We always know what that clearing of the Liberal conscience means. Surely the most scrupulous and the most saintly men might be satisfied by this time. They have taken 25 per cent. from the landlords, who are usually Tories, and have given the 25 per cent. to the farmers, who are usually Liberals, and surely any conscience might be satisfied with that. I fear that if the conscience is to go on we shall have a repetition and a continuance of the disturbances in Ireland.”

Referring to the foreign and Colonial policy of the Government, Lord Salisbury declared that Mr. Bright’s policy of peace at any price had led to the Egyptian campaign; that had its spokesman

adopted from the first a firm tone, to which he had consistently adhered, no Egyptian expedition would have been necessary; and in South Africa, had the Boers been beaten down by force of arms, the filibustering which had been rife ever since, might have been prevented.

On the following day (March 30) Lord Salisbury, opening the Midland Conservative Club, whilst admitting the use of such Associations in forming political opinions, refused to see anything in common between them and the caucus system. In the evening, to a densely packed and attentive meeting in the Town Hall, Lord Salisbury again referred to the caucus, whose decisions he ascribed to Mr. Chamberlain, and declared that it had diminished the independence of the House of Commons. The change of the Rules of Procedure had acted in the same direction, and the Government could now defy the minority and stifle all discussion. Replying to the charge that the Opposition merely criticised and did not profess a policy, he said they could not offer measures for the consideration of Parliament until they knew what were the facts which the great Government officers alone possessed, and which were not in the hands of the Opposition. As indicating their policy, however, he alluded to the Act of Sir Richard Cross for the better housing of the working classes, which he declared to be one of the most burning questions of the day, hinting darkly at that topic of State Socialism, to which he was to recur more than once during the year. In his speech at Birmingham, he seemed to suggest the extension of Sir Richard Cross's Artisans' Dwellings Act, passed in 1875, although he admitted that it had destroyed more homes of the poor than it had provided new ones, and had thrown upon the ratepayers of London a burden of over a million sterling. But this drawback to the working of the original measure Lord Salisbury was prepared to remedy by granting relief to local taxation: and although he did not throw any light upon the manner in which the transfer of the burden to the taxpayer would to any appreciable extent lessen the weight borne by the ratepayer, his speech pointed to the Conservative solution of the social question. With regard to the subject of electoral reform, he said he did not think an extension of the franchise would be hurtful to the Conservative party. If the franchise was extended in the counties there must also be a redistribution of seats, and as the counties were under-represented their members must be increased; he did not believe this would be to the disadvantage of their aims and prospects. At the same time he was not to be understood to favour at this time any extension of the county franchise. Whilst declaring himself a free-trader, he thought that the increasing tendency of foreign nations towards protectionism demanded a searching inquiry as to its cause, in order to see if a remedy might not be found for a state of things which was doing much mischief to our trade. He further ridiculed the idea of giving representative institutions to

Egypt; deprecated the idea of withdrawing our troops, which would be the signal for the return of anarchy, and maintained that the object of our policy should be to retain or recover our old ascendancy in that country by the maintenance of our troops; in India, by the rejection of the famous Ilbert Bill, which was beginning to attract attention; and by adopting in the Transvaal a strong policy which should force the Boers and the native populations to lend themselves to our views and requirements.

The challenge thrown down by the leader of the Opposition was promptly taken up by Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Rosebery, who within four-and-twenty hours occupied the platform on which Lord Salisbury had explained the policy of his party. Referring to Lord Salisbury's denunciation of the caucus, Mr. Chamberlain described the wretched imitation that the Tories had set up, a servile copy of the machinery without the life—associations without members, treasurers without subscriptions, and delegates without constituents. Passing next to Lord Salisbury's attitude towards the Irish question:—

“A year ago,” said Mr. Chamberlain, “he was taunting the Government with having sent what he called their political opponents to prison. He actually charged Mr. Gladstone, when such a charge was most calculated to embarrass the action of the Government, with having sent Mr. Parnell to Kilmainham because he had given an unanswerable reply to Mr. Gladstone's speech at Leeds. Now he takes altogether a different view. Mr. Parnell is out of prison, and I am glad of it; and Lord Salisbury no longer calls him a political opponent. He says he is a criminal agitator, and he taunts us now with not having exercised the powers of coercion more speedily and more stringently, and he recalls what he calls our concessions to crime and to disorder. Now, Lord Salisbury has always expressed his scorn for remedial legislation. He threw out the Compensation for Disturbances Bill, and by so doing he did more than could have been done in any other way to give an impetus to the Land League. He has described the Land Act itself as a measure of spoliation and of robbery, and he would have thrown out the Arrears Act last Session if he could have found any, even in his own party, sufficient in numbers to support him in his mischievous action. We have been passing through a most tremendous crisis in Ireland, and what would he have had us do? No remedial legislation, more bayonets, more police, Irish leaders in gaol, full rents for Irish landlords, and evictions of Irish tenants. That is a policy which has been tried for generations, and has failed conspicuously.”

The President of the Board of Trade went on to say that Lord Salisbury cared nothing for the bulk of the Irish nation. He could express in eloquent terms his sympathy with Irish landlords who had had to submit to a reduction of 25 per cent. in their rents, but nowhere was there any expression of sympathy for the poor tenants who for years, under the pressure of eviction and starvation,



had paid those unjust rents levied on their own improvements and extorted from their daily toil and hopeless poverty. In this matter, as in so many others, Lord Salisbury constituted himself the spokesman of a class—of the class to which he himself belonged, who “toil not, neither do they spin”—whose fortunes, as in his case, had originated by grants made in times gone by for the services which courtiers render kings, and had since grown and increased while they slept by levying an unearned share of all that other men had done by toil and labour to add to the general wealth and prosperity of the country. Lord Salisbury again would not recognise the success which had attended the Government policy in Egypt. They regretted the necessity for interference in Egypt, but had Lord Salisbury’s alternative policy been adopted it would almost certainly have landed us in a conflict with France, and might probably have involved us in a general European war.

“Lord Salisbury says,” added Mr. Chamberlain, “that hundreds of thousands of Bechuana have been slaughtered, or starved, or driven from their homes, betrayed by the action of the English Government. A more monstrous statement was never made by any person pretending to responsibility; and it shows that Lord Salisbury knows nothing of what he is speaking, and that he has not even taken the trouble to consult the facts which are at the disposal of any honest inquirer. Why, the freebooters who have been guilty of the outrages in Bechuana land, which we all regret, number all told some few hundreds of souls; and the two tribes which have been attacked number together, men, women, and children, fifty thousand people. The whole of this trouble in South Africa comes distinctly from that policy of meddling intervention which we owe to the late Government. It was that policy which destroyed the position of Cetewayo and Secoceni. If those two chiefs had been let alone, the Boers would have had quite enough to do to defend themselves without turning aggressors on the natives.”

Speaking of the attitude of the Opposition, Mr. Chamberlain said he would not only whisper that they had been guilty of obstruction, but he would cry it on the housetops; and in conclusion, declared that the Cabinet were entirely agreed both as to their principles and their method of application.

Lord Rosebery’s remarks were chiefly devoted to an attack on the Irish policy of the Opposition, and to criticising Lord Salisbury’s attitude on the social question of housing the poor, and pointing to his vague and questionable position towards the rival supporters of free trade and fair trade amongst his own party.

Newspapers and platforms were further called on to aid in developing political opinion. A correspondence, in which Sir William Harcourt took the principal part, arose upon the question, whether the existing state of alarm and disquiet in London was greater

or less than existed in 1867. Mr. W. H. Smith, in a speech to the Westminster Conservative Association (March 19), had said that whereas the members of the preceding administration had no occasion to take any precautions, none of the present Government could hardly walk or sleep without the protection of the police. Sir William Harcourt on this wrote to Mr. Hugh Shield, M.P., a letter which appeared in the *Times*, March 24, in which he declared that reference to the archives of the Home Office and to its permanent officials had convinced him that the need for special precautions was felt to be as necessary as, and the measures adopted were more extraordinary under the administrations of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli than those actually in force. He had moreover learned the principal facts from the mouth of Lord Beaconsfield himself, "whose frequent and graphic warnings on the subject of secret societies were founded on his experience of that epoch."

Earl Grey and Sir Bartle Frere took similar means of discussing South African affairs, chiefly in view of Mr. Forster's speech in Parliament; but the most curious discussion was that inaugurated by "A Tory" in the *Times* (March 29), complaining that Sir Stafford Northcote was to unveil the statue of Lord Beaconsfield; and denouncing the attempt of a "faction" to mark their triumph over the more numerous adherents of Lord Salisbury. Two days later Lord Randolph Churchill joined in the fray, bitterly condemning the management of the Opposition, especially in the absence of Sir S. Northcote, when its leadership fell into abeyance between Sir R. A. Cross and Mr. W. H. Smith. He insisted, therefore, that the Conservative party should at once choose its leader, declaring that if that party were in a negative frame of mind it would select Sir S. Northcote; if in a cautious frame Lord Cairns; if in an English frame of mind Lord Salisbury; and he concluded by giving his own reasons for adopting the last named. In this determination, however, Lord R. Churchill was not followed by his own lieutenant, Mr. Gorst, for that member of the Fourth party expressed (April 4) his thorough recognition of Sir S. Northcote's claim and authority. The challenge thus given was promptly answered by Mr. W. H. Smith (April 4), who denounced this attempt to sow discord in the Conservative camp as a foul wrong to both Lord Salisbury and Sir S. Northcote. Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Northcote (speaking with his father's authority), and Mr. Lowther also united in expressing a strong disapprobation of the controversy raised. At almost the same moment Lord Dunraven's article in the *Nineteenth Century* appeared, urging a fusion between the two wings of the Moderate Liberals and the Moderate Conservatives, on the basis of a programme including popular organisation, parliamentary reform, adjustment of finance, development of trade, the consolidation of the empire, and the general principle of foreign and colonial non-intervention. This appeal, however, met with no outward response from either side, Lord

Derby retaining his seat in the Cabinet with Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen alike protesting as warm a devotion to Mr. Gladstone, as Mr. Gorst or Mr. Lowther did for Sir S. Northcote.

The House of Commons, on its reassembling (March 29), had taken up the routine business of the Estimates; but before discussing the proposed expenditure of the year Dr. Cameron forced the Government to accept, against its will, by 68 to 50, a resolution declaring that the time had arrived for reducing the minimum charge for telegrams to sixpence. The Postmaster-General (Mr. Fawcett) showed that, according to the most favourable calculations, the loss by adopting the rate of a halfpenny per word, without free addresses, would be 177,000*l.*, and with free addresses to 320,000*l.*, but he expressed himself ready to carry out this or any alternative plan, if the Treasury would permit an aggregate sacrifice of 450,000*l.* in the first four years of the reduced rate. Mr. Childers pleaded for a year's delay, on the ground that the introduction of the parcel post was inconvenient, and that one experiment of such magnitude was enough for one year. At a subsequent period Mr. Fawcett announced that the Government had submitted to the resolution, and that arrangements would be made to introduce the lower rate in the course of the ensuing year.

Mr. A. Arnold's attempt to force the hand of the Government on the subject of Parliamentary reform (March 30) was only successful in obtaining from Sir W. Harcourt the assurance that all his colleagues were of opinion that the extension of the suffrage to the county householders was just, expedient, and urgent, and ought to be accomplished by the present Parliament, and expressed his hopes that there would be ample time to deal with the question in the following Session. Satisfied with this assurance, both friends and opponents of the proposal withdrew, and the House was promptly counted out.

There had been a general feeling of regret on both sides that before the recess the Government had been unable to push through the second reading the Criminal Procedure Bill and the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill; but the paramount exigencies of the Bankruptcy Bill, and the opposition thrown in its way by a few members, had consumed all the time available. When the House met again after Easter the question was raised, in what form their reference to the Standing Committee could be best made, in view of practical legislation, inasmuch as both dealing with the same questions proposed entirely different methods of treatment. This was especially the case with regard to the clauses relating to the right of appeal, and enlarging the powers of the Home Secretary in criminal offences. The Procedure Bill was intended to be by itself a complete Criminal Code, drawn up on the lines recommended by the Royal Commission. It had on various occasions, and in slightly varied forms, been before the House prior to the advent to office of Mr. Gladstone's Government, having been originally introduced

by Sir John Holker when Attorney-General. The Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, a far less ambitious measure, aimed at preventing, or, at least, at correcting miscarriages of justice, of which so many startling instances had recently been brought to light. Its operation, moreover, was practically limited to prisoners convicted on capital charges, who were, nevertheless, not bound to tender fresh evidence before obtaining the right to a fresh trial. The opposition to the measure, led by Sir Hardinge Giffard, was based chiefly on the argument that juries, feeling themselves released from responsibility, would do their duty with less care, whilst the expense of defence would be indefinitely increased. The Bill, however, by 132 to 78, was read a second time (April 12), and referred to the Grand Committee, Mr. Parnell and his friends strongly supporting it.

The second reading of the Indictable Offences Procedure Bill (the Criminal Code) was not taken until some days later (April 12), when Mr. H. Lloyd moved an amendment objecting to the examination of accused persons, but, not being seconded, it fell to the ground. Mr. Stanley Leighton moved an amendment setting out that no Bill would be satisfactory which did not provide for verdicts by a majority, the public examination of the accused, and the assignment of counsel to prisoners. This was seconded by Sir G. Campbell, and negatived without a division.

The Attorney-General, replying to the criticisms of Sir R. A. Cross and others, explained that, though he had laid the Bill before the House as he had received it from the Committee of Judges, it would require very considerable attention in the Grand Committee, and probably much redrafting as to details. Mr. O'Brien, following a lead given by Mr. O'Donnell, maintained with much vehemence that this Bill was aimed at Ireland, and inveighed against the readiness of Parliament to pass legislation at panic speed, in spite of Mr. Gorst's remarks that the Bill had been drawn long before recent events in Ireland. This, however, failed to produce the least effect upon the Irish party, who continued to denounce the Bill with much vehemence and at great length, Mr. Sexton incidentally moving adjournment of the debate, a proposal which led to another long discussion, and was ultimately negatived by 128 to 19.

The Parnellites, however, were not disposed to confess themselves beaten. Mr. Kenny immediately moved the adjournment of the House, but, in the uproar which prevailed, scarcely a single word of his speech could be heard. Cries of "Divide, divide!" came from every quarter. Dr. Commins essayed to second the motion, but, having already spoken in the debate, the Speaker held it incompetent, under the new Rules, for the hon. member again to intervene in that way. In these circumstances, Mr. Justin McCarthy raised his hat to indicate his desire to second the motion. To the adjournment the Attorney-General refused to assent, because of its antagonism to the general sense of the

House. Upon this Mr. Sexton, in a violent speech, accused the Government of entering into a clandestine compact with their supporters to force the Bill through. Mr. Thorold Rogers, rising to order, asked the decision of the Speaker regarding the hon. member's right to go beyond the mere question of adjournment; and the Speaker ruled that the hon. member was travelling somewhat wide of the question before the House. Continuing his speech, Mr. Sexton denounced the action of the Government as not only an injustice but a scandal. Mr. O'Donnell—who was likewise called to order—took a similar line; and Mr. O'Brien, who followed, laid down the doctrine that on a Code of such magnitude, involving the suspension of the political rights of the people of Ireland, every member had a right to be heard. Lord Hartington thereon pointed out that enormous inconvenience would result from the practical application of this doctrine in the case of a large minority, and pleaded with the House to permit the Bill to be read a second time. Loud and prolonged cheers answered this request; but the Parnellites were not inclined to yield compliance, and Mr. Leamy, Mr. Parnell, and others continued the debate amid marked manifestations of impatience. At twenty minutes past two o'clock a division was called on Mr. Kenny's motion, with the result that 15 voted for the motion and 131 against. On the main question—the question that the Bill be read a second time—being again put, 16 voted in the minority and 132 in the majority in favour of the motion. The Attorney-General immediately moved *pro formâ* the reference of the measure to the Grand Committee, but on the motion of Mr. T. P. O'Connor the debate on this point was adjourned, to be renewed again a few days later (April 17), when Mr. O'Connor insisted that the Bill was not one of the class which Mr. Gladstone had indicated as fit for a Grand Committee, and that the Ministerial motion was a breach of faith. He was supported by Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Callan, Mr. Sexton, and others; but the debate was much shortened by the Speaker ruling that on this stage it was not competent to go into the merits of the Bill. Ultimately, the Attorney-General's motion was carried by 98 to 27, and an instruction to the Standing Committee to consolidate the two Bills was carried by 67 to 17.

On the same day, Mr. Chamberlain had the good fortune to obtain the second reading of the Patent Law Bill, of which the principal feature was the encouragement it proposed to give to inventors. The payment for the provisional period would be reduced from 5*l.* to 1*l.*, and the first payment from 20*l.* to 3*l.*, so that for 4*l.* inventors would be able to obtain a patent for four years, and for a total of 154*l.* to get a patent for fourteen years. The financial result of this for the first year would be to reduce the receipts to 62,000*l.*, while the expenses would be 60,000*l.*, leaving a profit of 2,000*l.* only. Consequently, on this part of the Bill, he said, the Government could not accept

any amendment which would throw a heavier burden on the Exchequer. After considerable discussion, in which the Bill was generally approved, it was read a second time, and was ordered to be referred to the Standing Committee on Trade.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers), in presenting his first Budget, was able to look back with satisfaction on the realisation of his predecessor's estimates. The original figures of Mr. Gladstone's last Budget had been necessarily modified by the requirements of the Egyptian campaign; and in going over them, in July 1882, he made certain anticipations which, as will be seen, were fully realised:—

	Estimates (as modified in July)	Receipts
Customs . . . . .	£19,300,000	£19,657,000
Excise . . . . .	27,230,000	26,930,000
Stamps . . . . .	11,145,000	11,841,000
Land-tax and House-Duty . . . . .	2,775,000	2,800,000
Income-tax . . . . .	11,662,000	11,900,000
Post Office and Telegraphs . . . . .	8,800,000	9,010,000
Crown Lands . . . . .	380,000	380,000
Interest on Advances . . . . .	1,180,000	1,218,845
Miscellaneous . . . . .	4,725,000	5,267,611
Total . . . . .	£87,197,000	£89,004,456

—showing a surplus of actual over estimated revenue of 1,807,456*l.* The total estimated expenditure (including the Supplementary Estimates) was 89,906,000*l.*; but the actual expenditure had fallen short of this, and reached only 88,906,000*l.*, and subtracting this from the actual revenue of 89,004,456*l.*, the surplus for the year past was 98,456*l.*, after paying the whole expense of the Egyptian Expedition out of the revenue of the year.

In analysing the details of his Budget, Mr. Childers dwelt principally on the great falling off in the spirit duties; and, comparing it with the revenue of 1874–5, he showed that whereas, allowing for the increase in population, the duty at the same rate ought to amount to 24,840,000*l.*, it was actually 19,840,000*l.* In other words, the consumption of wines and spirits had fallen off to an amount represented by five millions of duty; and including the beer duties, the three had fallen off to an amount represented by 3*l.* on the income-tax. There had, meanwhile, been a steady increase in the tea duties, and in the death duties. Passing to the expenditure of the past year, the estimated expenditure, he said, including the Egyptian expedition, was 89,582,868*l.*, but it had been reduced by savings to 88,906,000*l.*, giving a surplus of 98,000*l.* By way of accounting for this large expenditure, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the present Government had inherited some 15 millions of war expenditure from their predecessors in connection with the Russian war, the Afghan war, and the Transvaal war, which they had paid off or were in the course of paying off, in addition to paying for their own Egyptian war, without leaving any arrears. Turning then from the past

to the future, he explained that the expenditure for the year 1883-4 would, as at present estimated, stand thus :—

*Estimate of Expenditure.—1883-84.*

Consolidated Fund . . . . .	£31,319,000
Army . . . . .	15,607,000
Indian Charges . . . . .	1,730,000
Navy . . . . .	10,757,000
Civil Service . . . . .	17,253,000
Customs . . . . .	2,775,000
Post Office . . . . .	4,124,000
Telegraphs . . . . .	1,518,000
Packet Service . . . . .	706,000
Total . . . . .	£85,789,000

The total reduction, as compared with the preceding year, was thus about 3,120,000*l.*, chiefly in connection with the Egyptian expenditure. Discussing the details, he stated that since 1857 the amount of debt had been reduced by 107,000,000*l.* He proposed to create new terminable annuities falling in in twenty years' time, the result of which would be to extinguish immediately 70,000,000*l.* of debt, and the ultimate result to extinguish 172,000,000*l.* and an annual charge of 3,374,000*l.* Forty millions would be taken from the Chancery Stock and converted into an annuity of 2,674,000*l.* for twenty years, and 30 millions from the savings banks funds to be converted into three annuities of 1,200,000*l.* each for five, ten, and fifteen years, with the power that as each fell in it was to be renewed. Dealing next with the Supply services of the year, the Chancellor examined the augmentation since 1873-74 to show that the actual increase on the taxpayer only amounted to 8,550,000*l.*, the increase occurring on such votes as education, local grants, the collection of revenue, and that the army and navy charges, considering the work done, had diminished. To meet this expenditure, the revenue based on the existing taxation gave an estimated surplus of 2,691,000*l.*

*Estimate of Revenue.—1883-84.*

Customs . . . . .	£19,750,000
Excise . . . . .	26,900,000
Stamps . . . . .	11,510,000
Land-tax . . . . .	1,040,000
House-duty . . . . .	1,785,000
Income-tax (at 6½ <i>d.</i> ) . . . . .	12,400,000
Post Office . . . . .	7,400,000
Telegraphs . . . . .	1,750,000
Crown Lands . . . . .	380,000
Interest, &c., on Advances . . . . .	1,185,000
Miscellaneous . . . . .	4,380,000
Total . . . . .	£88,480,000

In disposing of this surplus, Mr. Childers seemed to aim at the relief rather of direct than of indirect taxation, for although the remission of income-tax, imposed for a specific object, was naturally demanded by those upon whom the chief burden of the

Egyptian campaign had fallen, it was essentially in deference to middle class interests and opinions that the war had been undertaken, and its cost had been defrayed by those who paid the increased income-tax. The remission of the three-halfpence in the pound would absorb 2,135,000*l.*, and with the remainder, Mr. Childers proposed, in the first place, with a view to the speedy extinction of the duty, an arrangement costing 10,000*l.*, for bonding silver plate, so that the duty should only be paid when it was taken out for sale. Next 170,000*l.* of the surplus would be set aside for establishing sixpenny telegrams, and 135,000*l.* devoted to abolishing the railway passenger duty on all fares of 1*d.* per mile and under, and reducing the rates on fares over one penny on urban lines to 2 per cent. The total annual loss from this remission, which was intended to promote the extension of workmen's trains, would not fall short eventually of 400,000*l.* A change in the standard of moisture on the tobacco duties for the purposes of drawback, costing 1,000*l.*, was a slight boon to the manufacturers of a necessary of life. Besides these changes there were others which would not affect the revenue—such as the granting of occasional gun licences for 1*l.*, the transfer of the collection of certain schedules of the income-tax to officers of the Inland Revenue; and Mr. Childers mentioned also his intention of dealing next year with the taxation of corporate property as a preliminary to an efficient dealing with the death duties, as well as a simplification of the duties of the Custom House Officers. Mr. Childers thus left himself with a small nominal surplus of 240,000*l.*, which he considered amply sufficient with the natural expansion of the revenue to meet any supplementary estimates, which would inevitably have to be voted before the close of the financial year.

The Government proposals met with no serious opposition from any quarter; Mr. Hubbard condemned the proposal to use the Chancery Funds for the reduction of the National Debt, and complained that by Mr. Childers' plan taxpayers would be deprived of the relief they had a right to expect in 1885, when the terminable annuities expired. Sir Stafford Northcote regarded Mr. Childers' statement as an electioneering speech intended to draw away attention from the expenditure of his own Government, and maintained his preference for his own policy of spreading an exceptional charge in time of pressure over three or four years. He prophesied that the plan for the gradual reduction of the duty on silver plate was unworkable, and would have to be abandoned (and the result showed that the Opposition leader was right, for the silversmiths expressed unanimously their objection to Mr. Childers' proposal to "bond" silver plate until purchased by the public), and he declared that the sudden surrender of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to sixpenny telegrams would be taken as a hint to members not to give an unpopular vote when opposed by the Government on the score of economy.

Outside Parliament events had meanwhile been happening,



which called for immediate legislation; but even the most panic-stricken were somewhat taken aback by the headlong zeal of Sir William Harcourt to protect society at the expense of Parliamentary procedure. The revelations made at the trials of the Phoenix Park murderers, followed by the Westminster explosion and the subsequent discovery of a nitro-glycerine manufactory at Birmingham (April 5), and the immediate arrest of half a dozen suspected persons in London, filled all men's minds with vague alarms, and for a time the air was dense with rumours of plots and explosives. Public opinion doubtless required further protection, for the Explosives Act of 1875, in spite of its stringency, was powerless to stop the illicit manufacture of nitro-glycerine; but it may be questioned whether it was prepared for the measure which the Home Secretary, with the assent of the Opposition, proposed (April 9) as an amendment of the existing law. The danger, he said, which Parliament had now to face from the enemies of society—the pirates of the human race, as he described them—was known to everybody, and he could assure the House that it was grave and imminent. The first line of defence was the police, to whose splendid services he took the opportunity of paying a tribute of confidence and admiration, and the second was the penalties of the law. The danger was great, and must be dealt with at once and by the strong hand, and he therefore proposed to ask the House to proceed with all the stages of the Bill at once until it should appear that some grave question had been raised which required further consideration. Sir R. Cross expressed the willingness of his friends to join with the Government in passing the Bill without delay. Leave was then given to bring in the Bill, and, and, after it had been read a first time, Sir William Harcourt moved that it be read a second time, which was agreed to, amid general cheering. The House then went into Committee, and the clauses were agreed to without any question, except Clause 4 (the possession of explosives with unlawful intent), to which Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Hopwood took some objection. Finally, the Bill was read a third time and sent up to the Lords, the whole proceedings lasting about an hour and a half.

In the Upper House a similar display of steeple-chase legislation was made. The peers had been kept together beyond their accustomed hour of separation by a purposeless debate on the Ilbert Bill, a measure laid before the Indian Council, under which the judicial powers of native magistrates in the employ of the Crown would be considerably extended. The matter was introduced by Lord Lytton, and the discussion was lifelessly carried on by those peers who had at any time been officially connected with the administration of India; until the arrival of the Explosives Act Amendment Bill from the other House. In introducing the half-fledged measure, Lord Kimberley, on the responsibility of the Government, with an air of mystery

assured the House that there were circumstances which rendered it necessary for the public safety that the Bill for the amendment of the law relating to explosive substances, which had been passed by the Commons that evening should be passed by their lordships through all its stages at that sitting. Lord Salisbury criticised the wide scope of the interpretation clause, and observed that permanent inroads on our criminal law would be made by this Bill in allowing the examination of a prisoner and his wife, and by compelling a person to answer, even though his answer might criminate himself. He denied that a case had been made out for the course proposed by the Government in a panic; but the Opposition had not had notice, and were not in a position to express their opinion. Lord Kimberley said he had heard with indignation the language of the leader of the Opposition, which was such as never before had been used by a noble lord holding that position in their lordships' House. The Lord Chancellor having replied to the objections of Lord Salisbury, Lord Leitrim joined in the complaint of Lord Salisbury as to the permanent character of the Bill, as did also Lord Cranbrook. These protests, however, were of no avail; and the Standing Orders having been suspended, the Bill was passed through its various stages in a single sitting—and the Royal assent was given at noon on the day following (April 10).

By a strange coincidence on the same day Parliament was to give final sanction to a scarcely less remarkable deviation from its accepted procedure. The experiment of "devolution," or the delegation of detailed work to Grand or Standing Committees was first attempted. By this arrangement the work of the House might possibly be lightened and under ordinary circumstances its time economised; but the burden thrown upon working members, especially upon those officially connected with the Government, was seriously increased. It was arranged that each of the two Grand Committees should meet twice a week—that on Trade, of which Mr. Goschen was named Chairman, meeting on Mondays and Fridays, and that on Law, presided over by Mr. Selater-Booth, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and that the duration of each sitting should be four hours. Various questions of procedure met the Committee at the outset, of which that relating to the functions and privileges of the Chairman was the most important. Mr. Goschen's own view of his position was that, whilst not actually debarred from taking part in the discussion, he should hold himself aloof from it as much as possible. On the other hand the right of "summing up" the discussion of any clause or question, although supported by weighty arguments, was decided in the negative. The first sitting of the Standing Committee on Trade (April 10) was eminently successful; the discussion reached the fourth clause (clause one having been postponed) before the adjournment took place: in the first division, the members remaining in their seats and answering "aye" or "no" when their names were

called by the Clerk; 42 members voting against an amendment moved by Mr. Dixon-Hartland, who had 13 supporters.

On the previous day (April 9), Mr. Bradlaugh had, after repeated defeats and discomfiture obtained a verdict, his first and only one, in the suit instituted against him by Mr. Clarke. The point at issue was whether a common informer could recover penalties imposed by statute (29 & 30 Vict., c. 19), and in which the informer could have no personal interest. The onus was upon a common informer to show that the statute had conferred a right of action to recover a penalty. Express words giving the right were certainly not in the statute, nor could it be implied unless the words "to be recovered by action in one of her Majesty's Superior Courts at Westminster," were inapplicable to the Crown. The Judges of Appeal seemed to think that if the words had simply been "by action," the penalty would have belonged to the Crown, because "action" was a generic term. But they assented to the contention that the Sovereign could only sue in the Court of Exchequer for such a penalty, and not in the other courts. The argument satisfied the Lord Chancellor that the ground on which the judgment was thus rested could not be maintained. It would be legislation, and not interpretation, to import into the Act (by inference from repealed enactments) provisions in favour of a common informer which the Act did not contain.

Lord Watson and Lord Fitzgerald assented to this view, in which, however, Lord Blackburn did not concur; whilst Lord Denman, although not a law lord, or accustomed to take any part in the legal functions of the "House of Lords when sitting in the Supreme Court of Appeal," voted with Lord Blackburn in the minority. The judgment, therefore, of the Queen's Bench Division affirmed on appeal was reversed, and the action instituted against Mr. Bradlaugh by Mr. Clarke was held not to lie. Had the decision been in the other sense, the penalties incurred by Mr. Bradlaugh for speaking and voting in the House of Commons without having been duly seated, would have amounted to 45,000*l.*

But this was not the only contest Mr. Bradlaugh was to win in the Law Courts after so many failures. The case of *Bradlaugh v. Newdegate, M.P.*, for "unlawfully and maliciously maintaining one Clarke in his action against Mr. Bradlaugh," was decided (April 23), on the question of law by the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh, the question of fact not having been disputed, that, but for Mr. Newdegate, Clarke would not have brought his action. Lord Coleridge delivered an elaborate judgment, in the course of which he went over the principal decisions on the question of "champerty or maintenance," and showed conclusively their bearings upon the case before him. The consequences of his decision were of the utmost interest to Mr. Bradlaugh personally, apart from the wider interests of liberty. In argument before the Lord Chief Justice, Mr. Newdegate's counsel had assumed that in the case of *Bradlaugh v. Clarke*, the

judgment of the House of Lords would affirm that of the Court of Appeal ; and on that assumption it was contended that the damages must be the amount of costs which Mr. Bradlaugh was put to in resisting the claim. The House of Lords had relieved him from the most important portion of the costs. Beyond these, however, there remained a large expenditure which Mr. Newdegate had compelled him to incur, and which under the rules as to costs he could not recover from Mr. Clarke. Lord Coleridge, therefore, assumed that Mr. Newdegate would pay the costs recoverable under the bond given to Mr. Clarke. For the residue of the costs and the expense which Mr. Bradlaugh had been put to as between attorney and client, and the various expenses he had had to bear—for all these he held Mr. Newdegate responsible in damages ; and that Mr. Bradlaugh was entitled to an indemnity for every loss which Mr. Newdegate's maintenance had caused him.

Naturally it was asked soon afterwards in the House, whether the Government intended to sue Mr. Bradlaugh for the penalties incurred. To this inquiry Mr. Gladstone was able to retort, that as Mr. Clarke had forestalled the action of the Government, and obtained a legal decision on the point raised, it was unnecessary to take further proceedings in this particular case. He however assured Sir S. Northcote that thenceforward the Attorney General would sue for penalties any member who, not being entitled to affirm, attempts to do so and to vote afterwards. The ground, however, was in no degree cleared for the second reading of the Affirmation Bill, either by this promise, or by the promise that it would not be retrospective in its action ; and it was clear from the almost apologetic form of the Attorney General's speech (April 23), that the lukewarmness of many of the Liberal party regarding the measure was recognised, if not appreciated. Sir Henry James maintained that disqualification on account of religious belief was unknown to the law either for the House of Commons or for any office, Imperial or municipal. If Parliament set up a new disqualification, it ought to give full notice to the constituencies beforehand, and not indirectly to raise a barrier against the entry of a duly elected member. Tracing the history of the oath, he contended that in all times it had been used for political purposes, and not as a religious test. In its present form it had ceased to be a test of Christianity, and had become merely a test of Theism, and as the words, "So help me God," had been held to be not of the substance but of the form of the oath, any atheist might take it. In fact, the House had no power to keep atheists out. Reminding Sir S. Northcote that he had once declared himself in favour of legislation, he called on him to say what legislation he would have if he rejected this, and dwelt on the public importance of an immediate settlement of the question.

Sir R. Cross, in moving the rejection of the Bill, asserted that Mr. Bradlaugh had forced the fact of his atheism on the knowledge of the House, and that the Government had lost no opportunity

before the election and after of thrusting him on the House, and that acting under pressure, which they ought to have resisted, they had brought in this Bill solely for his relief. He protested against the question being represented as one of religious freedom, for religion had nothing to do with it. The House was not asked to relieve any religious scruples, but a man who had no conscientious convictions at all. As to the Bill being deprived of its retrospective character, a more despicable contrivance to catch a few votes could hardly be conceived, and if Mr. Bradlaugh were taken out of the Bill there was no necessity for it at all. Those who voted against the Bill would not be setting up any new test, but would be declaring that infidels and avowed atheists were not a class of persons whom it was desirable to admit into Parliament.

The other speeches which occupied the remainder of the first night's debate were little more than repetitions or amplifications of these views, although in some cases religion or political partisanship at times led the speakers into grotesque arguments, and prompted the most astounding conclusions. Early on the second night of the debate (April 26), Mr. Gladstone rose in the vain hope of promptly dealing with a matter concerning which every member's mind had probably been made up before the Bill was printed. His speech, admitted by those who heard it to have been on a level with some of his most eloquent appeals, was delivered to a House crowded with members and distinguished strangers. He started from the position that there was no legal power to prevent atheists from entering the House, and that Mr. Bradlaugh's exclusion was the result of an accident. As to Sir R. Cross's charge that it was a despicable trick to take the retrospective character out of the Bill, he pointed out that in 1880, when the original Bill was introduced, the electors of Northampton had had no notice that Mr. Bradlaugh could not affirm, but since then the law had been settled, and he had been returned with a full knowledge of his capacity in this respect. (This remarkable statement, on which Mr. Gladstone founded a somewhat elaborate argument, was subsequently shown to have no basis of fact, inasmuch as the Bill of 1880 had been introduced before Mr. Bradlaugh's re-election; consequently the constituency deserved no more consideration then than two years subsequently.) The other argument on which Mr. Gladstone rested his case was the analogy between Mr. Bradlaugh's case and the O'Connell precedent. The present Bill, he frankly admitted, was for the immediate benefit of a single person; and nearly always general issues in politics had been raised on individual cases. It was Mr. O'Connell's election for county Clare which brought the Catholic Emancipation question within the region of practical politics, and when the party opposite left the admission of Jews to the discretion of either House, it was provided that the matter should be considered only when "a person duly elected and qualified" was prevented by the law from taking his seat. The Prime Minister pointedly asked the Conservative

leaders if they really supposed that he had not felt the pain involved in trying to do what was right and just, for if they did not, they should not recommend the Liberal party to inscribe "Bradlaugh and Blasphemy" on its banners. He admitted that the petitions against and for the Bill were as four to one; but although where their own immediate interests were concerned, the instincts of the people were usually a safe guide, it was not so where religious prejudice came in. The naturalisation of the Jews was bitterly opposed 130 years ago. The Catholic Emancipation Bill was only carried by a combination of political leaders. However guilty the Government might be in its neglect of duty the merit of the Bill was altogether a different matter, but he no more admitted that the Ministry had assisted Mr. Bradlaugh than the House of Lords or Lord Coleridge had assisted him. The Liberal party had suffered and was suffering on Mr. Bradlaugh's account. It had always done so where questions of religious toleration and religious disabilities were concerned, but the Protestantism of the country survived the Catholic Emancipation Act, and the Christianity of the country outlived the removal of Jewish disabilities. Passing from these incidental matters he dealt with the main contention of the Opposition that there ought to be some recognition of the supernatural in the oath. He objected to this first of all because, as Lord Lyndhurst put it, religious tests ought not to bar a man from the discharge of purely civil functions. In the second place, this contention declared that Christianity might be altogether dispensed with if only the name of the Deity were retained.

"I am convinced," continued Mr. Gladstone, "that on every religious ground, as well as every political ground, the true and the wise course is not to deal out religious liberty by halves, quarters, and fractions, but to deal it out entire, and make no distinctions between man and man on the ground of religious difference from one end of the land to the other. But I go a little further in endeavouring to probe this contention which has been so well put forward by hon. gentlemen opposite, and I want to know is your religious distinction a real distinction at all? I will, for the sake of argument, go with you on this dangerous ground of splitting theology into slices, and I ask you where you will draw the line. You draw your line at the point where the abstract denial of God is severed from the abstract admission of the Deity. My proposition is that your line thus drawn is worthless, and that much on this side of the line is as objectionable as the atheism on the other. If you call upon us to make distinctions, let them at least be rational; I do not say let them be Christian distinctions, but let them be rational. I can understand one rational distinction, that you would frame the oath in such a way as to recognise and indicate not only the existence of the Deity, but man's responsibility to the Deity; but is that your present rule? No; you know very well that from ancient times there have been sects and classes that have admitted in the abstract as freely as

Christians the existence of the Deity, but have held that of practical relations between Him and man there can be none. Hon. members will recollect the majestic lines—

Omnis enim per se Divôm natura necesse est  
 Immortali ævo summâ cum pace fruatur,  
 Sejunctâ a nostris rebus, semotaque longè.  
 Nam privata dolore omni, privata periculis,  
 Ipsa suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri,  
 Nec benè promeritis capitur, nec tangitur ira.

The sects I have mentioned hold, as did the writer of these lines, the existence of the Deity, but in modes and in places where He can have no concern with mankind. I do not hesitate to say that the specific evil, the specific form of irreligion, with which in the educated world of the country you have to contend, is not blank atheism. That is a rare opinion very seldom met with; but what is frequently met with is that varying form of opinion that would teach us that, whatever may be beyond the visible things of this world, you can know nothing of it, and that it is a bootless undertaking to attempt to establish relations with it. That is the mischief of the age, and that mischief you do not attempt to touch. What is more, you glory in the state of the law that now prevails; you wish to tolerate all differences of religion, you wish to allow every one to enter into your Chamber who admits the existence of the Deity. You would seek to admit Voltaire. That is a specimen of your toleration. Voltaire was not a taciturn foe of Christianity. He was the author of that painful phrase which goes to the heart of every Christian—*écraser l'infâme*. And that is the state of the law from which you are working up the country, to strengthen in the minds of the people the false notion that you have got a real test, a real safeguard, that Christianity is still safe with certain unavoidable exceptions under a protecting ægis within the walls of this Chamber, and for that you excite a great religious war. I hold that this contention of our opponents is disparaging to religion, it is idle, it is irrational. For if you are to have a religious test at all, a test of theism, it ought to be the test of a well-ascertained theism, not a mere abstract idea dwelling in the air and the clouds, but a practical recognition of Divine government and power to which we are to account for every thought we conceive, for every word we utter. . . . That sincere and conscientious defenders of the interests of religion are to be found on the opposite side of the House I do not question at this moment; but I do contend with my whole heart and soul that the interests of religion, as well as the interests of civil liberty, are concerned in the passing of this Bill. . . . As to the original intention of the oath, there is very little difference of opinion. But what has it become? It has become a theistic test. It does, as I think, involve a reference to Christianity in the consciences of some gentlemen in the other House of Parliament, and in this also. But undoubtedly it is not good for any of us to force this

test so flavoured, or even not so flavoured, upon men who cannot take it with a cordial acceptance. It is bad; it is demoralising. A seat in this House is to an ordinary Englishman in early life, or, perhaps, in middle or mature life, when he has reached a position of distinction in his career, the highest prize of his ambition. If you place between him and that prize not only the necessity of conforming to certain secular conditions, but the adoption of certain religious words, and if these words are not justly measured to the conditions of his conscience and convictions you give him an inducement—nay, I do not go too far when I say—you offer him a bribe to tamper with that condition, to do violence to his conscience in order that he may not be stigmatised by being shut out from the noblest privilege of Englishmen. . . . I own, although I am now, perhaps, going to injure myself by bringing the name of Mr. Bradlaugh into this controversy, I am strongly of opinion that this Bradlaugh controversy should come to a close. I have no fear of theism in this House. Religion is the expression of the Divine mind, and, however little our feeble vision may be able to discern the means by which God may provide for its preservation, we may leave the matter in His hands, and we may be sure that a firm and courageous application of every principle of justice is the best way for the preservation and maintenance of religion. And I must painfully record my opinion that grave injury has been done to religion in many minds—not in instructed minds, but in those which are ill-instructed or partially instructed—in consequence of things which ought never to have occurred. Great mischief has been done in many minds by a resistance offered to the man elected by the constituency of Northampton, which a portion of the people believe to be unjust. When they see the profession of religion and the interests of religion ostensibly associated with what they are deeply convinced is injustice, it leads to questions about religion itself which commonly end in impairing those convictions and that belief the loss of which I believe to be the most inexpressible calamity which can fall either upon a man or upon a nation.”

Although this eloquent speech called forth repeated bursts of applause, even from the Opposition ranks, none of the speakers who followed Mr. Gladstone seemed to realise the argument upon which his pleas for religious toleration were based; and his principal opponent (Mr. Gibson) was, perhaps, at the same time the only member who, during the debate, expressed the feelings which had been aroused by Mr. Gladstone's appeal. On the third night (April 30), Lord R. Churchill enlivened the discussion by a vigorous onslaught upon Mr. Gladstone, whose speech he declared to be as much above the question as a discourse from one of the Fathers of the Church. He held the question before the House to be one of policy, solely whether the law should be changed for the sake of one man who represented nobody but himself. Those who opposed this change were the respectable and religious



people of the country, while its supporters were the residuum and scum of the population, who scoffed at all restraint, moral or religious. He anticipated that hereafter the Conservatives would continue to take the oath, but the Radicals would affirm, some of them, no doubt, because the affirmation would be more convenient for their Republican and revolutionary views. He denied that an avowed atheist could take the oath, or that Mr. Bradlaugh could take the oath in the next Parliament, and he treated as a foul insult to the Jews the suggestion that relief of atheists was to be placed on the same footing as the Jewish Disabilities Bill. Atheists, he contended, were incapable, both by common law and statute, of holding official positions; and in opposition to Lord Coleridge's political dictum that Christianity is no longer part of the common law, he cited the opinions of Lord Erskine, Sir F. Kelly, and Barons Martin and Bramwell. Religious freedom had nothing to do with the question; it was a matter solely of common sense and prudence, and the responsibility for the change must rest with the Government, for the people were entirely guiltless of any complicity with it.

Numerous speakers followed and the whole evening was consumed without advancing the discussion in any perceptible degree, and when the time for adjournment arrived, or as some thought had not arrived, further time was wasted in coming to a conclusion which was misapprehended by not a few. The result was that when the House met on the following day, a long and wearisome wrangle took place as to whether the debate on the Affirmation Bill should be continued or the evening devoted to Mr. Hopwood's mischievous resolution on compulsory vaccination. Ultimately the Government carried its point, but little progress was made, and ultimately on the fifth night (May 3) a decision was arrived at. The conclusion of the debate was left to Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Hartington. The former replying to the charge often urged in the course of the debate that he had once favoured legislation, explained that what he had said was that if the Government dealt with the matter, they could only obtain what they wanted by legislation. Proceeding to argue the case, he maintained that the new affirmation would not be equivalent to the declaration of the Quaker; and the proposal to divorce religion from politics would have a serious effect abroad, especially in India. As to the right of the constituency of Northampton, it had no right to complain if, with full notice, it elected a disqualified person; and the other constituencies had a right to be consulted before the law was altered. He denied that this was a question of civil freedom, for the maintenance of that rested on the religious character of the people. As to the closing of the Bradlaugh controversy, that might be desirable, but the Bill would not effect it, and to pass this Bill would give the appearance of a personal triumph to Mr. Bradlaugh.

Lord Hartington said that, after hearing Sir Stafford North-

cote, he was still of opinion that the right hon. gentleman had at one time held a different view, and was ready to concur in a settlement of the question. He protested against the attempt to identify the Liberal party with the cause of Mr. Bradlaugh, and he denied emphatically that it was by the late Mr. Adam's invitation that he had contested Northampton. This was not a Bradlaugh Relief Bill, for though his election was the cause of its being raised, there were other reasons apart from him why it should be settled now that it had been raised. The noble lord gave his reasons for holding that the great question of civil and religious liberty was involved in the question, denied that the introduction of an atheist would secularise Parliament, and with regard to the petitions remarked that many of them went further than the rejection of the Bill. The Government, in recommending the Bill, believed that they were preserving the Sacred Word from the risk of profanation, that they were protecting religion from the degrading contact of party politics, and were upholding the principles of civil and religious liberty.

A division was then taken; and, amid great excitement, the Speaker announced the result—for the second reading 289, against it 292, thus leaving the Government in a minority of 3. There were loud cries for Mr. Gladstone, but they met with no response. The majority included 8 English and 9 Irish Liberals, and 36 Parnellites, the remainder being English, Scotch, and Irish Conservatives. Eighteen English and Scotch, and twenty-two Irish Liberals absented themselves, as did two Parnellites, Dr. Commins and The O' Gorman Mahon, but the Conservatives, with the exception of four, voted against the Bill, and of these the absence of only two, the Hon. P. Wyndham and Mr. Eaton, could be regarded as voluntary. The situation of the Government, consequent upon the rejection of the measure, raised but little interest. It was felt that on such a point resignation was at least improbable, whilst their promise to bring in a Relief Bill having been fulfilled and rejected, the political atmosphere was cleared, at least until a dissolution should bring the question before the constituencies. Even the *Standard* recognised this aspect and, admitting that the vote was not one of want of confidence, declared that it had weakened the authority and reputation of the Government, to a degree which would only be apparent at a future date.

When the House met on the following day (May 4), before commencing public business, the Speaker read a letter which he had received from Mr. Bradlaugh, informing him of his desire to come forward to take the oath, and asking, if the Speaker declined to call him to the table in the usual way, that he might be heard at the bar. The Speaker added that he should desire an instruction from the House on the point. At this cries were raised for Mr. Gladstone, but as he did not rise Sir Stafford Northcote moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the oath. He had no objection, he said, to Mr. Bradlaugh

being heard at the bar. Mr. Labouchere having moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be heard, and this being agreed to, Mr. Bradlaugh addressed the House, standing at the bar. He reminded the House that though he had been re-elected in March 1882 he had not since presented himself to take his seat. Having been present during the recent debates, he said he had been obliged to listen in silence to many imputations against him, but if he were as vile as he was made out to be that would not be a legal disqualification, nor a legitimate hindrance to the performance of his constitutional duty. Replying to the objections urged against him, he denied that he was or ever had been the candidate of the Government; and as to the opinions attributed to him, while denying that he had ever objected to the oath in the face of the House, he repudiated the right of the House to inquire into those opinions.

Mr. Labouchere then moved the "previous question." Mr. Gladstone said that he should not himself have divided against the resolution, but as the "previous question" had been moved he should support it. Sir S. Northcote reminded the House that if the "previous question" were carried, there would be nothing to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from taking the oath. The "previous question" was then negatived by 271 to 165, and Sir S. Northcote's resolution was agreed to, amid loud cheering.

A few days later Mr. Bradlaugh met his constituents at Northampton, and offered to resign his seat, declaring that if they desired him to retain it he should consider it his duty to disobey the House whenever he pleased, and how he pleased. This declaration was met by an apparently unanimous vote of confidence, and Mr. Bradlaugh was formally requested to retain his position as their representative. Calmer counsels, however, prevailed, and Mr. Bradlaugh devoted the greater part of the summer to holding public meetings throughout the country. They were, as a rule, well attended, and orderly conducted, and in some cases, as for instance at Newcastle, imposing demonstrations. The purport of the resolutions passed on all occasions was to affirm the inherent right of every duly elected person to take his seat in the legislative council of the nation. With persistent unanimity the organs of the London press ignored these expressions of provincial opinion, and refused to admit that they were likely to be productive of practical results in the excitement of a general election.

The remaining topics with which Parliament and the public were occupied during the second period of the Session were numerous, but little or no progress was made in practical legislation. The unfinished Transvaal debate was again taken up (April 13); but the crossed threads of the various amendments rendered any definite vote impossible. Mr. Forster's enthusiasm for the native races of South Africa led him for the moment to renounce the peace-principles of his creed, and to suggest that the moment might not be far distant when it would be the duty of

England to take up arms in defence of the Bechuanas; and in this, though for a very different reason, he found himself supported by the Opposition, whose strongly expressed desire was to inflict chastisement on the Boers. Mr. Goschen again was the spokesman of a party which still believed the enforcement of the Pretoria Convention to be possible; and failing that, would withdraw our Resident, although by so doing, a long and cruel struggle between the natives and the settlers might ensue. He was not, however, blind to the probable result of the *laissez faire* attitude assumed by the public at large, and by a large body of Liberals in Parliament on the South African question: and he foresaw nothing but confusion and disaster, unless the country made up its mind whether it intended to protect the native races in that part of the world, or whether it would adhere rigidly to the principle of non-intervention. Mr. Leatham probably expressed with truth the general feeling of the electorate, when he declared that the majority of the taxpayers of Great Britain would resent any proposal to spend money in the protection of the natives. Mr. Chamberlain, on behalf of the Government, indicated a policy which, whilst it took hints from all sides, satisfied none. He taunted the leaders of the Opposition with making warlike speeches in favour of a peace resolution; but he denied that even a war undertaken by our troops would prove beneficial to the natives. The Government, instead of spending money on a warlike demonstration in South Africa, which might involve them in intricate engagements, proposed rather to compensate by money or land those native chiefs and their personal adherents whose property had been seized by the Boers; a limitation which very naturally called forth protests from all quarters. No division was taken upon any of the points raised, and the debate was adjourned indefinitely.

Irish grievances were brought before the House on two occasions by private members—Mr. O'Connor Power, who wished to pledge the Government to some scheme for the artificial relief of Irish distress (April 10); and Mr. Barry, who proposed a system of local self-government (April 11), which would, if adopted, go far to realise the promises held out in the Queen's speech in 1881. Mr. O'Connor Power's description of the state of the West of Ireland was based upon the experience of a personal visit, and although some of the scenes he depicted may have been highly coloured, the broad facts of a generally prevailing and deep distress were scarcely challenged. His remedy for the misery he had witnessed was a judicious and economic system of migration, and optional and assisted emigration, together with a consolidation of the holdings from which tenants were removed. He found a supporter for this proposal amongst the English Conservative squires—Sir B. Leighton; but Lord Lynton, whose acquaintance with the Irish land question was not merely parliamentary and political, strongly opposed the migration proposed, and moved

that Government aid should be only given to assist emigration. There were, according to the most competent authorities, 100,000 tenants holding farms of less than 10 acres each, and of a valuation of 5*l.* or under, and to relieve these adequately and in accordance with Mr. O'Connor Power's scheme would, Lord Lymington contended, be almost impossible for the State, whilst the local rates were already so heavy, that any further burden on them would be dangerous. The Irish members having shown their customary diversity of opinion, Mr. Trevelyan, on behalf of the Government, opposed the motion, pointing out that the difference between Mr. O'Connor Power and the Government was that while the latter had been trying to relieve the congested districts of their over population by one process, which was only just beginning, the former proposed to do it by another, which was simply a form of peasant proprietary, under which the tenant, instead of buying the land on which he was settled and was cultivating, would have to buy poor land elsewhere. If the migration proposed were carried it would pledge the Government to a very serious extent. To settle 25,000 families, as was suggested by Mr. O'Connor Power, half a million acres would be required—of which the fee simple would cost three millions; two millions more would be needed for farm buildings, &c.; whereas 25,000 families emigrated at the rate of 5*l.* per head, as proposed by the Government, would only require 650,000*l.* In either case the money would be a dead loss, but in the latter a specific benefit would have been obtained, and the voluntary principle would have been unassailed. It was the opinion of the Government that the best remedy was the encouragement of emigration from those districts in families, and this opinion was supported by the highest authorities. The experiment already made had proved most beneficial, and the expectations of the Government as to its economical effects had been completely fulfilled. Mr. W. H. Smith urged that emigration was better than starvation. He maintained that compulsory migration must prove a failure. Lord Lymington's amendment was carried by 99 to 33, and the resolution as thus amended was negatived.

The Bill introduced by Mr. Barry, in the enforced absence of its real author Mr. Healy, was even less successful; but its intention, if less philanthropic, was thoroughly patriotic. Its object was to bring about the constitution of county councils in each county in Ireland, upon which three representatives should be elected by the ratepayers of every barony in the country. Every person whose name appeared on the last rate for the relief of the poor would be qualified to vote for the first election, and all subsequent elections were to be in the hands of the ratepayers. The Bill further provided that these councils should enjoy all the rights and powers on the one hand, and be subject to the same restrictions on the other, as are now applicable to municipal bodies corporate. Mr. Barry referred to the County Government Bill,

which the late Mr. Butt introduced in the year 1875, and expressed his belief that if the moderate and statesmanlike proposals it contained had been accepted at the time in the spirit in which they were made, much of the keen political excitement and social disorder which had followed would have been avoided. Nothing was done till 1879, when Sir M. Hicks-Beach introduced another Bill for grand jury reform, which was soon dropped. In 1881 the Queen's Speech contained a paragraph stating that a Bill dealing with the question of county government would be introduced by the Government; but for some reason or other the Government did not pass the promised measure. He therefore asked the Government to give their special attention and support to this measure, the first advantage of which was its being based upon popular representation; and secondly, it established something like continuity of authority in the counties, which at present did not exist.

The Irish members were again divided in their opinions as to the value of the proposed measure, and Mr. Trevelyan, on the ground of want of time, refused to support it, although by so doing he was forced to vote against a Bill which he had cordially supported eight years previously. Mr. Barry, however, obtained the votes of a few independent Radicals, and mustered 58 supporters, whilst the Government counted 231 adherents recruited from both sides of the House.

In the House of Lords the condition of Ireland had also been discussed, though from a somewhat different point of view. Lord Dunraven (April 13), in calling attention to the condition of agricultural labourers in Ireland, observed that the condition of that class never had been very satisfactory. They were poorly fed and clothed, very insufficiently paid, and in many cases the farmers charged them exorbitant rents for the cabins in which they lived. Of late years there had been remedial measures for the farmers; but, as a consequence of those measures, the labourers were worse off than they had been before, because the landowners were not able to give them so much employment as they gave them in former times, and because Parliament vested in the tenant farmer the value of improvements made by the labourer, whose only compensation was, perhaps, one year's crop allowed him by the tenant of the reclaimed land. He estimated that a million of human beings were interested in this question. He suggested that the labourers ought to have better dwellings, that they should be secured against capricious eviction, and that the tenant farmer should not be allowed to charge a penny more rent to the labourer for his small holding than the farmer himself paid for it. He moved that, in the opinion of the House, it was desirable to legislate on behalf of the Irish agricultural labourers as soon as the condition of the country permitted such legislation.

Lord Carlingford, on behalf of the Government, admitted the general truth of Lord Dunraven's description of the farm labourer's

law, if which the Irishing arose from their employment not being constant and from their dwellings being so miserably miserable. He did not see how the Irish could be materially benefited by direct legislation; but certainly anything which relieved districts of congested population would be of service to them in increasing the demand for labour, and nothing would be of greater service to them than an alteration of that system of Poor Law rating which had contributed to the clearing of lands and the overcrowding of the small towns. He did not suppose Lord Dunraven himself expected that any practical good would result from the adoption of his motion. Although content to withdraw a resolution, which in truth was only intended to provoke discussion, and to ascertain the general tendency of the views of the Government, Lord Dunraven showed no intention of allowing the matter to rest at this stage. Accordingly, ten days later (April 23), armed with a fresh array of facts, he once more brought forward the question of Irish distress, showing by the official statistics that the number of live stock in that country had largely diminished; that the land there had been rapidly going out of cultivation, while, though pasturage had been increasing, its increase had not been in proportion to the decrease in cultivation; and that the fisheries and other industries, with the exception of flax, in which for a time there had been an increase, which, however, had not been maintained, had been going down. All this depreciation had been most marked since 1871, and the way in which he accounted for it was that capital had been withdrawn from Ireland. He pointed out that large numbers of the Irish people were in a very wretched condition, being devoid at all times of some of the necessaries of life, and being from time to time subjected to actual famine. He had more than once recommended that the State should foster small industries in Ireland, and that it should encourage a large scheme of emigration. He believed that the promotion of railways and the opening up of roads would be very useful; but he did not believe in a scheme of reclamation and migration set on foot by the State, nor in a State attempt to establish large manufactures in Ireland. He contended that no private efforts or endeavours of voluntary societies could conduct emigration from Ireland on a sufficiently extensive scale. He had no sympathy with the objection entertained by the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops and priests to emigration as a principle, and he thought the existence of that objection was a lamentable fact. Though he did not take a very sanguine view of the prospects of Ireland, he was of opinion that the state of things there might be much improved by emigration. He therefore moved that the House was of opinion that a large scheme of emigration was desirable in that country.

Lord Lansdowne, having referred to the excessive amount of poor rates in some of the Irish counties, added that there were a quarter of a million Irish tenants so poor that they could not exist decently, even if they had no rent to pay. From these and similar

causes he drew the conclusion that the only remedy was emigration on a scale very much more extensive than that contemplated in the Act under which the Government now assisted in promoting it. "If," he said, "there was a population that could not live, and there was no hope for them in a scheme for the reclamation of land or in the establishment of manufactures; if they could not remove the population to other parts of Ireland without the evils to which he had referred, surely it followed, almost as a mathematical demonstration, that the only thing to be done was to emigrate them altogether." Other Irish landlords followed on the same side, and concurring in the picture drawn by Lord Dunraven.

Lord Carlingford, on the part of the Government, whilst maintaining that there was more light and less shade in Irish prospects than some of the previous speakers had seemed inclined to allow, admitted that the improvement was of very recent date, and could only be gathered from the reports received by the Lord Lieutenant from the distressed districts. Evidence, moreover, was every week coming in that the local authorities and private individuals were beginning to take advantage of the benefits offered to them by recent legislation. Under the existing law, occupiers in Ireland could borrow money to make roads which might be found desirable for the purpose of land reclamation. The amount applied for by occupiers up to that time had been 261,000*l.*, of which 96,000*l.* had been sanctioned, and 22,000*l.* actually advanced, whilst 118,000*l.* was under consideration. From inquiry and a full consideration of the subject, he felt convinced that no plan of reclamation and migration conducted by the State which had yet been suggested was at all desirable. He concurred with Lord Lansdowne as to emigration, and he announced that there was then before the Government an offer of a very hopeful kind for the removal of a number of selected families from the West of Ireland to the other side of the Atlantic, and that he hoped to be in a position before long to state to the House the particulars of a plan which appeared to him to be genuine and important. If Lord Dunraven went to a division he certainly could not vote against him, but after what he had just said he hoped that the motion would not be put. Satisfied with the assurance he had received, Lord Dunraven complied with this request; and before the session closed, had the satisfaction of seeing his scheme virtually adopted by Lord Spencer.

The grants to Lords Wolseley and Alcester for their services in the Egyptian campaign were not allowed to pass without challenge; indeed, the opposition they called forth was so strong that the Government found it subsequently necessary to change their original form, with the inevitable result of raising the question a second time, and of accentuating such portion of public opinion as was hostile alike to the duties imposed upon the British army and navy and to the mode adopted for expressing the nation's gratitude. The Royal messages (April 16) in the first instance



recommended in each case annuities of 2,000*l.* per annum for two lives. The opposition to these grants was led (April 19) by Mr. Labouchere, who moved that the services of Lord Alcester were not of such a character as to make the passing of the Bill desirable. Referring to the solemn pledge in favour of retrenchment given by the Government on the debate on Mr. Rylands's motion (April 6), he thought that the present demand was a rather abrupt change of front. Moreover, as Lord Alcester's son was not yet born, it was difficult to understand the services he could have rendered to his country. As for Lord Alcester himself, Mr. Gladstone had eulogised him first of all because he aided in the transport of troops to Ismailia; and secondly, because he bombarded Alexandria. During the Peninsular and the Crimean wars and the Indian Mutiny troops were transported, but nobody ever got a pension for it. As for the bombardment, 850 men were killed or wounded at Algiers; but only eight were killed and twenty-six wounded at Alexandria—a proof that there was no great danger in the operation. In not having troops ready to land after the bombardment, Lord Alcester was flying in the face of a joint note from the foreign consuls, and the destruction of the forts under such circumstances was to court the horrors which immediately followed in the town. A week previously, moreover, Lord Alcester had dined at the Mansion House, and there he made these remarks:—

“I was told in distinct terms that I must do nothing until measures could be adopted to remove the European population. The massacre of Alexandria took place on June 11. I will ask you to pay attention to what I say now. The last vessel containing refugees from Egypt was towed out of the harbour of Alexandria at 4 P.M. on July 10, and we attacked the batteries at 7 o'clock on the following morning. Therefore there was no lack of promptitude in endeavouring to redress the grievances we had to obtain redress for.”

Lord Alcester thus entirely threw over the Blue Books, and made it clear that the bombardment was a punishment for the massacre of June 11. “Did the Government,” asked Mr. Labouchere, “accept that view, and admit that they had been hoodwinked? If so, how could they ask the House to grant a pension? The moment Mr. Bright heard of the bombardment he resigned, and this strengthened the suspicion that the Government knew nothing about it until it had actually occurred.” Coming to the general question, he said that there were precedents for and against hereditary pensions. In the cases of Lord Clive and Lord Lyons they were limited to one life, and so also in the case of Lord Nelson after the battle of the Nile. He was given 2,000*l.* a year for life, although the battle was a little more important than the blowing up of Alexandria. Admiral Parker, who opened up the Chinese Empire, received nothing. Sir Charles Napier and Sir Robert Stopford, after the siege of Acre, were similarly treated.

The only pensions granted after the Crimean war were those to Lord Raglan's family. The Duke of Wellington won Seringapatam and Assaye, but received no title until after his Portuguese services, and 2,000*l.* a year for two lives was not voted to him until 1812, when his roll of victories was a long and splendid one. "A very recent case," pursued Mr. Labouchere, "was that of General Roberts. If 12,500*l.* was enough for him, why should Lord Alcester receive 2,000*l.* a year for two lives? Military pensions are relics of the bad old times when it was considered nobler to wear a sword than to be distinguished in civil pursuits. Nobody proposed to give Mr. Gladstone and Sir Stafford Northcote pensions. Lord Beaconsfield never got a pension. For ten years past Lord Alcester had received 3,467*l.* annually when out on active service. He was paid 766*l.* a year as Admiral, and would retire on a pension of 850*l.* As a naval Lord of the Admiralty he received 1,200*l.* a year, and out of the vote for special services in Egypt, while a common sailor would get only 2*l.*, Lord Alcester would have 961*l.* as his share. Surely this was a sufficient reward. These noble pensioners were simply persons in the receipt of outdoor relief. Such things were only possible in a Parliament like the present one, which does not represent the mind of the country, and the sooner it is reformed the better. If they wanted to reward Lord Alcester, why not pay him a lump sum down and be done with it? He had no doubt some of Her Majesty's Ministers would follow him into the lobby, for Mr. Chamberlain, at any rate, ought not to add to the number of 'those who toil not, neither do they spin.' Sir Charles Dilke, he hoped, would also vote with him. He trusted the permeation process carried on by these two gentlemen had gone far enough to produce one or two permeated colleagues who would also vote against the Bill." The loud applause with which the whole of the Liberal party received this speech seemed to be a revelation to Mr. Gladstone, who was evidently not prepared for such a cordial reception, among his own followers, of an attack of which full warning had been given. The amendment was seconded by Mr. Rylands, and Mr. Gladstone's supporters were all to be found on the Opposition side of the House, until Mr. Childers rose to say that the Government were prepared to regard the question of a lump sum or of a pension as one of mere detail, wherein he was prepared to accept the general sense of the House. He attempted, as did Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, afterwards to explain away the words used by Lord Alcester at the Mansion House; but neither of the Government apologists succeeded in removing the impression the words had conveyed. No further attempt was made by the Ministry to defend their course of action, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson was allowed to close the debate with a humorous attack on the Jingo policy of the Liberal Government. When the division was called, a number of independent Radicals left the House; but the Ministry, supported by the Conservative

leaders and their followers, defeated Mr. Labouchere's amendment by 209 to 77, and subsequently carried the second reading of Lord Alcester's Annuity Bill by 217 to 85. The opposition to Lord Wolseley's pension, which was taken separately, was led by Messrs. Broadhurst and Burt, the working-men's representatives. Lord Hartington defended the action of the Government on technical grounds and by an appeal to precedents, avoiding, as far as possible, any discussion of the policy which rendered the Egyptian campaign inevitable. The opposition to Lord Wolseley's pension numbered 55, whilst 178 supported the Ministerial proposals.

Early in the session the friends of the farmer found an opportunity of pressing upon the Government the need for legislation, and the general assent with which the claim was received, although opinions widely differed as to the mode of redress, doubtless determined the Government to give precedence to their Agricultural Holdings Bill over the promised Bill for the reform of the Government of London. The farmers' campaign was opened by Mr. Pell (April 17), who moved that no further delay should be allowed in granting adequate relief to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of national services required of local authorities. Tracing the history of the question of local burdens since 1872, when Sir Massey Lopes had, by a majority of 100, carried a resolution against the Ministry of the day, condemning the injustice of the then existing system, Mr. Pell declared that during the interval of inactivity the question had grown more complicated, and the burdens thrown on the rates had grown heavier. The national services referred to by Mr. Pell in his survey, included indoor relief of the poor, the maintenance of pauper lunatics, the payment of the constabulary, &c. In England alone an annual expenditure of 55 millions was involved in these matters, and of this sum at least one-half was raised out of rates, whilst the loans issued already amounted to 144 millions. Real property in England was absolutely in pawn for these local loans, raised to construct gaols now unused, workhouses unoccupied, and sanitary experiments abandoned; and whilst the burden of providing for this expenditure fell chiefly to smaller ratepayers in the boroughs and to rural occupiers, these had little or no voice in the control of the policy which ended in those failures. Mr. Pell's avowed desire was to pledge the Ministry to deal at once with a question which ten years of parliamentary discussion had ripened. Mr. Albert Grey, who on this occasion came forward to the assistance of the Government with an amendment (which Mr. Pell said had been drawn by an older hand) recognising the necessity of relief, but declaring that it should be given by transferring the proceeds of taxes to local authorities, and in connection with a reform of local government. Of the three modes of giving relief—subvention, further centralisation, and the appropriation of imperial taxes—he preferred the latter, and he indicated various taxes, such as the

house tax, the game and gun licences, the dog licence, carriage licence, armorial bearings, and drink licences, amounting to nearly five millions, which might very properly be devoted to the relief of local burdens. The income tax also might be so used, but it was impossible at present to adopt this mode of relief, because there were no local authorities to whom the taxes could be handed over.

This alternative proposal was, however, scarcely to the taste of the country party; for although there was nothing in their speeches to show that they were thinking only of the landowners, yet the obvious hesitation they showed to having the house tax handed over to defray the expenses of local government, suggested the idea that a reform in the incidence of taxation which would chiefly affect suburban districts was not the most prominent thought in the minds of the county landowners. Mr. H. H. Fowler showed very plainly that the settlement of the question was far less simple than either the author of the resolution or of the amendment supposed. The total amount raised by local taxation was about  $32\frac{1}{2}$  millions, of which 27 millions were raised by rates. Of this latter sum  $5\frac{1}{2}$  millions were contributed by London,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  millions by the municipal boroughs,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions by mixed urban and rural districts, and only  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions by purely rural districts. The expenditure of local taxes was for the benefit of all descriptions of property, and therefore he protested against the whole burden being borne by one description—namely, real property. Sir Baldwyn Leighton, in supporting the resolution, declared that the patience of the ratepayers was well nigh exhausted. The only changes which had been made, like the imposition of highway rates in lieu of tolls, had been to the detriment of the farmer; the charge for the constabulary, at first optional, was made compulsory, whilst the cost of the maintenance of pauper lunatics had increased to an alarming extent. With reference to this latter charge, Sir B. Leighton threw out the somewhat original suggestion, that, inasmuch as a great proportion of insanity was attributable to intemperance, the proceeds of public house licences should be assigned to the local authorities. Other small sources of revenue should, he considered, be also handed over for the relief of taxation, and the deficit made up by a tax upon personal property, to be raised, not through the agency of any of the income-tax schedules, but by means of a stamp on investments of capital. The addition of *4d.* in the pound, or, if necessary, of 2 per cent. on every sum invested beyond a certain limit, would, he declared, produce at least three millions, whilst neither the general revenue nor the Consolidated Fund would be touched. Sir Massey Lopes, after discussing the increase of local taxation, and the decrease over its control, to which the financial history of the previous quarter of a century bore witness, followed very much the same line of argument, declaring that the existing system was cruelly alike to landowner and occupier, between

whom the burdens imposed had to be shared. He saw in the amendment evidence that the Government were not in earnest, and that they were glad of some excuse to shelve the question for another session.

Sir Charles Dilke at once rose to repel this suggestion, showing that Mr. Grey's amendment, if accepted, would declare that the reform of local taxation was most urgently required. If it were to it rather than to the resolution that the Government gave their support, it was because the latter was absolutely vague and had been supported by speeches contradictory to one another. He then proceeded to answer in detail the various points raised by preceding speakers, especially by Sir Massey Lopes, with whom he thoroughly agreed on the principle that everybody should contribute to the local rates according to his utmost ability. The difficulty was to apply this principle, and to decide the limits of urban and rural districts. The questions of local taxation and local government, he contended, were so closely mixed up, that the two questions ought to be dealt with together. Mr. Sclater-Booth replied that for ten or twelve years the Liberals had been talking of this division of the rates between the owner and occupier, and holding out vague promises of reform, but had so far done nothing. He (Mr. Sclater-Booth) held that what was more necessary was to separate the interests of owners and occupiers of land in towns and in the rural districts. In a city like London, it was difficult to say who should, for purposes of rating, be considered the owner, and who should be made liable for a rate levied in respect of the expenditure that was for the comfort or convenience of the occupant. In the rural districts a very different difficulty presented itself, for there the farmer, a man of small means, was rated in inverse ratio to his income, whilst his landlord escaped very lightly. With regard to the assertion so frequently made that any remission of taxation on land would be for the benefit of the owner, and not for the occupier, Mr. Sclater-Booth was of opinion that the times were so bad for landlords in the matter of letting farms, that they would be unable to take any advantage of the remission of local rates. The condition of the agricultural interest, moreover, was such that relief, however slight, would be welcome as a boon. He did not wish to have recourse to the Consolidated Fund for indoor relief; he preferred the idea of general rates applicable to the whole kingdom, similar to the general metropolitan poor rates; he was ready to give up the house tax for local purposes, though it would be throwing upon occupiers of houses in towns an additional burden; and he thought that the carriage licence duty was fairly applicable to the highway rates. Mr. Goschen thought that speakers on both sides too frequently lost sight of the fact that it was impossible to relieve ratepayers without burdening taxpayers; that practically the two classes were identical, and that imposts must be found of which the proceeds would go to the relief of the rates. He therefore asked the sup-

porters of the resolution whom they wished to relieve, and how would any measures agreed upon operate upon the two classes? With regard to the house tax, the Conservatives, as far back as 1871, had rejected its transfer to relieve local rates, on the ground that the relief it would afford would be totally inadequate in the rural districts, although these had not the same grievances as the urban districts. Mr. Goschen was equally sceptical of the results of a subvention from the Consolidated Fund, which was simply a euphony for putting taxes upon incomes, or upon commodities already taxed for Imperial purposes. The question of centralisation or decentralisation in his eyes, was not less important than that of taxation. He was opposed to the idea of handing over to the Central Government the police, or the lunatics, or the indoor poor. He hoped rather, that when County Boards were established, they would take not only the management of these matters, but they would relieve the Central Government of much of the work now forced upon it. For this reason he maintained that local reform and local relief should be considered together, and that the object of all legislation should be to stimulate local interest in local affairs. Sir Stafford Northcote briefly defended the action of the Government of which he had been a member. If the system of subvention was a wrong one, at all events it was an attempt to grapple with the question. He protested against the strategy of the Liberal Government, which refused to grant a boon admitted to be well deserved until it had proposed something with respect to local government. If the proposal were a good one, it should be accepted on its own merits, and if not, people ought not to be driven to accept it.

Mr. Gladstone then rose to close the debate. He denied the need of any dilatory plea, as the Government had notoriously had no opportunity of dealing with the question. The motion meant a demand for an immediate increase of taxation and a reversal of the Budget arrangements. It implied, also, a continuance of the system of subventions, which he objected to, because it tended to increase centralisation and waste. He accepted the principle that these charges ought not to be imposed on one description of property alone, but the revision ought not to be effected piecemeal, and due care should be taken that justice should be done between different kinds of property and different classes of the community, and that charges now borne by property should not be transferred to labour.

The House then divided on almost purely party lines, the bulk of the Home Rulers voting with the Conservatives in support of Mr. Pell's resolution, which was negatived by 229 votes to 217; and Mr. A. Grey's amendment was then agreed to without a division.

Four weeks later, at one o'clock of the morning, as the House was separating for the Whitsuntide recess (May 10), Mr. Dodson brought in the reply of the Government to the demands of the

Conservatives and its own supporters. The Agricultural Holdings Bill, however, had, it was asserted, been very much changed from the shape in which the Tenant Right Bill for England and Scotland had originally been drafted. The reason assigned was the need of disarming the opposition, and of offering an instalment which it might be found possible to pass in the remaining weeks of the Session. From the outset it was announced as a compromise, and if it failed to excite enthusiasm amongst its friends, it was hoped that it might escape from the hostility of its enemies. The Farmers' Alliance, through its mouthpieces in Parliament, Mr. J. W. Barclay and Mr. J. Howard, at once announced their opposition to the measure, and soon afterwards they found a powerful ally in Mr. Borlase, although there was not complete harmony on all points between the Radical objectors to the Bill. The object of the Agricultural Holdings Bill, as briefly explained by Mr. Dodson, was to entitle tenants to receive compensation from their landlords, on the termination of their tenancies, for any improvements which they may have made. The measure of the compensation was to be the value of the improvement to the incoming tenant.

The various agricultural "improvements" recognised by the Bill were twenty-one in number, as in the Act of 1875; and as there, divided into three classes, though in a different way. For most works of a permanent character the consent of the landlord would be a condition precedent to the claim for compensation. And if, in giving his consent, the landlord should insist upon any agreement as to compensation, it might be substituted for the provision of the Bill. Consequently the landlord has an opportunity of contracting himself out of this part of the Bill. The improvements referred to in this class were the erection or enlargement of buildings, the laying down of permanent pasture, the making and planting of osier beds, the making of water meadows or works of irrigation, the making of gardens, the making or improving of roads or bridges, the making or improving of watercourses, ponds, wells, or reservoirs, or of works for supply of water for agricultural or domestic purposes, the making of fences, the planting of hops, the planting of orchards, the reclaiming of waste land, and the warping of land.

Drainage was omitted from the first class of improvements, and set in a class by itself. For this, the consent of the landlord would be no longer necessary, but notice must be given to him of any intended work. If the landlord and tenant should agree upon any compensation, it would override that granted by the Bill. If not, the landlord would have the power to carry out the work himself, and charge the tenant 5 per cent. on the outlay; if on the other hand the drainage be undertaken by the tenant, he would then be entitled to compensation under the Bill.

In the third class were comprised the boning of land with undissolved bones, the chalking of land, clay burning, claying, liming, marling, the application to land of purchased artificial or

other purchased manure, the consumption on the holding by cattle, sheep, or pigs of cake or other feeding stuff not produced on the holding. For these more or less temporary improvements no consent of the landlord or notice would be requisite.

The form of procedure for ascertaining the amount of compensation to be paid followed closely that laid down in the Agricultural Holdings Act. The mode was to be by arbitration, with a reference in the last resort to the county court. One of the changes raised from 50*l.* to 100*l.* the limit which the sum in dispute must exceed for an appeal to the county court to be permitted.

In ascertaining the compensation certain things were to be taken into account in reduction of it. First among these was any benefit which the landlord had given to the tenant in consideration of the latter executing the improvement. With regard to compensation for manures, the value of the manure that would have been produced by the consumption on the holding of any hay, straw, roots, or green crops sold off the holding within the last two years of the tenancy, or other less time for which the tenancy had endured, was also to be taken into consideration, except so far as a proper return of manure to the holding had been made in respect of the produce sold off. The landlord could not obtain compensation in respect of waste by the tenant or of breach by the tenant committed in relation to a matter of husbandry more than four years before the determination of the tenancy. On the other hand, any sum due to the tenant for compensation in respect of a breach of covenant connected with a contract of tenancy and committed by the landlord, might be taken into account in augmentation of the tenant's compensation.

Existing contracts were brought under the operation of the Bill, but only in a modified form. For with regard to all tenancies current at the commencement of the Bill—January 1, 1884—if an agreement in writing or custom or the Agricultural Holdings Act provided specific compensation for an improvement, this was to be taken as substituted for the compensation of the Bill. In respect of improvements already executed compensation was not to be payable under the Bill except in the case of temporary improvements for which the tenant would not be entitled to any compensation under contract, custom, or the Act of 1875.

While "distress" was not altogether abolished, the sum for which a landlord might distrain was reduced to one year's rent. The distress, moreover, was not in general to be made on live stock taken in to graze, or on agricultural machinery which had been hired. (These proposals were taken from a Bill introduced by Mr. Heneage and several members from both sides of the House.) Fixtures, such as machinery, engines and the like, were to be the property of the tenant, and to be removable by him, subject, however, to the landlord's right of purchase at the fair value to an incoming tenant, and to be settled by arbitration.



Wherever a six months' notice for terminating a tenancy was hitherto required, it was to be increased to twelve months, unless a written agreement to the contrary existed. Leave was at once given to bring in the Bill for England, and likewise a similar one for Scotland.

On the following day (May 11) Sir R. A. Cross found an occasion to arraign the Foreign Office on the impunity with which the Spanish Government had been allowed to carry off a Cuban revolutionary leader who had taken refuge in Gibraltar. After recapitulating the facts of how Maceo and other ex-rebel officers from Cuba escaped from prison at Cadiz, made their way to Tangiers, and thence reached Gibraltar, where they were surrendered to the Spanish authorities, Sir R. Cross complained bitterly that the Foreign Office first of all took five months to consider the matter, and then sent Sir Robert Morier to the Spanish Government to say that he could not possibly demand the redelivery of Maceo, but that if the Spaniards would let him out Earl Granville would be very much obliged to them. Sir H. D. Wolff thought that Sir Robert Morier was not to blame so much as the weak and cringing instructions from Earl Granville which he had to carry out. Speaking for his old department, Sir Charles Dilke contended that the Foreign Office had no case sanctioned by international law against the Spanish Government. The one thing worse than having a bad case was having a bad case and pretending to have a good one. Sir Hardinge Giffard said that as the Gibraltar authorities and the Spanish consul were evidently acting in collusion, the Government had a strong case on every principle of international law. But the Attorney-General pointed out to him that he was wrong in supposing that there was the slightest evidence of trick, fraud, or conspiracy on the part of the consul, and with this explanation and the assurance that Maceo would be given up to the British authorities, the matter was allowed to drop, and the House adjourned for the Whitsuntide recess.

#### CHAPTER IV.

State of Public Business—Meeting of the Liberal Party—Mr. Errington and the Vatican Mission—The Ministerial Measures—The Corrupt Practices Bill in Committee—The Suez Canal and the Government Proposals—The withdrawal of Sir Stafford Northcote's Motion—Lord Rosebery's Retirement—Lord George Hamilton's Resolution—The Grand Committees of Law and Trade—Women's Suffrage—Marriage with Deceased Wife's Sister Bill—The Channel Tunnel—The Bright Celebration at Birmingham—The Cobden Club—The Madagascar Incident—Agricultural Holdings Bill—Conflict between the two Houses—Egypt—The Irish Migration Scheme—Results of Session—Prorogation of Parliament.

THE state of public business when the House of Commons adjourned for the Whitsuntide holidays was the principal topic of public criticism, on the platform and in the press. Conservative members addressing their constituents, like Mr. Gibson at Cam-

bridge (May 11), Colonel Stanley at Kendal, and Lord Henry Lennox at Chichester (May 17), and Messrs. J. Lowther and Rowland Winn in Lincolnshire (May 18), saw in the defeat of the Affirmation Bill, in the vacillation of the Government, and in the readiness with which important measures were referred to Grand Committees, evidence of the approaching collapse of Mr. Gladstone's administration. The new rules, although they might have softened some of the asperities of debate, and forced those opposed to Liberal legislation to veil their obstruction under plausible excuses, had been able to achieve little more than the reference of four great administrative bills to broadly-constituted Committees, and thus to leave time free for the discussion of the situation, and of such purely political or party measures as would hold the Liberals together and conciliate the constituencies, which might be still looking for a fulfilment of some of the promises conveyed in the Queen's Speech. The Speaker of the House of Commons (Sir Henry Brand), addressing his constituents at Royston (May 17), took a more hopeful view of the Parliamentary horizon; and whilst admitting that there were many reforms which still pressed for settlement, found in public indifference a reason for not hurrying on the action of the Government. When once the people had made up its mind to have any particular measure, Ministers would have comparatively little difficulty in forcing it upon the attention of Parliament. Sir Henry Brand thought that the Tenant Right Bill, the reform of county government, the solution of the vexed question of entail, settlement, and intestacy, the simpler transfer of land, and the enfranchisement of the county householder, were the points on which the "will of the people" would sooner or later make itself heard. He admitted that there were in the House of Commons those who, knowing that there was work to be done, could not refrain from "playing the hazardous game of how not to do it." Liberals in a less responsible position were not backward in urging the Government to take a high-handed line, and to trust to its friends inside and outside Parliament for necessary support.

The position of the Liberal party between Easter and Whitsuntide, it was freely admitted, had not improved. Disorganisation had been followed by depression, and disaster was anticipated if prompt and vigorous measures were not speedily adopted. Various courses were suggested to the Liberal leaders: either to keep Parliament together until all the measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech had been disposed of, or to appropriate the nights (Tuesdays and Fridays) allotted to private members, who had shown very slender regard for their privilege, as was witnessed by the frequent "counts out" happening on those evenings; or else to call together the rank and file of the party, and by a frank disclosure of their intentions and policy, to animate the body with a spirit of union and confidence. The greatest dangers, according to these unofficial advisers of the Ministry, lay in a barren session, closing

with the prospect, immediate or remote, of a general election; and in a repetition of those dangerous tactics which consisted in promising in a future session measures which, however pressing avowedly, were not attempted to be introduced forthwith. The only clue afforded as to the views of the Government was contained in a letter addressed by Mr. Gladstone to the President of the Liverpool Liberal Association (May 22), in which the Prime Minister promised his utmost endeavours to overcome the legislative difficulties of the House of Commons; but "for himself, he looked forward hopefully to the principle of devolution by Grand Committees as affording the means of promoting the despatch of public business."

It, however, soon became apparent that the need of some definite explanation of the Ministerial intentions was peremptory. Accordingly Mr Gladstone summoned his followers to meet him in the Foreign Office, to discuss the state of public business, whilst on the same day (May 29) the Conservative party were called together at the Carlton Club to settle the attitude to be adopted towards the Agricultural Holdings Bill. The former meeting was attended by upwards of 250 members, including Mr. Bright and Mr. W. E. Forster, former members of the administration, and Mr. Goschen, whose relations were those of an independent supporter; whilst Mr. Gladstone was accompanied by both Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, the representatives in the Cabinet of Radical principles.

Mr. Gladstone began by saying that the circumstances of the session had been exceptionally unfavourable in three respects. The debate on the Address, usually confined within one week, had extended over ten days, and thus occasioned an irretrievable loss of time. Secondly the Government had felt the necessity of introducing the Affirmation Bill, not for party purposes, but from a sense of the necessity of maintaining the peace, order, and dignity of the House of Commons. Thirdly, there had arisen, and was growing, a practice during Supply of introducing all manner of topics of general debate, the result of which had been that twelve nights had been devoted so far to Supply—a very fair appropriation of time—but that in these twelve nights they had only passed twenty-eight votes out of 190. Therefore the time had come when it was proper to take a steady survey of the legislative prospects of the session. Circumstances were now ripe for a serious endeavour to forecast the Parliamentary future. It was their duty to make only a reasonable demand on the House of Commons, such a demand as they would spare no effort in exacting, and for which they could rely upon their patient, resolute, energetic, and, he might say, harmonious support. They could not expect a brilliant session, but a good and not discreditable session. Mr. Gladstone divided the measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech into two groups. First, the four Bills referred to the Grand Committees. These were a capital feature on the whole. To these the Government adhered in their entirety. The second

group consisted of the Tenants' Compensation Bill, the Corrupt Practices Bill, and the London Municipality Bill. In viewing this group they had done their best to form rational, he could not say sanguine, expectations. They had come to the conclusion to adhere to the Corrupt Practices Bill and the Tenants' Compensation Bill; but he regretted to say that they had abandoned the hope of dealing with London government during the present session. Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to give the reasons for this preference, which were—(1) the great number of subjects requiring full and detailed consideration in the London Bill; (2) the larger area affected by the Tenants' Compensation Bill, and the propriety, in consequence of agricultural depression and other causes, of extending to England and Scotland some of the consideration which had been bestowed upon Ireland. He then, amid loud and emphatic cheering, insisted upon the claims of the Corrupt Practices Bill as of paramount importance.

Summing up the four Bills in the first group, together with the Tenants' Compensation Bill and the Corrupt Practices Bill, and adding to these various secondary measures, he hoped for such a legislative harvest as would show the country the earnestness of their desire to grapple with increasing difficulties. No effort should be spared so far as the Government were concerned. They had thought it better to state the measures which they had a reasonable hope of carrying than to make a larger list which would have afterwards to be curtailed. After an expression of his appreciation of the self-denial and the unusual generosity of action, and a consideration which was not usual and certainly not uniform in Parliamentary business, of his own supporters, Mr. Gladstone announced the intention of the Government to have morning sittings on Tuesdays and Fridays during the remainder of the session. These proposals were generally approved by all sections of the party, even Mr. Dillwyn, the strenuous upholder of the rights of private members, recognising the necessity of their sacrifice to the needs of the Government.

In the course of the evening Mr. Gladstone briefly announced to the House of Commons the intentions of the Government, adding that until after the Corrupt Practices Bill was passed he would be unable to deal with the seats of the disfranchised boroughs, but he hoped to find time to legislate on behalf of both the Scotch Universities and Welsh Intermediate Education.

At the Carlton Club the Conservative meeting was of a less formal character. The various ministerial measures were passed in review, and a general agreement was come to that any attempt on the part of the Government to push forward their measures by an invasion of the rights of private members should be strongly opposed.

For the first few nights after its re-assembling the House of Commons had given up most of its time to the routine business of voting the Estimates. It was not, however, long before both

the Colonial policy of the Government and its relations with the Pope were made the subject of lengthened discussion.

Sir H. Holland having asked (May 24) what steps the Government proposed to take to put an end to the hostilities going on in Zululand, Mr. Ashley replied that it was not the intention of the Government to interfere in the quarrels of Zululand any more than before the Zulu war. This answer was received with derisive cheers from the Opposition side, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach asked whether Cetewayo had not undertaken not to make war on his neighbours without the sanction of the British Government, and whether the Government intended that the Convention with him should be as complete a dead letter as the Transvaal Convention. To this Mr. Ashley declined to give any answer, except on notice. Accordingly, on the following day (May 25).

Sir M. Hicks-Beach repeated his question, whether Cetewayo had not engaged not to make war on his neighbours without the sanction of the British Government, and to refer all disputes to arbitration; whether Cetewayo had broken any of these conditions; and whether it was intended to allow the Convention with him to remain a dead letter, like the Transvaal Convention. Mr. Ashley, in reply, referred his questioner to the Blue Books already on the table for the conditions on which Cetewayo had been restored, and to the papers about to be published for Cetewayo's conduct, as to which, he said, Sir M. Hicks-Beach could form his own opinion whether it was a breach of the conditions or not. But the Government, he repeated, had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Zululand. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, remarking that he had never heard a more unsatisfactory answer, said he should consult with his friends what course he should pursue in the matter. Three days later (May 28) Sir M. Hicks-Beach gave notice of his intention, in view of recent events in the Transvaal, Zululand, and elsewhere, and the ministerial mode of answering questions relating to them, to move that the House resolve itself into a Committee to consider the condition of her Majesty's South African dominions and the territories adjacent thereto; and he added that he would ask the Government to give him facilities for bringing on the motion.

The Vatican question was brought before the House in the first instance (May 24) by Mr. Cowen, who put a question relative to Mr. Errington's mission to the Vatican. Lord E. Fitzmaurice, in reply, referred him to the answers given by Sir C. Dilke and Mr. Gladstone last year, in which it was stated that Mr. Errington had received a letter of recommendation from Lord Granville. Since that time Mr. Errington had not been the medium of communication between the Vatican and the Foreign Office, he had received no mission, and he would receive no remuneration. As to the Papal letter, though the Government, he said, appreciated any measure which tended to strengthen respect for law and order in Ireland, that document had not been issued at the

request of the Government, and consequently no congratulations had been addressed to Rome on the subject. This reply gave rise to an animated scene of confused cross-questioning. Asked by Mr. Cowen whether the letter of recommendation was still in force, Lord E. Fitzmaurice desired that notice should be given, but Mr. Gladstone, in answer to questions from Lord R. Churchill and Mr. Newdegate, said that Mr. Errington had no other authority but this letter, and that, of course, it remained in force until Mr. Errington ceased to be a gentleman of "honour, intelligence, and good sense." Sir H. Wolff pointed out that Mr. Cowen had asked whether a letter of congratulation had been written to Mr. Errington, while the Under-Secretary's reply was that no letter had been written to Rome. Lord E. Fitzmaurice at first declined to add anything to his answer, but being pressed by several members, amongst others by Sir S. Northcote, he said that as Mr. Errington was at Rome, of course he meant that no letter had been written to him. On a subsequent occasion (May 28) he declared that no letter had been written by Lord Granville to Mr. Errington expressing satisfaction at the success of his representations to the Vatican; and he added, by Lord Granville's desire, that when he directed him to say that no letter had been written to Rome, he intended to include Mr. Errington, who was then at Rome, and he regretted that trouble had occurred owing to his answer being wider than the question. The subject was again referred to in Committee of Supply (June 7) by Lord R. Churchill, on which occasion Mr. Gladstone, after repeating that Mr. Errington had gone to Rome on his own account, without any mission or remuneration, at the same time added that the record of all that occurred during Mr. Errington's repeated and prolonged visits to Rome would be made and kept among the papers of the Foreign Office for the purpose of transmission to future Secretaries of State.

The second reading of the Agricultural Holdings Bill gave rise to comparatively slender discussion, and was agreed to without a division. Its principal opponents, such as Mr. Borlase and Mr. J. Howard, reserving their amendments for the Committee, expressed, however, their regret that the measure fell so far short of the declarations made by some members of the Cabinet. The chief defence of the Bill and its schedules was undertaken by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, to whom the framing of the measure was chiefly due, who argued that the adoption of the amendment in favour of the "sitting tenant" suggested by the Farmers Alliance was equivalent to bringing in the Irish system of judicial rents—a system inapplicable in England, where the tenantry had no historical connection with the soil. He thought there were dangers in the present system which tended to paucity of holders. The highest form of cultivation could only be obtained when ownership and cultivation were combined, and the Government would do well to multiply landowners if possible. The Bill was

not a remedy for agricultural distress. Only good seasons could have that effect, but it was intended to give the farmer the full results of his industry.

In the Press, and by the public, the measure was received with the lukewarm approval such a compromise might be expected to arouse. Sir William Barttelot and Mr. Chaplin were content to allow the second reading to pass without challenge: whilst from the independent Radicals their vague threats of hostile amendments at a subsequent stage were accepted by the moderate men of both sides as a testimony to the fairness with which the Bill had been drawn.

Earl Grey alone showed an eagerness to attack its provisions and to denounce its principles. In a letter to the *Times* (June 4) he expressed the unbounded surprise with which he observed "the general acquiescence in a Bill avowedly violating some of the most important principles with regard to legislation, which had been for many years regarded as established beyond all contradiction by such philosophic writers as Adam Smith, Burke, and their followers."

"We all know," he wrote, "that at this moment farms are almost going a-begging, and that good tenants may obtain nearly what conditions they please, in taking farms. Why do they not ask for what they consider fair and satisfactory ones? There is not the slightest doubt that the demand for just and reasonable stipulations with regard to improvements made by such men would be universally accepted by those who have farms to let. Where, then, is the need for the interference of Parliament, and is it wise to encourage helplessness by invoking the aid of Parliament to protect men who have ample means of protecting themselves if they think fit to use them?"

In conclusion, he expressed his firm conviction, that by passing this measure Parliament would enter upon a course which would inevitably lead, step by step, to further changes and to the complete overthrow of the existing organisation of society in England.

The other important ministerial measure, "the Corrupt Practices Bill," as it was termed, was not less lucky in being read a second time (June 4), without a division, and after a single night's debate. In principle it differed but little from many of its predecessors, which, in various sessions, had been pushed forward with zeal, and then abandoned for want of time. The present Bill, although denounced by Mr. C. E. Lewis as "grossly unjust, enormously severe, ridiculously unequal in its operation, and unworthy of support," and regarded by Sir R. A. Cross as unnecessarily and uselessly severe, was nevertheless admitted to be an honest attempt to deal with the question of bribery; and the Government was promised assistance from all sides in their attempt to legislate, if only they would promise beforehand to consult the individual views and crotchets of their allies. Mr. Cowen and Mr. Raikes found themselves agreed in denouncing the Caucus, and in their regret that in this Bill the Government had done nothing to stem the rising influence of this organisation.

On going into Committee on this Bill, two questions of the utmost importance were raised. Mr. Broadhurst, a working-men's representative, moved (June 4) to charge the expenses of the returning-officers upon the rates, a proposal which had been carried as far back as 1868, whilst in the previous session the Government declared that "the principle it contended for would clear the way for greater purity of election." Mr. Gladstone, whilst friendly to the suggestion, was unable to accept it, on the ground that it would be a violation of the understanding under which the leader of the Opposition had consented to the second reading. This view at length prevailed, and Mr. Broadhurst's instruction was negatived by 247 to 80. Mr. Parnell then moved to omit Ireland from the operation of the Act, on the ground that it was not required; but this view only found 31 supporters, whilst 243, of all parties, voted with the Government—a hasty decision, which was destined to delay very considerably the progress of the Bill in Committee when the term 'undue influence' came to be defined.

No sooner had the two Bills reached this point than a question arose on the matter of precedence. The Radical section of the supporters of the Government were as loud in their demands that the Bribery Bill should be first taken in Committee as the Tories were that the Agricultural Holdings Bill, being of such paramount importance to landowners, should be despatched to the House of Lords as rapidly as possible, in order to ensure its careful consideration by that body. The Liberals maintained that this suggestion was a feint by which the Lords might have a reasonable excuse for declining to discuss the Corrupt Practices Bill, and that, once the Agricultural Holdings Bill moulded in accordance with their views, any measure of reform would be postponed to a subsequent session on account of the late date at which it was sent up by the Commons; and that the only means for keeping the Peers in London would be to reserve the Bill by which they were more nearly affected to the end of the session. The proposed compromise, that both Bills should proceed *pari passu*, was rejected as impracticable. The Corrupt Practices Bill accordingly, was first taken, and the minute discussion of its clauses began (June 14) and continued with but little intermission and few divisions for some days. The points which in the first part of the measure gave rise to the principal debates, were those referring to "treating," the definition of a corrupt practice, and undue influence. On the latter point the discussion was prolonged through the greater part of two sittings. As the clause was first framed, "undue influence," although declared to be a corrupt practice, was left undefined. Mr. Parnell was foremost in protesting against the attachment of the severe penalties of the Bill to an offence so vague, and of which the punishment would vary with the bias of the judges. If spiritual intimidation was to be regarded as undue influence, and Mr. Parnell was quite willing to admit that it should be so regarded, he claimed that precaution should be taken to prevent the Corrupt Practices Act from accepting as in-



timidation, acts which were so construed under the Crimes Act. The Attorney General, admitting the force of this contention, brought in (June 18) a new clause, by which "every person who shall, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, make use of or threaten to make use of any violence or restraint, or inflict or threaten to inflict, by himself or by any other person, any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm, or loss" would be regarded as having been guilty of using undue influence. Mr. Parnell was desirous to go a step further, and to explain that "spiritual injury, &c." should mean excommunication, or withholding or refusing the rites or sacraments of any Church; and moved an amendment to that effect. This was, however, negatived by 161 to 23, and the Attorney General's proposal adopted.

On this decision the *Tablet*, as the organ of the Roman Catholic party, observed: "The effect of the clause, as explained, is to allow a priest or clergyman to use his influence to persuade a voter, but to prevent him from using undue influence by threatening temporal or spiritual damage, harm, or loss. But how if a priest or clergyman—and cases might easily arise when it would be their duty to do so—were to declare from the pulpit that it was a sin to vote for a certain candidate, would that be undue influence? Assuredly by implication spiritual loss is threatened, and perhaps damnation, but Mr. Gladstone thinks the mere pointing out that a certain line of action is sinful, and that sinful action, in the long run, means hell, is not undue spiritual influence within the meaning of the Act. We should like to know, then, what would be considered undue spiritual influence. A threat to withhold the sacraments is probably what is aimed at, but that is a small sequence of a declaration that a certain public action is mortally sinful. In point of fact, the House shifts the responsibility of saying what is and what is not undue spiritual influence on to the shoulders of the judges. The whole question seems an anachronism."

The distinctions between treating and bribery and the question of the conveyance of voters were debated at great length, and at the end of the month of June only half a dozen clauses of the Bill had been passed, and every other Government measure except those referred to the Grand Committees was waiting hopelessly for the chance of consideration.

The system of "devolution," however, had in a measure justified the expectations of its adherents. The Bankruptcy Bill, in spite of its great importance and its numerous clauses affording pegs on which to hang innumerable amendments, was safely and skilfully piloted through the Committee by the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), ably supported by Mr. Goschen, who acted as Chairman throughout the proceedings. To the tact of the one and the good sense of the other was due the impression which got abroad that the Grand Committees were a useful addition to the machinery of Parliament; and when the result came to be reported to the House (June 25), with its hundred and fifty clauses

and its numerous schedules, it was felt that the warm eulogies which had been pronounced upon the author of the Bill, even by his opponents, were well deserved, and that the Grand Committee was adequately recognised.

With such arrears of necessary work to be got through, it was therefore not a little surprising that the Government should make a further raid upon the time ordinarily allotted to private members. The fact that since the session had commenced, the House had been counted out thirteen times, was fair evidence that amateur legislation and abstract resolutions were but lightly esteemed by the majority of members. Subjects such as the reform of the Marriage Laws (April 13), the Extension of the Borough Franchise (March 30), the Sunday Closing of Public Houses (May 22), the case of the *Leon XIII.* (April 24), and the like, though admirably suitable for a debating society, were matters that could only either be properly dealt with by a responsible ministry, or left to the watchfulness of the Executive. When, therefore, Mr. Gladstone (July 3), moved that Government orders should have precedence on Tuesday evenings and Wednesdays, although met by a protesting chorus from the "faddists" and the doctrinaires, no substantial objection was raised to the proposal, and it was then tacitly recognised that the rest of the session should be carefully economised by concentrating all attention on the measures already before the House, and on the Estimates. A few days later (July 9), Mr Gladstone explained the views of the Government with regard to the legislation of the session. He announced that it was intended to submit to the judgment of the House the three Bills which had gone through the Grand Committees, the Corrupt Practices Bill, the Agricultural Holdings Bill, the National Debt Bill, the Medical Bill, the Scotch Local Government Bill, the Irish Registration Bill, the Poor (Ireland) Relief Bill, the Irish Constabulary Bill, and the Tramways (Ireland) Bill. The melancholy list of Bills which would be withdrawn at once included the Floods Prevention Bill, the Ballot Continuance Bill, and the Irish Sunday Closing Bill (both of which would go into the Continuance Act), the Charitable Trusts Bill, the Representative Peers (Scotland) Bill, the Police Superannuation Bill, and the Naval Discipline Bill. The Intermediate Education Bill for Wales, the Detention in Hospitals Bill, and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill remained in a state of suspense, and he promised to mention them again in a fortnight.

After an aimless discussion on the proper apportionment of the blame, due for the loss of so much valuable time, the House returned to the consideration of the Corrupt Practices Bill. The remonstrances in the Press and elsewhere against its slow progress seemed at length to bear some practical fruit, for, from the month of July the consideration of the various clauses proceeded without useless obstruction. A whimsical point was raised (July 3) on clause 14, by which various forms of payment were

declared illegal, Mr. Labouchere wishing to add "a rider" making it an illegal practice for any person to obtain a baronetcy or other title for the purpose of promoting or procuring the election of any other person. At first there was a general disposition to treat the matter as a joke, but when Lord R. Churchill cited the cases of Sir R. Green-Price and Sir Harcourt Johnstone, averring that the former had obtained a baronetcy for vacating the Radnorshire Boroughs in 1869 for Lord Hartington; and that Mr. Dodson owed his seat at Scarborough, in 1880, to Sir H. Johnstone, who was rewarded with a peerage for a similar act of complacency, Mr. Gladstone rose, and with great indignation repudiated the existence of any transaction in either case. It was, however, somewhat significant that whilst Mr. Labouchere on this point was defeated by no less than 186 to 11, on the other amendments of the evening the Government seldom mustered more than three or four to one of their opponents. On clause 24, in an empty House, Mr. Balfour was allowed (July 6), by 69 to 22, to extend from 50*l.* to 100*l.* as the amount which a candidate might personally pay without the intervention of his election agent; but on the same night the Government successfully maintained (117 to 67) the provision that where a barrister or solicitor, or the member of any profession regulated by law, had been guilty of or privy to any corrupt practice, the Public Prosecutor should bring the matter before the Inns of Court or tribunal having cognisance of his profession. The remaining clauses were run through without fresh incident, that extending the Act to Ireland being carried with some modification by 185 to 6, and an attempt to extend the duration of the Act to 1888 instead of 1884, as proposed in the last clause of the original Bill, was negatived (July 10) without a division. The discussion of the new clauses and schedules occupied a couple more evenings, but at length the Bill passed through Committee (July 13), and was read a third time.

To fully understand the causes and nature of the difficulties in which the Cabinet was to find itself involved at Midsummer, it is necessary to revert to a meeting held (May 10) at the Cannon Street Hotel to consider the construction of an alternative Canal across the Isthmus of Suez. The meeting (the sequel to a deputation which had waited on Lord Granville earlier in the year) although nominally private, composed of those interested in the Eastern trade, reflected correctly a widespread dissatisfaction. Complaints of delay, over-charges, mismanagement, and neglect of sanitary precautions on the part of M. de Lesseps' agents had been steadily increasing for many months previously. The views expressed by the meeting (at which upwards of three million tons of shipping were represented) pointed rather to the construction of a second parallel and coterminous Canal rather than to the widening of the existing one; to the reduction of the dues, and to leaving to M. de Lesseps the duty of providing the increased accommodation requisite in a very immediate future. If the

French directors declined to come to terms with the committee the English shipowners proposed to nominate, and refused to give full security to British interests, then the British shipowners and merchants should constitute a Company with the object of making a new Suez Canal. The total tonnage passing through the Canal in the previous year was upwards of seven million tons, of which five and a half millions belonged to British shipowners, who thus contributed two millions sterling, or four-fifths of the whole sum earned, to the shareholders in M. de Lesseps' Company. The right to make a second parallel Canal by a competing Company was claimed from the outset. The concession granted in 1854, it was said, gave M. de Lesseps exclusive power to form a Company to cut the Isthmus and work a Canal between the two seas; but against this the English Press of all shades maintained that even if the present concession had been confirmed by the then Sultan, which it had not been, it was impossible to recognise the right of M. de Lesseps to the whole Isthmus in perpetuity. Such rights as he had acquired would, if necessary, have to be bought up, and the working of the Canal placed under an International Commission. In reply to previous remonstrances on the part of the shipowners and merchants for an improved service, M. de Lesseps had admitted that his own concession did not give him sufficient land to construct a second monopoly, and for this reason the British shipowners saw no reason for scruple or hesitation in the matter of a second Canal under a fresh concession. The idea of a parallel Canal was regarded with favour by the majority of business men, it being supposed that one passage would be used by outgoing and the other by home-coming steamers; and that by this means the chief source of delay would be avoided. Two alternative schemes were however put forward by a number of English engineers who wished to open up a totally fresh line of country. One known as Mr. Fowler's proposed, by means of a fresh-water canal from Alexandria to Cairo, and thence to Suez by way of Tel-el-Kebir, to construct a waterway 240 miles long through the heart of Egypt, and bring the Desert within reach of the means of irrigation. The other, Sir George Elliot's canal, 150 miles long, starting from Alexandria, with a branch from Port Said, would cross the Delta of the Nile from west to east, passing by Mansourah to Ismailia, would thence run parallel to the original Canal to Suez. Both routes were thus considerably longer than the existing one; but the adoption of either scheme might, it was hoped, soothe M. de Lesseps' susceptibilities, and mitigate claims for excessive damages to his work and his shareholders' interests. The *Times* at once endorsed the views of the Cannon Street Hotel meeting, and admitting the debt owed by commerce to M. de Lesseps for having shown the way to the East, urged many reasons why the second Canal should be undertaken by England rather than by France, denying to that country the right to impede the way she had opened. The French newspapers at first saw in the resolutions of

the meeting subject for joking and amusement, but amongst business men in France the danger which threatened M. de Lesseps' monopoly was promptly recognised. An angry and bitter tone towards England moreover soon manifested itself in France, and added considerably to the feeling of tension which already existed between the two countries; arising partly from the French aggressions reported from the West Coast of Africa, as well as from general uneasiness as to the still vague movements of French ships and troops in the Gulf of Tonquin and off the coasts of Madagascar.

Nothing of an official character transpired for some time, and in Parliament members discreetly avoided the question, so as to leave the Ministry unhampered. At the annual meeting of the Suez Canal shareholders in Paris (June 4), M. de Lesseps declared that, in spite of all newspaper contradictory reports in Paris and London, the most complete accord existed between the Canal Company and the British Government. Improvements were being carried out which would suffice for a traffic of ten millions of tonnage, but for the future it behoved the Company to consider the creation of a second Canal. In the course of the previous year, the directors had considered and decided upon the doubling of the existing Canal. This work might be executed within the limits of the Company's existing concession, but it could be more rapidly carried out, especially at the ports, if fresh concessions could be obtained from the Egyptian Government; and the negotiations already on foot promised a favourable issue. When the proper time arrived the methods for carrying out the scheme would be submitted to the shareholders. On the following day the Chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, at the annual meeting of the shareholders, declared that it mattered little to them by whom the necessary improvements of the Canal were carried out; but they were by no means disposed to submit to the loss and inconvenience to which they were subjected from inadequate accommodation and defective management. The recent protests of the shipping interest had already produced some improvement, and whatever the ultimate result might be, the Chairman anticipated that they would get their work done more efficiently than hitherto. Meanwhile the British Ship-owners Association, which had grown out of the meeting at the Cannon Street Hotel, relaxed nothing of its efforts to prove to the Government the reality of the grievances put forward, and the strength of commercial opinion which lay behind the agitators.

The first among prominent politicians to break silence on the Suez Canal question was Mr. John Bright. In one of his speeches at the Birmingham Commemoration (June 14) he traced the history of the Lesseps Canal, the revolution in British merchants' minds as well as in British commerce it had effected. When originally proposed, not a single Chamber of Commerce throughout the country offered to subscribe a five-pound note to the pro-

ject, and it was by the strenuous and unassisted energies of the French that it had been constructed.

“If there is to be a new Canal,” said Mr. Bright, “we must do one of two things. We must either act with France or against France. I should not say against, but with. The policy of the last year in Egypt, the English policy, as was inevitable, created great irritation in the neighbouring country; and if, after the course they have taken in regard to this Canal—their enterprise, their outlay of capital, their great success—we are to say, ‘Now, having got possession of this country, we will have a Canal of our own, we will have no further connection with M. de Lesseps’ Canal,’ then, I think, a strain would be put upon the cordial friendship that now for so many years has existed between the two countries, which would be at least highly undesirable, if it would not be highly dangerous. The Government and the Foreign Office have been appealed to. I do not think I can doubt what will be the course that Lord Granville and his colleagues will take. I am quite sure he will endeavour by all the means in his power to support that only which is judicious—judicious for all nations and friendly and considerate to France—and will not allow the shipowners and the speculators and the men of great enterprise to dictate what shall be the course of the Government with regard to the matter.”

A few days later (June 25), Mr. Gladstone announced that the Government had entered into a comparison of views with M. de Lesseps in regard to a parallel Canal, but had not agreed with him on other points, and he added that before any final decision was come to, Parliament should have full opportunity of discussing the Government proposals.

Before this took place, however, the public was enabled through the medium of the *Times* to learn the views, so far as he thought fit to reveal them, of Ismail Pacha, the ex-Khedive, by whom the original concession to make a Canal had been granted to M. de Lesseps. In so doing he had done, said Ismail, the worst thing for himself, and the most useful thing for Egypt, for England, and for France who had had the glory of having carried it out. The attitude which the English had assumed on the question was unintelligible to him.

“There seems no reason,” he added, “for not allowing the present Company to do what is deemed necessary for the requirements of commerce. There is much dispute as to whether the Canal is English or French. I do not comprehend such a dispute, for it is neither French nor English; it is Egyptian. The reversion belongs to Egypt, not merely because at the expiration of the concession it reverts to Egypt, but because it is made on her soil, her inalienable soil. . . . In England’s present position she weakens her own case by discussing the nationality of the Canal. M. de Lesseps is assuredly a great personage, and as long as he lives the Canal seems stamped with his nationality. This is

a kind of politeness towards him ; but as soon as he disappears the factitious French character of the Canal will disappear too, and it will be a thoroughly Egyptian property. The masters of Egypt will be its masters, and this to such a degree that everything not recognised as necessary or useful to the Canal might be forbidden. I cannot see what interest the English have in discussing the nature of the property. The main point is, whether they are the masters of Egypt, and nobody now disputes that they are so, *de facto* or *de jure*. Being, then, masters of Egypt, they are the real masters of the Canal belonging to Egypt. . . . Whatever country happens to be possessed of it, it is always, at a given moment, the real proprietor who has the last word in such questions."

The British shipowners, however, were as little disposed to take this view of their subordinate interest in a free highway to the East, as they were to admit without a struggle M. de Lesseps' claims to an exclusive right of canal-making through the Isthmus. The Executive Committee of the Association therefore decided to obtain as far as possible an authoritative legal view of their position, and submitted the two following questions to counsel (Mr. Horace Davey, Q.C., M.P., and Mr. Underdown).

1st. What are the rights of M. de Lesseps under the two provisional concessions, the approved statutes, and the formal convention between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian Government, ratified by the Sublime Porte? 2ndly. What rights, exclusive or otherwise, has the Suez Canal Company in virtue of the same instruments?"

The "opinion," after analysing at length the documents connected with the subject, concluded as follows:—

"Upon the documents submitted to us, we are of opinion that the only exclusive privilege granted was one personal to M. Ferdinand de Lesseps—namely, to constitute and direct the Company. The benefits which were to accrue to him for presenting the matter to the Khedive and for acting as the agent (*mandataire*) and friend of the latter in forming the Company are clearly set forth, and have been enjoyed by him.

"We are also of opinion that the only privileges accorded to the Company are those mentioned in the Cahier des Charges, in which no exclusive privilege is mentioned, and that in virtue of the documents laid before us the Company possesses no exclusive privilege to construct or maintain or work a Canal between the two seas.

"The remaining question is whether the grant of a concession to make and maintain a second Canal would be an interference with the privilege accorded to M. de Lesseps. We think not. We think that the Company, having been formed on the basis indicated, and the works completed, and the benefit of them vested in the Company, the exclusive power and privilege accorded to M. de Lesseps has been exhausted."

All this while the Government had been carrying on negotiations through its representatives on the Board of Direction with

M. de Lesseps. After some preliminaries—which Mr. Gladstone described (July 6) as provisional bases which gave reasonable hope of a “conclusion satisfactory to all parties”—M. de Lesseps and his son arrived in London in order to arrive at some definite conclusion. The English Government was not left in doubt as to the requirements of the shipowners. From all quarters, irrespective of party, their demands for the reduction of the tolls and increased representation of England on the Board of Direction were endorsed as reasonable. The doubling of the existing Canal, or the construction of a new one, was no doubt an important point, and was made use of as a lever to attain the more immediate objects in view, and it was generally anticipated that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues would on these points show a firm front. With M. de Lesseps the primary object was to retain for himself and his country a preponderating influence in the Canal, and to obtain on as reasonable terms as possible—and especially from English pockets—the means of doubling the French authority on the Board and French prestige in Egypt. The arrangements which the Cabinet had made with M. de Lesseps were not long kept secret. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with scarcely a word of explanation, summarised (July 11) the “heads of agreement” at which the contracting parties had arrived. They were as follows:—

1. The Company to construct a second Canal, as far as possible parallel to the present Canal, of width and depth sufficient to meet the requirements of maritime construction, settled in agreement with the English directors.

2. The second Canal to be completed, if possible, by the end of 1888.

3. The Company to reduce the dues and tolls as follows:—From the 1st of January, 1884, ships in ballast to pay 2½ f. per ton less than ships with cargoes; after the profits (interest and dividend) had been distributed at the rate of 21 per cent., half the pilotage dues to be remitted from the 1st of January, 1884; after the profits rose to 23 per cent., the rest of the pilotage dues to be similarly remitted; after the profits as above are 25 per cent., the transit dues of 10 f. per ton to be reduced by 50 c. to 9 f. 50 c.; after the profits as above are 27½ per cent., a further 50 c. to be taken off; after the profits as above are 30 per cent., a further 50 c. to be taken off; for every additional 3 per cent. distributed profits, 50 c. to be taken off to a minimum of 5 f. per ton.

4. No two reductions of pilotage or transit dues to take place in the same year.

5. If the distributed profits should fall off, an increase of transit dues to take place according to the same scale, but no two increases to take place in one year.

6. On the first occasion of a vacancy, one of the English directors to be nominated by the president for election as vice-president, and thereafter one of the English directors to be always a vice-president.



7. The English director now acting as honorary member of the Comité de Direction to become a regular member when vacancies permit, and thereafter one of the English directors to be always a member of the Comité.

8. Two of the English directors to be always members of the Commission des Finances.

9. An English officer selected by her Majesty's Government to be appointed by the Board "Inspecteur de la Navigation," his functions to be determined in agreement with the English directors.

10. The Company to engage in future a fair proportion of English pilots.

11. Her Majesty's Government to use their good offices to obtain the necessary concession (*a*) for the land required for the new Canal and its approaches; (*b*) for the Sweet Water Canal between Ismailia and Port Said on the basis already accepted by her Majesty's Government; (*c*) for the extension of the term of the original concession for so many years as will make a new term of ninety-nine years from the date of the completion of the second Canal. In consideration of such extension the Company to pay annually, from the commencement of the new term of ninety-nine years, to the Egyptian Treasury 1 per cent. of the total net profits, after the statutory reserve.

12. Her Majesty's Government to lend to the Company by instalments as required for the construction of the works, including the Sweet Water Canal, not more than 8,000,000*l.*, at 3½ per cent. interest, with a sinking fund calculated to repay the capital in fifty years, such sinking fund not to commence until after the completion of the works.

13. These heads of agreement to be at once communicated to the House of Commons. They will be developed in full detail in a resolution of the Council of Administration of the Company, the terms of which will have been settled in accord with her Majesty's Government. The resolution will be communicated to her Majesty's Government for formal acceptance. The agreement, however, and the acceptance of the resolution will have no effect until the necessary authority has been obtained from Parliament.

Although the rules of the House precluded any immediate discussion of these proposals, it was obvious that they were not likely to be accepted without demur. On the evening of the day on which they had been introduced, Mr. Bourke, who had been Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the previous administration, addressed his constituents at King's Lynn. He stated as his opinion that the rash and extraordinary engagement with M. de Lesseps would guarantee to England no absolute freedom of passage to her Indian possessions, a right which she should possess without cavil after all her sacrifices in Egypt. He prophesied that the country, when it came to realise the conditions, would repudiate them, and declared that they would never receive the sanction of the Conservative

party. By a curious inconsistency, on the same day almost the only support which the arrangement had received in the Press was from the Conservative organ, dealing, it is true, with an imperfect and unofficial version. "Briefly summarised," said the *Standard*, "the understanding now effected comes to this: England accepts grave political responsibilities and financial obligations; in return for them she will receive a positive pledge of increased and confirmed ascendancy in all matters which are of Imperial importance to her, so far as Egypt is concerned. She is to use her influence with the Government of the Khedive to obtain the concession requisite for the construction of a new Canal parallel with that now in existence. The money which defrays the cost of the enterprise will be furnished by her at a low rate of interest. Not only are we to have an increased amount of representation in the control of the present Canal, but the preponderance of the interest in the new waterway is to be practically admitted. An English naval officer is to be appointed inspector-general of the navigation of the Canal. His decision upon all debated points may not be final, but his authority will be real. Our position will in every respect be improved, and we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that the advantage has been gained by an arrangement as little trying as possible to French susceptibilities. It will at once be seen that this arrangement gives us everything for which we have throughout contended. All that we want in return we shall obtain—fresh authority and a larger voice in the control of a system of waterways which is the chief connecting link between London and the East."

On the following day the same journal again stood by the agreement, declaring that it put a distinct stamp on English policy towards Egypt, and afforded striking evidence of the fact that M. de Lesseps himself was ready to recognise the logic of accomplished facts. From other quarters the stream of hostile criticism was unbroken. The *Daily News* regarded the concession to M. de Lesseps as far too large, and the tax to be permanently imposed on British shipping far too heavy. The *Daily Telegraph*, whilst congratulating the Government on having forced the Canal Company to lower its rates, expressed a hope that greater boldness and more business-like views would control the proposer of negotiations. The *Times* was, however, of all organs of public opinion, the most decidedly opposed to the arrangement—maintaining that the Canal Company got everything and gave almost nothing in return; that there was no guarantee that when the Company had secured all the advantages it hoped from the English alliance, it would not prove as intractable as heretofore. The *Times* therefore insisted that no settlement of the Canal question would be satisfactory unless English influence in the administration and control of the Canal was made commensurate with English interests. In this view, as well as in its subsequent far stronger attacks upon the proposed arrangements, the *Times*

undoubtedly reflected pretty accurately the opinions of the shipping interests of the metropolis ; and, as the event showed, the other shipping centres, like Liverpool, Glasgow, and Dundee, apart from political partisanship, pronounced the terms to be unbusiness-like and the concessions offered inadequate.

In the House of Commons (July 12), in answer to questions, Mr. Gladstone said there were no negotiations going on with the Porte or the Egyptian Government in reference to the Suez Canal, but they would be necessary if the provisional arrangement were sanctioned. M. de Lesseps was in possession of a concession which empowered him to widen the present Canal, but it was thought better that a second Canal should be constructed, and as it was not certain that the land which he possessed would be sufficient, it would be necessary to apply to the Egyptian Government for the purpose of obtaining additional land. The Government had not considered it necessary to obtain any concession for the construction of a second Canal, because the Government were advised by their law officers, and the Egyptian Government had been advised, that M. de Lesseps was in possession of an exclusive right as far as the Isthmus of Suez was concerned, and on that assumption all the money had been originally subscribed and the present arrangement had been made.

Meanwhile the arrangement had been submitted to and unani- mously approved by the Board of Directors of the Suez Canal Company, convened in Paris ; but elsewhere, and throughout England, it met with general opposition. The Committee of the General Shipowners Society declared their preference for an independent Canal wholly under British management ; but in the event of the second Canal being made by the existing Company, the British Government should make its assent contingent on :— (1) Such a reconstruction of the Company as would secure that at least half the direction should be British ; (2) That British subjects should not be practically excluded from being employed by the Company in Egypt ; (3) That a direct representation of the shipowners who pay the revenue should be included in the British portion of the Board ; (4) That the Company should be domiciled in London as well as in Paris ; (5) That a reduction of dues should follow on the basis of a 10 per cent. dividend.

The London Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution declar- ing the terms to be “entirely inadequate and unsatisfactory ;” the Chamber of Shipping resolved to urge the House of Commons to refuse to confirm the provisional agreement ; at “Lloyds,” where an influential meeting was held, far stronger language was used, and from Liverpool, Sunderland, the Hartlepoons, and the chief shipping ports there came a general demand for a more prompt and more radical reduction of the dues, and the establishment of the Company in this country. In reply to a deputation representing the principal shipping and commercial interests, Mr. Childers, speaking for himself and his colleague, the President of the Board

of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), assured the deputation that the Government had made the best bargain they could for British interests, seeing that M. de Lesseps' Company had an absolute monopoly over the Isthmus of Suez. They had secured a reduction of tolls and a larger share in the management. As to the reduction in tolls he calculated that they would obtain for the shipping world by successive steps a remission of the tax to the extent of nearly three-quarters of a million a year; and such remission would continue until, in process of time, they would obtain a remission of 5 f. 75 c. out of the 10 f. 75 c. now paid per ton. They would thus see what an enormous remission the Government had induced M. de Lesseps to make, not one farthing of which he was obliged to make. As to a preponderance in the management, he said:—

“I may tell you, for it is no secret, that no such proposal would have been listened to, and therefore, as we could not succeed, the thing was out of the question, or we might have dropped the negotiation. The strength of the position of our directors in the Canal, is that they represent England, not that they are so many; and in our view the addition of three or four would not give additional strength on the direction, and, in fact, short of there being a preponderance, we think there was no object in trying to get more. If we could have got a majority, or asked for a majority, it might have been otherwise, but that was impossible. What have we done? We have secured that one of our representatives shall be always a vice-president to all time. We have also secured that one of our body should be appointed on the *Comité de Direction*. Then two of our directors shall be always members of the *Commission des Finances*. But we obtain a far more important thing, and that is the appointment of an officer as *Inspecteur de la Navigation*; that an English officer of high rank should be the superior officer in respect of the waterway of the Canal.”

In conclusion, he urged again that the Government had made the best bargain they could, and he asked if they would throw away the benefit they had got, because they thought they had not got enough.

In the House of Commons, Sir S. Northcote gave notice of a motion to refuse its sanction to the scheme; and Mr. Gladstone promised that every facility should be given for its discussion before any vote was taken. An impression, however, grew, which rapidly spread, that the Government, conscious of the unpopularity of their proposals, and aware of the defection of the Irish members, would not risk a defeat, but would announce their abandonment. Although in view of the persistently increasing opposition to the agreement, this course at last became inevitable, the Government nevertheless, in order to take the public into its confidence, deemed it advisable to issue, as a parliamentary paper, the report of the British directors (Sir J. Stokes and Sir C. Rivers Wilson) on the agreement, of which the objects, in the eyes of the

Government, had been : 1°, the improvement of the Canal, so as to meet the increasing requirements of the trade ; 2°, a substantial reduction of dues and tolls ; 3°, an increased share in the government of the Company.

Under the first head the English directors favoured a second parallel Canal, on account of the obvious advantage resulting from a system which would secure to vessels two distinct and efficient routes—one for the outward and the other for the homeward traffic, which would thereby be greatly accelerated ; while the present vexatious delays, occasioned by the process of shunting vessels into sidings, would be avoided, and the hindrances caused by the grounding of vessels would be minimised. On the second point of their instructions they said : “The principal difference between M. de Lesseps and his son on the one part, and ourselves on the other part, in the recent negotiations, has been on the question of the speed at which the reduction should take place. They entirely concurred with us in the necessity that the agreement should embrace the abolition of the pilotage dues, that it should continue to vessels in ballast the advantage of paying less than laden vessels which they have enjoyed under the arrangements of 1873-4 and 1876, and in the desirability of reducing the transit dues from 10 f. to 5 f. per ton by successive remissions of 50 centimes per ton. But very wide differences of opinion existed as to the moment at which the remissions should begin, and as to the successive points at which they should be continued.”

Eventually the Government accepted the principle that the successive reductions should be made to depend upon the amount of net profits realised by the shareholders. As to the third point, an increased share in the government of the Company, they remarked : “The appointment of the ‘Inspecteur de la Navigation,’ and of English pilots, are then the concessions which have been obtained for strengthening the English element on the Canal ; and we think we have shown that we could not reasonably have expected more. The former of these concessions we believe to be of the highest value. . . . As regards the acquisition of a larger share of authority on the Council in Paris, we were aware of the importance attached to this point in England, and we should have been glad to have obtained some further satisfaction in respect to it ; but we venture to think that, when the facts are sufficiently understood, it will be seen that a mere numerical increase in the English directorate would not have secured the advantages contemplated (unless, indeed, we could have obtained an actual majority on the Board) ; that an addition, indeed, of two or three Englishmen to the Board would rather have weakened than increased the authority of the English representatives.” And in conclusion : “When it became necessary to obtain from her Majesty’s Government our final instructions for the conclusion of the agreement, we stated to them our opinion that no further concessions could be obtained from M. de Lesseps, and that the only question

was, either to secure the very valuable advantages we had obtained, or to leave the Company in full possession of its monopoly of the transit across the Isthmus, with its undoubted rights to continue its present charges. We had no hesitation in advising the former course."

These arguments, however, failed to convince the shipowners or the principal representatives of British trade, and consequently a few days later (July 23) Lord Granville, in the Upper House, briefly announced that the Government did not intend to proceed further with the matter; whilst in the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone explained the motives which had determined the action of the Government ending in the provisional agreement with M. de Lesseps. Of this document he remarked that what was given and what was obtained under it were considerable. On the one side a double Canal was to have been made in the shortest possible period, and there would have been a great reduction of rates coincident with a correspondingly large increase in the dividends of the Company. By a rough estimate, the tonnage would have been increased from six millions to twelve millions within a limited number of years, and the dividend would have been raised to such a point that a reduction of tolls to the amount of one million a year would have been possible. In addition to this, there would have been a considerable increase of English influence over the government and administration of the Canal. On the other side, a considerable sum would have been lent to the Company at the lowest rate possible with safety, which was to be regarded in the light of a pecuniary advantage to the Company, and there would have been a prolongation of whatever exclusive rights M. de Lesseps possessed under the original concession. The question for the House and the country to consider was whether we got by this agreement a sufficient *quo* for our *quid*. An agreement of this kind, to be satisfactory, must obviously meet with general assent, and to attempt to force it on Parliament on political grounds would be a departure from public duty. The first reception had been a vehement condemnation; but since then the Government had received many communications from influential centres of commerce expressing an opinion that something better might be done, and recommending delay. The Government did not intend, therefore, to ask Parliament to give its sanction to the agreement for the reasons he had already mentioned, and also because, having regard to the actual state of things and the language which had been used and the arguments which had been put forward, they thought that a hostile issue could not fail to have a most mischievous effect on our international relations, and a discussion on it would have weakened rather than strengthened the position of this country in any future negotiations. Mr. Gladstone concluded by an eloquent tribute to the genius of M. de Lesseps, and to the frank and cordial spirit which he had displayed through the negotiations. He disclaimed also all sympathy with those who seemed disposed to

assert an English domination over the waterway, and declared that the Government would never use our temporary and exceptional position in Egypt to invade rights or to violate the principle that the Canal had been made in the interests of mankind at large. He added that if it were desired to discuss the conduct of the Government they would give every facility in their power. Sir Stafford Northcote, whilst congratulating the Government on the step they had taken, thought that there were passages in Mr. Gladstone's speech which suggested some future action on the part of the Government, and consequently he hoped that the opportunity would arise for discussing the matter; but Mr. Gladstone replied that no future immediate action was contemplated, and that before taking any further steps, he would undertake to inform himself of the views of those most competent to form an opinion.

The withdrawal of the Government proposals revealed in them advantages which had hitherto been ignored; and apart from the fact that they endorsed M. de Lesseps' claim to an exclusive right to make a waterway between the two seas, and thereby recognised the claims of France to control the government of Egypt, it was admitted that a reasonable solution of the question had been proposed; whilst the shipowners on one side demanded a large and immediate reduction of the Canal dues, an equally strong, though less self-assertive party deprecated any general increase of taxation for the benefit of one class of the community. It was then evident that any attempt to carry the provisional agreement through Parliament would have strained party ties to the utmost; and the Government was not prepared to risk the chances of a dissolution upon a question which might have furnished their opponents with so dangerous a weapon of attack; for the fact that ministers had made, with the means at their disposal, the best bargain in their power, would have been lost sight of by the great mass of the electorate, in its eagerness to assert an exclusive right to control the highway to India and China.

The opportunity offered to the Opposition by this false move on the part of the Government was allowed to pass, and when the Conservatives at last (July 30) decided to give battle on the Egyptian policy of the Government, it was apparent that the temporary excitement had abated, and that those most interested in the Suez Canal were but a small class of the public. On this occasion Sir Stafford Northcote submitted a motion for an address to the Crown, praying that in any negotiations or proceedings with reference to the Suez Canal Company to which her Majesty might be a party, she would, while respecting the undoubted rights of the Company in regard to their own concession, decline to recognise any claim on their part to such a monopoly as would exclude the possibility of competition on the part of other undertakings designed for the purpose of opening a water communication between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Mr. Norwood, representing the shipping interest, then intervened with an amendment which was accepted

by the Government. Its object was, not less than that of Sir Stafford Northcote's, to dissociate the House of Commons from the view taken by the Government of M. de Lesseps' claim, and whilst expressing no regret at the breaking off of the negotiation, held that there were ample opportunities for coming to some satisfactory conclusion. Mr. Gladstone said the question at issue was something more than one between the British Government and a private Company, and there was the greatest reason for the exercise of caution in the matter. It was not within the power of the House to decide the rights of the case. That was a judicial question, which would probably have to be settled in the Egyptian Courts, or by some competent tribunal representing the various interests concerned. Was it, then, desirable that the House should attempt to deal with it by a vote? He appealed to the House not to accept a motion which asserted nothing that any one would desire to deny, established nothing that any one had the least occasion to say, and was intended to vindicate a freedom that was absolutely unimpaired, and would set a pernicious example to other Legislatures that would be fraught with the greatest inconvenience. After a long debate the House divided, and negatived the resolution by 282 to 183, and with this, both parties having disclaimed all responsibility for the abandoned agreement, the Suez Canal question was laid aside for the remainder of the session.

Before passing on to the second great ministerial measure, the Agricultural Holdings Bill, reference should here be made to the other topics which engaged public attention during the early summer. The position of the Government had certainly not grown stronger since the meeting of Parliament, and the waste of the session, of which complaints rose louder every week, was attributed as much to the half-heartedness and disunion of the Liberals as to the dilatory tactics of the Conservatives. On even an administrative measure, to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer attached great importance, whilst the friends of economy should have welcomed it as the earnest of a wider policy, the Government allowed itself to be defeated. The reform which was contained in a clause of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill proposed to substitute officers of the latter department for the existing locally appointed collectors of Income Tax, levied under Schedules D and E. The opponents of the change, headed by Mr. Slagg, maintained that centralised administration was as a rule more costly than local, and the Conservatives, supporting this view, threw out the clause (May 10) by 168 votes to 161. Again, the sudden change of front displayed by the Government in substituting grants of 25,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* respectively to Lords Alcester and Wolsey for the annuities originally proposed, led to the reopening of the whole debate. Although the Government ultimately carried its point (June 11), it was not until the greater part of two evenings had been wasted upon a discussion which was already threadbare. The resignation of Lord Rosebery (June 6),



moreover, whether rightly or wrongly attributable to an incautious expression by Sir William Harcourt, gave a handle of criticism to the enemies of the Government. The Home Secretary had, in reply to Mr. Rylands, admitted that his business would be lightened were the Under-Secretary of his department in the House of Commons, and a few days later Lord Rosebery, who had held that office for a few months, resigned. This step was variously interpreted; but both Sir Wm. Harcourt and Lord Rosebery not only strongly protested against the suggestion of any personal misunderstanding, they seemed indirectly rather to encourage the notion that the resignation was in some way connected with the professed intention of the Government to create a new office, with a responsible parliamentary chief, to whom should be especially allotted the charge of all Scotch business in Parliament. The office of Lord Privy Seal was vacant at that time, and not a few of the political prophets foretold the speedy entry of Lord Rosebery into the Cabinet with this title, and responsible for the duties to be created by the Bill to be brought in by the ministry. All such prophecies, however, were destined to remain unfulfilled, in consequence of the Government failing to pass their vaguely defined measure. Lord Rosebery's place at the Home Office was filled up by the transfer of Mr. J. T. Hibbert from the Local Government Board, and the appointment of Mr. George Russell (Aylesbury) to the thus vacated office. Little political importance was attached to these changes; for although, almost simultaneously with his appointment Mr. G. Russell published (in the *Nineteenth Century*) a protest against Whiggery, his family connections with the great Whig family and its traditions were obvious. A far more noteworthy change of opinion was that shown in the debates on the Closing of Public Houses on Sundays throughout the county of Durham, one of a group of measures which proposed to enforce Sunday closing in Cornwall, Yorkshire, and Northumberland. The Bill affecting Durham, brought in by Mr. T. Fry, was supported by the majority of the Radical party, an instance of intolerance which forced Mr. P. A. Taylor, one of the oldest and most advanced Radicals in the House of Commons, to protest in the name of individual freedom against the despotism of the new democracy. He strongly denounced the institution of moral intolerance as not less prejudicial to the higher interests and training of the people at large, than the religious, medical, and county intolerance was a reversal of the principles by which Radicalism had come into political existence. An amendment to postpone piecemeal legislation was, after a short debate, rejected by 153 to 57, and the Option Bill, which was warmly supported by the Government, was read (May 30) a second time without a division.

The proposal made by Lord George Hamilton (June 12) for an "immediate" revision of the purchase clauses of the Irish Land Act, was probably intended less to disturb the existing system than to indicate the attitude of the Conservative party in the

event of a change of ministry. Viewed in the latter sense, the resolution was a bold bid for the support of the Nationalist party, and at the same time it was one which the Government could not openly oppose, inasmuch as its ostensible object was to give greater force to, and immediate application of, the policy embodied in their own measure. The machinery by which Lord G. Hamilton hoped to achieve his aim was essentially national, for it enabled both tenants and landlords desirous of becoming purchasers and vendors to appear before a local authority, which should examine and report upon their application to a central board at Dublin. If the central board saw no reason to suspect the regularity of the proposed bargain, it would be referred back to the local board, from which the intending purchaser might borrow the entire purchase-money. This was to be obtained by debentures, secured on the local rates and issued by the local authorities, who, if their own security failed to attract lenders, would be supported by a State guarantee. The purchase-money, which was not to exceed twenty-three years' purchase of the legally ascertained rent, would, under this scheme, be repaid in forty years; and, allowing for an interest of 3 per cent., would, whilst assuring the land to the tenant, be less onerous for him than the rent he was actually paying. Lord George Hamilton's speech, which was admitted on all sides to have displayed remarkable care and industry in its facts and statistics, as well as a masterful grasp of a difficult subject, was cordially endorsed by Mr. Parnell. The dream of a peasant proprietorship, so often dispelled by the hard views of political economists, seemed distinctly nearer to possible realisation when its central idea was publicly adopted by the spokesman of the alternative governing power. Already the Radicals had admitted that the pacification of Ireland might, and probably would, be attained by the realisation of some policy analogous to that sketched out by Lord George Hamilton, so that if a division had been taken on the resolution, the Government would have found itself confronted by the alternative of adopting their opponents' programme or of alienating temporarily a large body of their habitual supporters, and at the same time indicating to the Irish Nationalists that their hopes would be nearer fulfilment with the Conservatives restored to power by the Parnellite vote. But Mr. Gladstone astutely turned the difficulty, arguing that the real and only point of difference between the Government and the Opposition lay in the word "immediate," which sounded like a peremptory summons to suspend all the other legislation of the session in order to throw once more into confusion the Irish land question, which had as yet had no time to show the results of the new land laws. The obnoxious word was therefore withdrawn, and the Government was left free to judge when legislation founded on Lord George Hamilton's resolution might be advantageously initiated.

The other Irish questions discussed in the House were of minor

interest. Mr. M'Coan's bill for making the election of Poor-law Guardians annual instead of triennial, and for compelling all who wished to vote to appear in person, was opposed by Mr. King-Harman, but eventually read a second time (June 12) without a division. Mr. Blake's Irish Sea Fisheries Bill, which proposed to take a quarter of a million from the inexhaustible Irish Church surplus to improve the harbours on the west and south coasts of Ireland, received a very unanimous support from the Irish members, and in spite of Mr. Courtney's opposition on the grounds of political economy and good sense, Mr. Gladstone was forced to recognise the political necessities of the situation, and to throw over his subordinate (June 14). Mr. M'Carthy's motion, proposing to abolish the Irish Viceroyalty and to substitute for it an Irish Secretaryship of State, established at London, but to be held by an Irishman sitting for an Irish constituency, rent the Home Rule party into a number of fragments. Scarcely two speakers were of the same opinion; Mr. Gray, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, and Mr. O'Donnell opposed or ridiculed the idea, seeing in the Viceroy an earnest of Home Rule; whilst Sir E. Wilmot, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Shiel regarded the Viceroyalty as either an anomaly or a sham which could not be too soon swept away. No definite vote was taken on the question, but the support it received was so small as to justify Mr. Trevelyan's suggestion that the proposal was not intended to be taken seriously.

The Grand Committees on Law and Trade, to which it was hoped to delegate much of the non-political business of the session, had been steadily engaged since Easter, the former with the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill and the Criminal Code, and the latter with the Bankruptcy Bill. Mr. Selater-Booth, who presided over the Committee on Law, was lucky enough to dispose of the Criminal Appeal Bill with comparative ease (May 30), and it was reported to the House with the amendments made in Committee. Sir M. White-Ridley, who succeeded Mr. Selater-Booth, was not so fortunate with the Criminal Code, a bulky measure of 130 clauses, and which, in spite of the care bestowed upon it by some of the more eminent jurists of the day, was destined to be made the object of innumerable alterations at the hands of laymen. The reason assigned for this unexpected hostility, was that after the Code had been elaborated by the Judges, who had followed the Royal Commissioners, offences and penalties taken from the Crimes Act of the preceding session had been introduced into the Bill. In addition, however, to this, there had been considerable difficulty in ensuring the regular attendance of members, the most experienced of whom were of necessity occupied professionally elsewhere. At the close of the month, therefore (June 26), the Attorney-General, referring to the fact that only a dozen clauses of the Bill had been discussed, moved that the Criminal Code Bill be no further proceeded with. Mr. Raikes and others contended that in abandoning the Bill the Committee were acting against the instruc-

tions of the House, and Mr. Buchanan wished to insert words indicating that it was owing to the obstructive tactics of certain members—three or four at the utmost—that the Bill had not been proceeded with. Neither of these views met with the support of the majority, and the Attorney General's motion was agreed to.

The previous day, however (June 25), the Grand Committee on Trade, of which Mr. Goschen was then the Chairman, brought the Bankruptcy Bill to a successful issue; and a complicated attempt at legislation, after passing the ordeal of careful and minute criticism, was in a state to be sent up to the House of Lords at a reasonable date. At one moment no doubt (June 4), there was a momentary danger of the measure being abandoned. The Government Bill specially aimed at creating a special machinery by which the conduct of the insolvent could be thoroughly investigated, and the methods and accounts of his trustees effectually controlled and audited. By the 68th clause of the Bill, all moneys received by trustees in bankruptcy were to be paid into the Bank of England. The expediency of this course was twofold; it ensured the safe custody of, and easy access to, the sums available for the creditors, and it likewise placed at the disposal of the Government balances so considerable that by their application to Government uses an income of 30,000*l.* might be obtained, and the Bankruptcy Bill made self-supporting. On the plea of the dangers of over-centralisation and the like, Mr. Dixon-Hartland moved the rejection of the words which formed the basis of the Government proposition. Mr. Chamberlain, however, stood his ground on the main principle, and by a slight concession which gave the Board of Trade power to employ a local bank, when applied to, succeeded in passing the Bill through the crisis, which for a moment threatened to mar its usefulness.

The Committee on Trade, however, was not content with its single success in dealing with the laws of bankruptcy. Within a few days of that measure being reported to the House, the Committee reassembled. Mr. Goschen, who had rendered signal service in establishing the procedure of Grand Committees, and had given unremitting attention to bankruptcy reform, vacated the chairmanship in favour of Sir Lyon Playfair, and after a protest from Mr. Talbot, the Committee took up the consideration of the Patent Laws (June 29). The criticism to which the measure was subjected was almost wholly technical, and the amendments verbal. The consequence was that in a comparatively short time the Committee was able to complete its work, and report the Bill for final discussion in the House. The question of Woman's Suffrage was this year dealt with by means of a resolution (July 6), proposed by Mr. Mason and seconded by Baron H. de Worms, and opposed by Mr. Leatham and Mr. Beresford-Hope, showing how wholly dissociated the question was from party politics. Amongst the members of the ministry there was a similar division, for although

no member of the Cabinet spoke, the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. L. Courtney) strongly urged the House to be just and logical, and to show how women were less fitted for the parliamentary franchise, which was denied to them, than they were for the municipal, which Parliament itself had conferred upon them. The Attorney General on the other hand averred that if the resolution were passed into law and the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 remained unrepealed, every married woman in a county might have the franchise. He also maintained that women by nature were disqualified from fulfilling the more important functions of the State, and that their entry into public life would introduce an element of timidity and impulse that would be detrimental to the highest interests of the country. On division, the resolution was rejected by 130 to 114, or a majority of 16, amongst whom were Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, and Mr. John Bright—together with the leading members of the Conservative party, and a few unimpeachable Radicals, such as Professor Bryce, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, and others, whilst in the minority Sir Charles Dilke was the only Cabinet Minister, with Mr. Courtney, Professor Fawcett, and Mr. Charles Villiers for his principal colleagues on the occasion.

On the more immediately practical question of the importation of foreign live cattle into the country, the Government, even when united, was unable to prevail against the almost unanimous feeling of the agricultural interest. Foot-and-mouth disease, it was shown by Mr. Chaplin (July 10), was prevalent throughout the country, and its origin he attributed to the constant introduction of diseased cattle. The remedy which he suggested, and which he embodied in a resolution, was that the Privy Council, while imposing adequate restrictions on the movements of cattle at home, should prohibit the introduction of animals from countries where satisfactory regulations for the prevention and exportation of disease were not in force. Mr. Arnold, who regarded the motion as contrary to the real interests of agriculture, and certain to increase the price of meat, moved an amendment which, while recognising the importance of the continued and vigilant exercise by the Government of the powers it possessed, declared further provision by legislation to be needless. Mr. Barclay preferred that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the operation of the Acts of 1869 and 1878. Mr. Mundella vindicated his administration of the Acts, and contended that the resolution would at once reverse and emasculate them. Slaughter at the port of importation and internal regulation were the spirit and intention of the Acts, and he refused to believe that the House would, without inquiry, pass a resolution which meant nothing but total prohibition. The result must be equally disastrous to the consumer and the producer. Mr. J. Howard, however, speaking in the name of the Farmers' Alliance, sided with Mr. Chaplin. Sir H. Selwin-Ibbetson denied that the motion meant total prohibition, or that it would be followed by any sensible diminution in the

total supply of meat. Mr. Dodson said the Privy Council could not carry out what was required without additional powers, and therefore the Government could not accept the resolution, but they would accept the amendment, and would have no objection to an inquiry by a Committee. Upon this Mr. Arnold withdrew his amendment, and Mr. Barclay's proposal of a Select Committee was substituted, and supported by the Government. Mr. Chaplin's resolution was nevertheless carried by a majority of 8—200 to 192, thus placing the Government (for a second time during the session) in the dilemma of either disregarding a formal resolution, or of nullifying an Act which had not been formally repealed.

Meanwhile, in the House of Lords one measure not of vital importance, yet of wide-spread interest, had been going through more vicissitudes than had hitherto been its annual lot. Summary rejection or total neglect had been the alternate fate of the Bill for legalising Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, but this year, under the skilful management of Lord Dalhousie, supported by the whole of the Court party, led by the Royal Princes, the Bill was read a second time (June 11) by 165 to 158, after a very short discussion in which only four speeches (two of them by Prelates) were made in opposition to the proposed change. The clerical papers were especially indignant with what they regarded as betrayal of the cause; and it was openly hinted that for reasons known only to party-whips it was necessary to take the division before the dinner hour. The Archbishop of Canterbury opposed all change on the ground of the Levitical law, which Lord Bramwell failed to see applicable; and the Bishop of Rochester declared that from personal inquiry in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, of which he had been for a long time the rector, he was convinced that the poor did not regard the existing law as a hardship.

The subsequent career of the Bill was a chequered one. Before going into Committee (June 19) Lord Dalhousie gave notice of an amendment to legalise marriages celebrated not only in churches, chapels, and registrars' offices, but in any place within the realm, and also of another to make the Act retrospective, placing all who have acted contrary to the existing law on the same footing as those who would take advantage of the Bill on its passing. The first alteration was withdrawn at the suggestion of Lord Cairns, but the second was met by Earl Beauchamp by a direct negative. The Lord Chancellor (Selborne) whilst expressing his regret that the House had affirmed the principle of the Bill, against which alone amongst his colleagues he had voted, thought that opposition was now too late, and that retrospective action could not be dissociated from the essence of the measure; but he hoped Lord Dalhousie might find some means by which the legitimacy of children born from marriages already contracted might be affirmed. The Archbishop of Canterbury followed with much the same line of argument, and, Lord Dalhousie having undertaken to frame a clause which should embody the Chancellor's and Archbishop's view, the Bill passed

through Committee with slight and chiefly verbal modifications. A few days later (June 25) the report stage on the Bill was reached, when there seemed no reason to suppose from the proceedings that any further effort would be made to reverse the previous decisions. Lord Dalhousie's promised amendment affirming the legality of all marriages contracted previous to the passing of the Act, and the legitimacy of all children born, was accepted as satisfactory; whilst an attempt by Lord Fortescue to relieve the clergy from penalties for refusing to perform marriages under the Act was negatived without a division, and the report received. Before the third reading, however, was taken the Duke of Marlborough assumed the lead in opposing the measure, and when the motion was put (June 28) he moved its rejection, partly on the ground of the small majority by which the second reading had been carried, and partly because the Bill had not been improved by the amendments introduced in Committee. He prophesied that if it became law it would produce a conflict between the law of the land and the law of the Church, and would be a step towards destroying the union of Church and State. The Duke of Marlborough found supporters in the Duke of Argyll and the Lord Chancellor, who returned to his original position of an opponent of a measure which he felt would lead to the breaking up of the most sacred and intimate relations of social life. The Bishops of Winchester (Harold Browne), Lincoln (Wordsworth), and Exeter (Temple), the last-named formerly an advocate of a change in the law, spoke against the Bill, which after about three hours' discussion, was rejected by 145 to 140.

The division lists on the two occasions were very differently composed, so that combining the two it may be said that the opinion of the House of Lords on the question had been thoroughly tested. Of the 165 Peers who voted for the second reading no less than forty-two were absent on the third reading; whilst of the 158 who voted against the second reading, thirty-four were absent from the subsequent division. On the other, thirty Peers were present at the last stage who had not voted on the previous occasion, and of these twenty voted against the third reading, and seventeen in favour. No Peer who had voted in both divisions showed any change of opinion; the only two Prelates who separated themselves from the rest of their order were the Bishops of Worcester (Philpott) and Ripon (Bickersteth), both of whom paired in favour of the Bill; whilst the Archbishop of York (Thomson) paired against it, and two Ambassadors in active employ (Lords Dufferin and Amptill) voted for the third reading.

The anxiously expected report of the Joint Committee of the two Houses on the Channel Tunnel represented very fairly the divided state of public opinion on the subject. If only an average weight of military evidence had been produced to show the groundlessness of the objections raised against the proposal, there seemed a fair chance that the opposition might have been surmounted. With very rare exceptions, however, the most skilled of our

strategists, the most competent of our engineers, and far-seeing of the chiefs of the army, were practically agreed upon the possibility of a *coup de main* by means of the tunnel. The weight, however, of the commercial advantages derivable from unbroken railroad communication was so palpably overstated, that a very general distrust as to the objects of the promoters of the scheme grew up, discrediting even those who advocated its adoption on the ground of drawing more close the bonds of union between England and the Continent of Europe. The original report by the Marquess of Lansdowne declared substantially in favour of the tunnel, and on this the Committee divided (July 10), rejecting it by six votes to four; the Earls of Devon and Camperdown, Lord Barrington, Sir Massey Lopes, Sir Hussey Vivian, and Colonel Harcourt forming the majority, against Lords Lansdowne and Aberdare, Mr. Baxter and Mr. Peel.

Lord Lansdowne's report concluded with a recommendation that the enterprise should not be prohibited on merely political grounds, and that it should be allowed to proceed subject to the ordinary parliamentary examination by Committees. The majority, however, were unable to agree among themselves upon any common line of action or policy.

Viscount Barrington's report raised the question whether the great commercial advantages could not be obtained otherwise than by the construction of a submarine tunnel, and that the unforeseen contingency of England waging an unsuccessful war might arise, and should not be treated as a mere bugbear. Sir Hussey Vivian wished the Committee to report that they were led to infer that men of business did not believe their interests were likely to be beneficially affected by the construction of a tunnel. Sir Massey Lopes took up the line of absolute opposition, and moved that the Committee would not be justified in recommending that sanction should be given to the tunnel; and Mr. E. W. Harcourt came to the conclusion that the primary and annual outlay which would be entailed upon the country by the construction of the tunnel would be vastly in excess of the return made by the advantages to be derived from its existence. None of these suggestions having received the support of more than one half the Committee, it was decided that they should report the result of the voting on the Chairman's (Lord Lansdowne) report; and a few days later (July 24) the President of the Board of Trade announced in the House of Commons that the Government accepted the decision of the Joint Committee, and that they would oppose the further progress of both the Channel Tunnel Bills then before Parliament. The order for their second reading was consequently discharged, and both Bills were withdrawn.

Outside Parliament, the Bright Celebration at Birmingham (June 11-16) was the most imposing political manifestation of the year. For twenty-five years Mr. Bright had represented Birmingham, and for forty years, with a very short intermission,



he had sat in Parliament as the spokesman of an advanced Liberal party. His reception by the people of Birmingham was most enthusiastic. The procession, in which the principal trades of Birmingham were represented, traversed a route of five miles, which was densely thronged by the people from all the surrounding districts. Later on, upwards of 150 addresses from Liberal Associations throughout the country were presented, all of them acknowledging the debt of gratitude which the Liberal party owed to a consistent and ever hopeful leader. The chiefs of that party, moreover, of all shades, from Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Granville, took part in one or other of the entertainments of the week, and testified to the claims of Mr. Bright to the gratitude of the party. In his first great speech at Bingley Hall (June 13), where, in the presence of some twenty thousand persons, Mr. Bright was presented with his portrait and a magnificent dessert service, Mr. Bright contrasted the days before the repeal of the Corn-laws with the present, and declared that the wages of both the agricultural labourer and factory hand had doubled since 1843 owing to Free Trade. He reproached the United States with throwing away their magnificent opportunities of abolishing tariff restrictions. In the unexampled surplus of thirty millions, however, he saw the doom of a tariff policy—he foresaw the day when the two great political parties would bring to an issue the question of Free Trade or Protection, and did not despair that the outcome of the struggle would be an alliance between the two great Free Trade Powers of the world, the United States and Great Britain, which would wage a peaceful war upon the tariffs of Europe, and in destroying them render the maintenance of standing armies impossible, because Kings and Emperors would find themselves powerless to embroil nations whose interests were bound up with the freedom of industry. Mr. Chamberlain's address on the same occasion was directed more to the practical questions of the day than to dreams of future possibilities. He declared that the country was every day profiting by Mr. Bright's teaching, and growing more Radical and Democratic, and he committed himself to the somewhat startling assertion that whereas the country was more Radical than the majority of the House of Commons, it was not more Radical than the Government. In support of this theory Mr. Chamberlain instanced the question of the Established Church, declaring that if a poll of the constituencies could be taken, "a vast majority of Liberals in the boroughs and a great majority of Liberals in the counties" would be found to vote for disestablishment, whereas a resolution to that effect moved in the House of Commons would receive the support of a very small minority. Turning to a still wider question, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say—"I do not often agree with Lord Salisbury, but I did agree with him when he said at Birmingham, and again at Southwark, that social reform was the great problem of our time, and that two of the most important branches of that reform are the better provision

of dwellings for the working classes in large towns, and an improvement in the condition of the agricultural labourers in the counties. But those two reforms are out of the question until we can rise to an altogether higher conception of the so-called rights of property; until we can limit those rights by regard to the duties of property. That is impossible so long as property, and especially landed property, is able to enjoy a great majority in the House of Commons, and a practical monopoly of the House of Lords; and therefore I come to the conclusion that the first business of the Liberals is now, as it was twenty-five years ago, when Mr. Bright was chosen to represent us, to secure a further instalment of Parliamentary reform, and to bring the House of Commons into closer accord with the opinions, and the wishes, and the interests of the people. . . . What does our Constitution do for us? First, it excludes from all political rights more than half the adult male population. In the next place, of the remainder four-fifths are out-voted by one-fifth, and so it happens that one-twelfth of what ought to be the whole constituency of the kingdom returns a majority of the House of Commons. If the one-twelfth really represented the free voice of the people, it would not be of so much consequence; but you know in many cases at all events it only represents the influence of some great territorial family or local magnate. . . . What do we want? We want, in the first place, a suffrage from which no man who is not disqualified by crime, or the receipt of relief, who is expected to fulfil the obligations of a citizen, shall be excluded. We want equal electoral districts, in order that every vote may have an equal value; and we want, I think, the payment of members, in order that every man who has the capacity to serve his country, who has honesty, intelligence, and who is selected for that purpose by his fellow countrymen, shall not be excluded for want of means."

By an interesting coincidence, almost whilst Mr. Chamberlain was thus speaking at Birmingham, Lord Salisbury was addressing a large body of working men at Kingston-on-Thames, and after contrasting the promises made by the Radicals before the General Election of 1880 with their policy when placed in office, he continued—"Turn your eyes again to what is taking place at Birmingham at this moment. They are celebrating the praises of the great advocate of peace, the denouncer of all wars. I am not surprised that they do so, for I admit that the genius which Mr. Bright has displayed, the splendid qualities that have adorned his career, the fidelity and conviction which, under all circumstances, he has exhibited, whatever you may think of his opinions—and we most of us differ from them very widely—tend to the honour of the constituency which he represents. But you cannot look at that celebration without remembering that those very opinions of Mr. Bright, for which he left the Government, were among the strongest recommendations of that Government to the electors in 1880. It was precisely because the Government denounced what

they called the warlike policy of Lord Beaconsfield, it was because they held language which was pleasing to the advocates of peace at any price; because, without committing themselves to that doctrine in its entirety, they allowed it to be believed that their tenure of office would be marked by no such military expenditure and military risks as those which had marked the Government of their predecessors—it was for that reason that they were accepted by vast bodies of Nonconformists in this country. What is the result? That they have annexed, or practically annexed, far more than the denounced Government of Lord Beaconsfield; that they have entered upon far larger responsibilities in the way of governing men of other races and religions than we ever saw; and that in the very country where they most denounced us for our action—in South Africa—they have now succeeded in producing, by the policy which they substituted for ours, a universal reign of anarchy and blood.”

Lord Salisbury proceeded to warn the working classes against some characteristics of the domestic policy of the Radicals. “I am speaking,” he said, “of Radical policy, for I hold that the only two parties in the State which deserve mention in political discussion are the Radical and the Conservative. You hear a good deal about Whigs. I have not the least notion what their opinions are; but my impression is that a Whig is a person who denounces in private the measures which in public he supports.” There was a tendency among the Radicals to allow the majority to dictate to the minority, how they are to live, and when they are to eat and drink. He said—“I maintain that it will be a perfectly intolerable piece of class legislation—a piece of class legislation which you ought to resist on general principles to the utmost of your power—if the poor man is forbidden to consume alcoholic liquors on the Sundays, while the richer man is allowed to do it to the utmost of his pleasure. Sobriety is a very good thing; philanthropy is a very good thing; but freedom is better than either. It is impossible to witness the course of Radical opinion without seeing that they are inclined to exaggerate the rights of the majority to this point—that the majority should have a right on mere grounds of ethics to dictate to the minority the manner in which they shall live. I hold that no duty is more incumbent upon the Conservative party than carefully to watch this tendency, and while paying every practical regard to the philanthropic genius of the age, to take care that the traditional and time-honoured liberty of Englishmen suffers no damage.”

The Radicals also made persistent efforts to distort the relations between property and labour. The principle of Radicalism was to manufacture discontent for the purpose of promoting organic change. The principle of the Conservatives was to sustain a steady and well-ordered progress, based on persuasion; and as this was in favour of the interests of all classes, but especially of the industrial class, his lordship anticipated that the greatest triumphs

of the Conservative cause in the future would be among English working men.

To return to Birmingham, at the banquet given in honour of Mr. Bright, (June 14) Lord Granville made a graceful and sympathetic reference to his former colleague's career, and to his association with Mr. Cobden. Mr. Bright, in reply, alluded to the opposition from powerful individuals and powerful interests which had met him at every step. With regard to the immediate future, he considered an equalisation of the borough and county franchise imperative, and as far as his own individual views went, he would like to see the re-arrangement of seats made on the American system of apportioning members after each census; but recognising that as impossible, some arrangement which might be temporarily fair and just could be arrived at, and the final solution of the difficulty left to our children. Passing in review the various acts of the Liberal Government since its accession to office, he gave his cordial approval to the Irish Land Act and Lord Ripon's Indian policy, both of which were based on the idea of doing justice to the native races. In conclusion, Mr. Bright referred to the House of Commons, and said a portion of its members seemed to be abandoning the character and the conduct of gentlemen as heretofore seen in that assembly. "The party of which I have spoken, in not a few of its members, appears willing to repudiate the authority of a majority of the constituencies. They are found in alliance with an Irish rebel party, the main portion of whose funds for the purposes of agitation come directly from the avowed enemies of England, and whose oath of allegiance is broken by association with its enemies. I hope that the constituencies will mark some of the men of this party, and that they will not permit Parliament to be dishonoured and Government enfeebled by members who claim to be, but are not, Conservative and constitutional." These words were destined at a later date to provoke a fresh display of that very "veiled obstruction" to the progress of public business which the speaker had desired to reprobate so strongly.

Mr. Bright's fourth speech was especially addressed to the Birmingham Town Council, and was occupied chiefly in discussing the benefits derivable from the Suez Canal and the Channel Tunnel. With regard to the former, he ventured to foretell that in twenty years' time men would find that its traffic was at present only in its infancy, and that the need for greater accommodation would be felt most grievously by the shipping class. Fifteen years ago the English Chambers of Commerce would not subscribe a five-pound note towards the construction of it, but now they were ready to fight the world if the slightest danger threatened it.

"If there was to be a new Canal," Mr. Bright continued, "we must either go with France or against France; he should say not against, but with." English policy in Egypt had no doubt created an amount of irritation in France, but he hoped no further strain

would be placed on the two countries, for it would be highly undesirable, if not highly dangerous.

On the subject of the Channel Tunnel he was not less outspoken. The engineering and capital portion of the scheme might be taken as settled, and there could not be any doubt as to the utility of the tunnel. But we were met with objections of the most extraordinary kind ever offered to any great scheme of human advancement. It was said that by making the tunnel we should put the national independence in peril, and great military authorities spoke of the French sending thousands of men through the tunnel and occupying Dover and the country for ten miles round. There was a suggestion, and he should have thought it would have been necessary to go to Bedlam to find it, that we with thirty-five millions of people, eight millions of them being grown men, could not defend a hole in the earth not more than about fifteen feet wide. He would advise them never to take the opinion of high military authorities except in cases of actual war, and he believed that if we had had a civilian of capacity in the harbour of Alexandria on July 11, 1882, there would have been no bombardment, no burning of Alexandria, no slaughter of 3,000 or 4,000 lives; but this calamity would have followed, that there would have been nobody ennobled and no pensions given. His own impression was that the Channel Tunnel, if it were made, would be of enormous value to this country, as it would be of great value to all Europe; but far greater to this than to any other country, except, perhaps, France. They would find also that the traffic from the United States would greatly increase. Looking at it as sensible men, assuming that it could be safely done, every man and child was interested in the Channel Tunnel being made, and he hoped the absurd, extraordinary, and inconceivable suggestions of alarm offered would be utterly disregarded and repudiated by the common sense of our countrymen. As Lord Derby said, the greatest interest of England was peace, and if that policy had been carried out no one could tell what would now be the difference in the position of the labouring classes. We were bound to bring together the nations of Europe and the North American continent into a firm, constant, enduring, and blessed alliance with the people of our country, and it was for the sake of that that he had made those observations, and he trusted that what had been said there and the feelings expressed by the assembly might not be without some result on the public opinion of the country.

Whether there was any connection between the Bright celebration and certain secessions from the Cobden Club which were announced in the course of the following week, is a matter of speculation. The election of M. Clémenceau, a French deputy of advanced Radical views, and an earnest Free Trader, was the ostensible reason given for the withdrawal of six or seven prominent members of the Whig party, but it was more generally believed that the selection of Mr. Chamberlain for chairman at

the annual banquet of the Club, was the true reason for this step—and his recent speech at Birmingham, appealing for popular support against the majority of the House of Commons, was the offence he had committed against pure Whig principles. Except as an indication of the friction existing between the two sections of the Liberal party, the episode was of no importance. In his speech at the dinner (June 30), Mr. Chamberlain alluded to the matter, and expressed his astonishment that these gentlemen had not sooner understood that the objects of a Cobden Club should be and had been the promulgation of Cobden's ideas, which were Radical ideas. In spite, however, of the recent demonstration, Mr. Chamberlain said he cherished the hope that every section in the Liberal party would continue to be united by common interest, and that they would together keep the party abreast of the public opinion of the time. But if absolute silence was to be demanded as the condition upon which alone they should be permitted to co-operate, then it would be impossible for Radicals to share in the work of Government till they were strong enough to adopt its policy—it would be impossible for Radicals to offer their allegiance to a party which imposed such intolerable conditions. If there were any persons so unreasonable as to suppose that Radicals would be bribed by office to be unfaithful to their cherished principles, and that they would purchase place at the price of sacrificing all which should lead honest men to covet it, let that delusion be dispelled. It was as insulting to their common sense as it was injurious to their honour.

Lord Salisbury found a further opportunity of taking up the challenge thrown out by Mr. Chamberlain, in his repeated eulogy of the Radical party. At the inaugural dinner of the Constitutional Union held at St. James's Hall (June 27) Lord Salisbury twitted the Government upon the advantages of a divided policy. If its opponents did not like one half of its career, they might be always invited to admire the other half of it. Referring to the position of parties, he went on to say: "The party that calls itself Liberal has nothing in common—it has far less in common than we have—with the party which called itself Liberal fifty years ago. The salient feature of the political position at the present moment is that party names are losing their meaning, that party watchwords are rapidly changing, and that the things which Liberals, together with Conservatives, professed to value and specially to promote in the past, it is now left for Conservatives alone to defend and for Liberals to condemn. The Liberals of the past were keen defenders of individual freedom; they were staunch upholders of the rights of property. Individual freedom and the rights of property are, at least, open questions now with the Liberal party, and everything is sacrificed to the one dogma that a big crowd may deal with a smaller crowd exactly at its discretion. No more striking instance of that can be introduced than the speeches which we have recently heard: but it must not be assumed that

our freedom and our property are attacked in so many words. They are always attacked, as I may call it, circuitously and philosophically. It is always shown that by subverting freedom in this particular case you advance the interests of freedom in general, and that by attacking property in this particular case you uphold the abstract rights of property in general." Referring to the recent demonstration at Birmingham, and to the speeches there made, he continued: "Mr. Chamberlain observed that representatives of Royalty were absent, and they were not missed. He further went on to say that it was necessary to adopt what in his youth was called the Chartist doctrine of manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, payment of members, and so on, 'for the purpose of dealing,' to use his own words, 'with the so-called rights of property.' Now that is the Jacobin theory pure and simple. But the phenomenon which strikes us all with absolute amazement, is that a minister professing these doctrines upon a solemn and formal occasion to his constituents, says that they may be content with a temporary compromise till they can exact the full possession of what they demand, and that a minister avowing that these are his intentions and his policy can still be allowed to sit in council with other ministers who detest these doctrines as much as I do. It is a new, a most sinister, a most terrible feature in our constitutional history. There is no reason, so far as difference of opinion is concerned, why the present ministry should not receive into its sympathetic bosom Mr. Parnell or Mr. George. But it is important, not only on account of the light which it throws on the temper of the present Government, and the amount of steadfastness which we may expect at their hands in defending the most valued safeguards of our Constitution, but also because it points to one of the greatest difficulties which the Constitutional party labour under in this country, and, I believe, labour under in this country alone. In all countries there are men of extreme Conservative opinions and of extreme Radical opinions, and between the two there is a large intermediate body of many different shades, who, according to the exigencies of the time, and as they see that the exigencies on the one side or the other are likely to become predominant, lean to the deficient side with irresistible force and redress the balance that is wanting to save the equilibrium of the Constitution. That is the function which the vast mass of politicians in this country have to fulfil, but there is one exception. There is one class—how numerous I know not, but they are highly inconvenient—who do not follow this law, who do not change their political action in accordance with their political convictions, but who prefer the uniform and the colours before the substance of their creed, who allow themselves to be drawn on by those in whom they no longer believe, and who are content with the humiliating task of assenting to opinions which they detest. I refer to this because it is an evil which appears to me to be increasing—that

is to say, the disbelief of the Whigs and those with whom they are associated becomes accentuated, though there is no diminution in the fidelity with which their votes are recorded." Lord Claud Hamilton at Liverpool and Mr. Gibson at Dublin repeated in scarcely less strong terms their protest against Mr. Chamberlain's eager advocacy of his own personal views.

Within the House of Commons Sir Stafford Northcote had already taken exception to Mr. Bright's charge of an alliance between the Conservatives and the "Irish rebels"—declaring such words to be a breach of privilege. If the Conservatives had systematically obstructed any measure in a way distinguishable from legitimate opposition, the charge should have been made in the House of Commons, and it had not been made there because it was known by those who made it to be baseless; as to the charge of being in alliance with rebels, it was one to which members sitting in any part of the House could submit in silence. Mr. Bright's reply was held even by the majority of his own friends to have been singularly weak and infelicitous; and in direct contrast to Sir Stafford Northcote's short and definite charge, the defence was wordy, and obscured by the refutation of side issues which had never been raised. Detached from its rhetorical effects Mr. Bright's answer came to this, that as the word "alliance" was capable of two interpretations, he perhaps ought not to have used it. He meant only to tell his constituents that there were two parties, each striving to discredit the Government; and that, especially on Government nights, numerous questions were put on the paper, and that these questions and their replies delayed the progress of the Government business. As to the term "rebels," he believed it to be applicable only to a few, who would not resent the word, and he concluded by offering to withdraw his charge and apologise for it, if the Irish members in notorious association with the members of the Chicago and Philadelphia conventions would say that their objects were compatible with loyalty to the Crown. The only answer which this challenge drew from the Irish members was that it was one which they felt it unnecessary to notice. The Government, however, having warmly espoused Mr. Bright's cause, succeeded in negating Sir Stafford Northcote's motion by 151 to 114, although the leading Home Rulers voted on this occasion with the Conservatives.

The consideration in Committee of the Corrupt Practices Bill was momentarily interrupted by the re-appearance of Mr. Bradlaugh on the parliamentary scene. Encouraged perhaps by his success in the law courts, not less than by the unanimity of the meetings he had held throughout the country, Mr. Bradlaugh addressed (July 5) a letter to Mr. Gladstone stating his intention of taking his seat at an early date. This intimation was at once communicated to the leader of the Opposition, and when the House next met (July 9), Sir Stafford Northcote, having obtained an official statement as to the contents of the letter and the intention of Mr. Gladstone to do nothing, moved in self-defence, and



for the preservation of order, that the Sergeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the House until he should engage not further to disturb its proceedings. Mr. Gladstone's line of action was severely animadverted on by his own followers, and in the Liberal Press. Mr. Bradlaugh's defiance of the Speaker was flagrant; nevertheless Mr. Gladstone deprecated a division; and when it became inevitable left the House, followed by the bulk of his party, and Sir Stafford Northcote's motion was carried by 254 (of whom 34 were Liberals) to 67. The minority included six members of the Government, viz. Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Chamberlain, Professor Fawcett, Mr. Mundella, Lord H. Fitzmaurice, and Mr. G. Russell. This concluded the Bradlaugh campaign for the session.

The next day but one (July 11), Mr. Gladstone's reply to another apparently arranged question by Sir S. Northcote as to the news from Madagascar produced a far wider and more painful sensation. The reckless colonial policy of France in the extreme East, in the South Pacific, and the West Coast of Africa had drawn forth serious remonstrances in the Press, and had seriously estranged the two countries. The Governments of both nations, however, had taken no official cognizance of the altered relations, and had refused to provoke by irritating despatches a breach which irresponsible journalists on both sides of the Channel seemed ready to provoke. It was hoped therefore that the newspaper reports of French aggression had been grossly exaggerated, and that in due time the angry feelings so thoughtlessly and without reason excited would subside. Mr. Gladstone's brief announcement, however, of the events at Tamatave, seemed likely to put an abrupt end to these hopes. Tamatave had been bombarded and occupied by the French on June 13. The illness of the consul at that time, said Mr. Gladstone on the faith of despatches, was seriously aggravated by the political crisis and the arrest of his secretary. The consul received an order from the French admiral to quit the place within twenty-four hours, and seven hours before the expiration of that time he died. The French admiral invited the British to attend the funeral, and the British officers and men of the *Dryad* attended in some numbers; and then at once and wholly stopped communication between the British man-of-war and the shore. The captain was allowed only verbally to protest against the proceedings, and the flags of all foreign consuls were pulled down. The telegram also stated that a British subject, Mr. Shaw, who was a missionary of the London Missionary Society, had been arrested on the 16th and remained in prison, whilst the charges against him were not made public. In view of these grave and painful occurrences Mr. Gladstone said, amid much cheering, the Government awaited further information, and also those communications from the Government of France which the case required, which they had intimated to the French Government that they anticipated, and which under similar circumstances it would have been their duty to make.

When at a subsequent period further despatches arrived from the English authorities, and the French version of the story was circulated, public excitement had cooled down, and a valid excuse for Admiral Pierre's strange conduct was subsequently found in that officer's state of health. His request to be relieved of his command was complied with, but he died before setting foot in France; and had this news been followed up by a frank expression of regret from the French Ministry, the cloud which had been hanging for so long between the two countries would probably have been removed. M. Ferry and his colleagues, however, preferred to resist Mr. Shaw's claim for damages (5,000*l.*) as excessive, and ultimately were able to settle the matter in dispute by the payment of 1,000*l.* and a very meagre expression of apology for the long and unnecessarily severe detention to which, without form of trial, Mr. Shaw had been subjected.

In the House of Commons, occupied for some days with the Estimates and other routine business, the consideration of the Agricultural Holdings Bill at length commenced (July 17), when both Mr. J. Howard and Mr. Borlase, representing two sections of the advanced party on the land question, moved their amendments to the first clause. The former was desirous that the whole scope of the Bill should be altered by striking out all limitations of the tenant's improvements in respect of which he might claim compensation on leaving his farm. Mr. Dodson, in reply, declared that the whole principle of the Bill turned upon the nature of the improvements effected, some of which might be wholly personal to the tenant, and that therefore the Government insisted upon specifying in a schedule appended to the Act the nature and extent of recoverable improvements. The amendment moreover would act to the detriment of the tenant, who might under it be forced to pay to his landlord damages for the deterioration of his holding. Mr. Howard only succeeded in obtaining the support of 35 members, whilst 275 upheld the view of the Government. Nor was Mr. Borlase, another champion of tenant-right, more successful. His object, supported by the opinion of Sir James Caird, was to give the tenant a right to compensation on entering on a fresh contract of tenancy where his rent is raised; but Mr. Dodson held that he had sufficient protection under the Bill, by which he could compel his landlord to give him notice to quit and to pay him compensation, and this view was sustained by 196 to 45. When, however, the amendments to the first clause proposed by Whigs like Col. Kingscote or by Conservatives, were brought forward, a very noteworthy change appeared in the division lists. The former, who desired to limit the amount of compensation to so much of the outlay as was a benefit to the incoming tenant, though opposed by the whole weight of the Government, was only defeated by 188 to 163; whilst Mr. A. Balfour, who moved to insert a provision that in improvements for which the consent of the landlord is not required, the compensation should not exceed the amount

of the outlay, succeeded in defeating the Government by 141 to 133. This decision of the Committee so changed the original scope of the Bill, that before the clause was passed Mr. Dodson announced (July 18) that the Government reserved to themselves full liberty of action with regard to it. The Radicals, thereupon, under the lead of Mr. Barclay, Mr. J. Howard, and Mr. Jesse Collings, urged the Government at once to abandon a Bill which gave so little promise of settling the question between landlords and tenants. This course, however, Mr. Dodson refused to follow, and the clause was adopted by 241 to 19. The next few clauses were passed after much discussion and many divisions, substantially as originally framed, and after much time had been spent in discussing the meaning of "fair and reasonable compensation" as contemplated by the Bill. But by this time the House was already beginning to show signs of weariness with a measure respecting which party feeling had at first run so high. The division lists still showed a considerable array of names, but the repeated attempts to count out the House (July 20) were evidence that the limits of concession on either side were pretty well known before the discussion began. Rapid progress was then made with the remaining clauses, and a few days later (July 24) the Bill passed through Committee, saddled with three important amendments coming from the Conservative side. That proposed by Mr. Balfour, and carried in spite of the Government, but subsequently rescinded on the report (July 31) by 166 to 76; one by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, declaring that in estimating compensation for improvements nothing should be awarded which might be due to the inherent capabilities of the land; and the third, proposed by Mr. Chaplin, depriving the outgoing tenant of compensation for any improvements made without the landlord's consent after the tenant had received notice to quit or three-fourths of his lease had run out. The last two amendments were accepted by the Government without a division, as was one by Mr. Donaldson-Hudson, relative to the incidence of drainage charges; whilst an attempt to repeal the law of distress in relation to agricultural holdings failed in spite of the decision arrived at in 1881. In one point, however, the Bill was enlarged in Committee, its scope being extended so as to include market gardens and small allotments. The Scotch Bill, which had been drawn on similar lines, was, after some discussion, finally agreed to (Aug. 1), and both measures were forthwith sent together to the Lords, before the final touches to the Corrupt Practices Bill had been given in the Commons, and the last obstacles to its enactment overcome. The progress of the Agricultural Holdings Bill in the Upper House was, however, very rapid. Lord Carlingford, in moving the second reading (Aug. 7), stated that the machinery of the measure was founded on that of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875. Eight years' experience of the Act of 1875 proved that the results of an optional measure were very small; and as to the amendment of which Lord Wemyss

had given notice, founded on the objection that the Bill was an interference with free contract, he reminded their lordships that Parliament had in many cases interfered with free contract. Lord Wemyss, in moving an amendment, entered on a retrospective history of the Irish land question and the policy of the Government in reference thereto. This he described as having brought about general demoralisation in Ireland, and in animated accents he called on their lordships to take warning in respect of what was being commenced in England by this Bill. He proposed as an amendment, "That this House, while ready to promote a well-considered measure for the advancement of agriculture and the improvement so far as possible by legislation of the relations of landlord and tenant, is not prepared to give its sanction to a Bill which in agricultural tenancies forbids free contract in the future and breaks it in the past, thus destroying the foundation upon which alone agriculture, trade, and commerce can securely rest." The Duke of Argyll, though averse to interference with free contract, accepted the general bearing and fundamental principle of this Bill, as doing as much good and as little harm as possible in the case; but he would propose amendments in Committee. The Duke of Richmond and Gordon defended the action of the Government of 1875 in making the Bill permissive; but pointed out that since then a Commission had unanimously reported in favour of a compulsory measure, and there was a general feeling on the part of both political parties in the State that the tenant was entitled to compensation for his improvements. He believed the Bill was an honest attempt to settle a difficult question. Lord Carnarvon failed to see how the Bill would promote the agricultural interests. Though it went dangerously near to trenching on freedom of contract, yet, as it did not interfere with the ownership of land and gave the tenant a security which might be required in exceptional cases, he would not vote against the second reading. Lord Salisbury could not support the amendment, nor could he agree that there was any analogy between this and the Irish Land Bills. This Bill would not interfere much with the landlord's rights, but in some ways it would cause results disadvantageous to the tenant. He was not prepared, in a House composed of landlords, to vote against the second reading of the Bill, but he threw the responsibility of the measure on her Majesty's Government. Lord Wemyss struck out of his amendment the passage from "while" to "tenant," inclusive. On a division, the second reading was carried by 55 to 9, the minority being in no respect a party one, and containing peers of widely differing political views, such as Lords Lytton, Bramwell, Stanley of Alderley, Fortescue, Blantyre, Wynford, Ellenborough, Sidmouth, and Wemyss.

One more evening, though a long one (Aug. 10), sufficed to carry the Bill through the Committee, and to establish the points of divergence between the majorities in the two Houses.

In Clause 1, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon moved an

amendment to make general the condition that in estimating the value of any improvement there should not be taken into account as part of the tenant's improvements what was justly due to the inherent capabilities of the soil. After a faint show of resistance on the part of the Government, this was carried by 82 to 51. In Clause 2, Lord Salisbury moved to insert words to provide that no compensation should be claimed in contravention of any specific agreement at present existing between the landlord and the tenant. The Government strongly opposed this amendment, but the Duke of Argyll threw the weight of his influence into the scale on the side of the Conservative Peers, and the amendment was carried by 116 to 46. On Clause 4, the Duke of Buckingham moved that when the landlord had done drainage for the tenant, the interest allowed him on the outlay, when both were to be repaid by an annual sum payable for twenty-five years, should be four per cent., and not three, as provided by the clause as it stood; and the amendment was adopted without a division. In Clause 5, which contained a provision that where an agreement in writing secured to the tenant fair and reasonable compensation, such compensation should be in substitution for compensation under the Act, Lord Fife proposed the insertion of words making "fair and reasonable" have reference to circumstances existing at the time of the making of the agreement. The amendment was accepted by the Government and adopted by the Committee. On Clause 6, Lord de l'Isle moved an amendment the object of which was to enable the landlord to obtain compensation for waste in respect to matters of husbandry committed by the tenant within seven years before the termination of the tenancy—the limit in the clause as it stood being four years, and this was carried by 75 to 48.

The Duke of Richmond and Gordon moved after Clause 6 a new clause, providing that during the last year of the tenancy there should not be taken into account any larger outlay by the tenant than the average amount of his outlay for like purposes during the next three preceding years of the tenancy. The Government opposed the amendment, but it was adopted without a division. To Clause 8, providing that in case of non-agreement between the landlord and tenant in respect of compensation the difference should be settled by reference, Lord Carlingford proposed the addition of words to widen the scope of reference so that it might include the question whether any agreement between the landlord and tenant as to compensation was fair and reasonable, and all other matters incidental to settling the account between landlord and tenant in respect of compensation under the Act. Lord Salisbury, after the experience of the Land Commission in Ireland, objected to have such questions referred to any tribunal but a court of law; and the Government proposal, after a long and acrimonious debate, was rejected by 85 to 40. In Clause 10, providing that on the application of either party in writing an umpire in a reference should be appointed by the Land Commissioners of

England, Lord Salisbury carried by 74 to 46 an amendment providing that either party might have the umpire named by the President and Council of the Institute of Surveyors. Clauses up to 42 inclusive were then agreed to, with amendments which provoked no opposition. On Clause 43, limiting the power of the landlord to distrain to one year's rent, Lord Exeter proposed to extend the power to distrain to two years' rent; and on this point for the first time was there any apparent willingness on the part of the Conservatives to forego the advantages of their position. The majority against the Government was only 56 to 47, showing at the same time that on landlord questions there were barely fifty peers ready to support the ministerial proposals. The remaining clauses were then adopted with slight alterations, and the Bill as amended passed through Committee. The object of the Bill, perhaps a sentimental one, had been to confer upon the tenant farmer certain practical benefits in defiance of logic and even of political economy. The Lords had, however, found logic on the side of their rights and privileges, and viewed with distrust any excursion into the domain of political sentiment.

Mr. Gladstone showed no hurry to take up the quarrel, or to embitter the relations between the two Houses. Ten days were allowed to pass, which were apparently well employed in coming privately to an understanding as to the limits of possible concession on both sides. At length (Aug. 21), Mr. Gladstone explained that the Government was unable to accept many of the Lords' amendments. A specific agreement existing at the commencement of the Act between landlord and tenant was not to bar compensation; the interest charged on advances for drainage was to be 3*l.* per cent., not 4*l.*; the landlord was not to be entitled to compensation for waste committed within seven years of the end of the tenancy; the tenant, in respect of manures during the last year of his tenancy, was not to be limited by the average of similar expenditure during the three preceding years. The Government moreover insisted upon limiting the right of distraint to one year's rent; and holdings of less than two acres would not be excluded from the Bill. On the other hand the Government accepted the extension to all improvements of the Duke of Richmond's proviso, that in estimating compensation no account should be taken of an improved value which was due to the inherent capabilities of the soil, and some smaller amendments. When the Bill was sent back to the Lords, Lord Carlingford pointed out that if the Lords insisted on their amendments they would be supposed to have dealt with the measure in a jealous and grudging spirit, and in that way the Bill would not have the conciliatory effect which was equally desired by both parties, and proposed as a concession to exclude compensation when it had been varied by special agreement. Lord Salisbury was proof against the argument and deaf to the proposal, but the Duke of Richmond saw the force of it, and declined to do anything which by risking the success of the Bill

would be "repugnant to the feelings of the whole tenant farmers of the country." The division resulted in a tie, 48 peers voting on either side. According to the custom of the House therefore "it passed in the negative," so that the Lord Chancellor had to give his casting vote on Lord Carlingford's amendment with the non-contents, having previously voted with the "contents." Lord Salisbury's amendment was then put as a substantive motion, and the arrival of Lord Gerard caused it to be carried by a majority of one. After this its eventual rejection was, of course, assured. The Commons again disagreed to it, without a division and almost without debate, and on its second return to the Lords, Lord Salisbury declined to carry his resistance any further. It was ominous, however, of future confusion that while the Lord Chancellor was convinced that the object of the amendment was virtually secured by another clause, Lord Bramwell was equally certain that it was not.

Meanwhile the affairs of Egypt had more than once again occupied the attention of the House of Commons, and the discussion had brought out into greater clearness the views of the Government. On the renewal (July 27) of the debate on the propriety of charging any part of the cost of the war to the Indian revenue—adjourned from May 8—Mr. Gladstone announced that the adoption of Mr. Onslow's resolution, condemning the charge, would be regarded as a vote of censure and force a resignation, a course which personally he would not regret. The contention of the Government was that the chief benefit of the Suez Canal was to India, and that consequently she ought to bear her fair share—about one seventh—of the total cost of the war. The weakness of this line of argument was manifest as soon as the arguments brought in its support were applied to the Cabul campaign; which the Liberals in opposition had protested against charging in any part upon the Indian revenue. Mr. Gladstone himself recognised the danger of such plea before the close of the debate, and justified the Egyptian war on the wholly new ground that it was brought about by a matter involving the honour of the British Government. In spite of the contradictions in which the Government policy involved its apologists, Mr. Onslow's resolution was negatived by 210 against 55.

A few days later (Aug. 6), Mr. John Morley asked the Prime Minister, when might be expected the evacuation of Egypt by British troops, anticipated by Lord Hartington early in the session as possible before its close. In reply to this and further questions from Mr. Bourke, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and others, Mr. Gladstone replied that there was no change in the intention of the Government to withdraw their troops at the first opportune moment. This, however, could not be effected until they were assured "not merely to secure tranquillity for the moment, but likewise to obviate future perturbations." Although the six months anticipated by Lord Hartington had elapsed, the outbreak of cholera had delayed

the final departure of the troops, and this combined with other reasons prevented the ministry from being able to anticipate any very early withdrawal of the troops. The matter was again brought forward and discussed at some length on the vote for Diplomatic Services (Aug. 9), when Mr. John Morley expressed himself as quite satisfied with the recent declarations of the ministry respecting the occupation of Egypt, but he was afraid that indecision might drift them into permanent annexation. The risks of withdrawal were great, but to overrate them was the best way of bringing about the certain disaster of permanent annexation. Mr. Bourke said that if the army were withdrawn and the civil officials only left, we should still be responsible for the government of the country. He and his friends had always opposed the war as unnecessary, but they did not deny that its consequences might be very useful to England. If the people of Egypt had to work out their own salvation and to create autonomous arrangements, the whole thing would collapse in a few weeks, but if the Government intended to see that the work was properly done before withdrawing they ought to say so plainly. Sir Charles Dilke was surprised to hear from Mr. Bourke that he and his friends had always been opposed to the war as unnecessary. He seemed to have completely forgotten a certain famous speech directly inciting the Government to hostilities made by Lord Salisbury in Willis's Rooms. The permanent occupation or annexation of Egypt would be a violation of the pledges of the Government and detrimental to the interests of England and Egypt. The troops would be gradually withdrawn, and but for the cholera outbreak the number then there would have been only 6,000. He hoped that by November the natives would be able to answer for the tranquillity of the capital, so that a further large reduction of the force might be made.

Sir H. Drummond Wolff thought the appointment of Major Baring was perhaps the best that could be made, but his position as Consul-General would prevent him from coping satisfactorily with the difficulties before him. Mr. Cowen did not believe that Egypt would be left to itself any more than India. In some shape or other our hold upon it would be sure to be retained. Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice entered into the whole question at great length. He did not apprehend the least disagreement between the Consul-General (Major Baring) and the future financial adviser whose name would be announced at the proper time. Taking a hopeful view of the situation, he concluded by saying, "I believe that possibly those who at a future time look back to the debates of the present time will realise that the Government in that land where the monuments of the past stand shoulder to shoulder with the work and the realities of everyday life will have succeeded in establishing something far more useful than the Pyramids and the sepulchres of the early kings, at the same time borrowing something of their character, taking at least



one of their characteristics in having something of their great solidity and their majestic strength."

With this, after a few words from Sir S. Northcote, the vote was allowed to pass, and there was no further attempt to extract from the ministry a more definite declaration of their intentions. Opinions were much divided as to whether the underlying wish of the Government was not to retain a hold upon Egypt until after France had more distinctly developed her foreign and colonial policy, whilst at the same time the feeling gathered strength that in spite of itself, of its convictions and its assurances, the English Government would find it impossible to withdraw the troops altogether. Even those most opposed to the continued occupation admitted the necessity of keeping a large force ready for service at Cyprus and elsewhere within striking distance, whilst others found a spokesman of their thoughts in Prince Bismarck, who was reported to have said that whether Mr. Gladstone intended to keep hold of Egypt mattered but little, since Egypt was determined to keep hold of Mr. Gladstone.

In its dealings with South Africa the Government were able before the end of the session to admit its disappointments and to define more explicitly its policy. Mr. Gladstone declared (Aug. 6) his belief that the Boer Convention had on the whole operated favourably to the natives, whose position was better than it would have been had we intervened on their behalf. The Government did not accept Sir H. Robinson's views as to the ease with which order could be restored, but the real deterrent from intervention had not been the risk and the cost so much as the danger of stirring up race animosities. Our obligations to the natives did not depend on the convention, but if the latter were modified the Government would not force on their own views irrespective of parliamentary control. Referring at a later period in the debate to the strictures passed upon the Government for restoring Cetewayo to Zululand, Mr. Gladstone asserted that it was an injustice shown to the late king (he was then supposed to have been killed in action) by Sir M. Hicks-Beach when he was Colonial Secretary that led to the whole difficulty. He had himself received a most touching letter from Cetewayo complaining of this injustice.

Two Irish measures were brought forward by Mr. Trevelyan at the latest possible date. One of these, the Voters' Registration Bill, was an act of simple justice destined to remedy a defect in the Irish law, which compelled any elector whose vote was attacked to appear in a Registration Court to defend his right. Mr. Trevelyan sought to throw the onus of proving an objection on the objector. The Bill was opposed by a small knot of Ulster Conservatives as a sop to Mr. Parnell, but passed through the Committee (Aug. 4) by a large majority, only, however, to be summarily rejected when its second reading was proposed in the House of Lords (Aug. 21). The sop, however, if it was so intended, failed to conciliate the Nationalists when the Irish Constabulary Bill was brought forward.

According to Mr. Trevelyan, its main object was to improve and make permanent the decentralisation of the Irish police, a system which had been found most effective in the detection of crime. The Nationalists, however, saw in its provisions fresh means placed at the disposal of the Executive to suppress popular feeling, and in face of the threatened opposition the Bill was withdrawn. But the greatest surprise reserved for the House was the introduction of an Irish Tramways Bill, which, when it came on for discussion, was found to contain some very unexpected proposals. The second reading was moved by Mr. Trevelyan (Aug. 14) at half-past two in the morning, with a few words of explanation as to its provisions, who, despite of his declarations when opposing Mr. O'Connor Power's resolution (April 10), unfolded an elaborate scheme for relieving Irish distress at the public expense. State guarantees on new tramways were to be given with the object of opening up agricultural districts beyond the reach of railways, the emigration grant was to be increased, and money to be advanced on easy terms to certain land companies to enable them to purchase estates in the open market and resell them on easy terms to the tenant. Mr. Parnell on behalf of his friends objected to so much of the proposal as would throw the entire tramways rate (about 40,000*l.* per annum) upon the occupants of the land near to which the tramways passed, but he was ready to accept a compromise, once put forward by Mr. Forster, that the landlord and occupant should equally divide the burden of the tramway rate between them. To the proposal of emigration he preferred a scheme of migration. He asserted that nothing had excited so much feeling against the Government, as the idea that their policy was one of emigration and nothing else. He suggested therefore as an alternative that a portion of the 100,000*l.* to be granted for emigration should be given to the Land Commissioners, to be paid out at so much per family to any company which might buy an estate and resettle families from the congested districts to the satisfaction of the Land Commission. Mr. Gibson said it required an effort of terrific virtue for an Irishman to refuse the offers made in the Bill. Still he could not in the least understand why this Bill was put in now. The richest counties who could pay rates best would get the lion's share of the aid offered for the construction of tramways. The emigration proposals of the Government were of the pettiest kind, but the proposal to divide so trifling a sum into two parts was absurd. No practical scheme of migration had ever been before them for discussion, though a number of speeches had been made in its favour. Colonel King-Harman—a strong Conservative—supported Mr. Parnell's suggestions. He was afraid that migration would not do, but if it failed they would be no worse off than now, whereas if it succeeded a great panacea for the ills of Ireland would have been found. Mr. Trevelyan accepted the proposal to divide the sum of 100,000*l.* in the way suggested. He was of opinion that 50,000*l.*, spent as carefully as the money at the

disposal of Mr. Tuke's fund, would go far to show whether migration was practicable or not.

But even this amount of concession was unavailing to prevent the recurrence of one of those "scenes," of which there had been, happily, but few repetitions during the session. Mr. Healy, on the discussion of the vote for the Lord Lieutenant's Household (Aug. 18) denounced the Castle administration in his strongest language, and the obstinate persistency with which the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) defended all the acts of his subordinates. "There was," Mr. Healy went on to say, "conspiracy of silence both in the English Press and on the Treasury bench in regard to all Irish grievances. There was a desire to 'cushion' everything. The Chief Secretary had made his defence, and he would if he had been in office in Cromwell's time have got up and defended with just as much *aplomb* the spitting of Irish babes upon English bayonets. The right hon. gentleman wanted them to fight in velvet in that House, but when they got over to Ireland they found the prison-cell ready for them. When Irish members spoke their full mind the plank-bed was the reward of their fulness of speech. The right hon. gentleman treated the Irish members in Ireland as his enemies, and he could not expect them to treat him otherwise than as their enemy in that House. This was a quarrel of life and death. It was a struggle of the Irish people fought out in that House as their forefathers fought it out in different circumstances. It was ridiculous to imagine that they could import into that House refinements and delicacies of speech. It was as much a war now between the two countries as ever it was. The Irish members were the exponents of the state of feeling which existed in Ireland and which inspired the great mass of the people of Ireland with hatred and contempt of her Majesty's Government."

Mr. Gladstone at once rose and replied to this attack in a dignified and pathetic speech. His own personal interest, he said, in the question could only be of short duration, but if it were to be the last time he were to speak in that House, he would use the language, not of rebuke but of appeal to members, to question their own conscience, whether they really thought it incumbent on them to use deliberately such inflammatory language, and so retard as long as possible the establishment of peace and concord between Ireland and England. To this appeal, prefaced by an expression of admiration for Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Healy replied that war between the two countries was only prevented by physical force, and the Irish members were only able to express by their speeches the hatred they felt towards their rulers. The fact, however, remained obvious to all unprejudiced observers, that Lord Spencer by his firmness had restored order to Ireland, and that the gradual disappearance of disaffection in many districts, aggravated rather gratified a certain kind of Nationalist members. These by his tact and good temper Mr. Trevelyan had managed through the session to keep at bay, and the outbreak towards its close was regarded not

only as natural to politicians who owed their seats to their avowed antagonism to all forms of Government originating in Westminster, but was in itself a sort of testimony of submission to the new state of things. Whatever obstruction had been attempted during the session by the Irish members, it was so carefully veiled and so discreetly kept within bounds, that it might have been fairly supposed that they recognised the justice of much of the legislation of previous years and were prepared to give it a fair trial.

In his Budget speech the Chancellor of the Exchequer had explained his intentions with regard to the reduction of the National Debt, but it was not until close upon the end of the session (Aug. 7) that he was able to bring forward for discussion the Bill in which his views were embodied. The real point of his Bill was, that if it became law, it would put it out of the power of any future Chancellor of the Exchequer to tamper with the sinking fund created by Sir Stafford Northcote in 1875. By the arrangement then made, the annual service of the debt was fixed at 28 millions, a sum each year becoming more and more in excess of the requirements of the interest. In 1885 certain annuities amounting to 800,000*l.* a year would terminate—and two years later a further half-million—and owing to these and other causes the interest of the entire debt of 1885 would not absorb more than 22½ millions. With the permanent surplus of 5¼ millions Mr. Childers proposed to create new annuities, which falling in from time to time would operate almost automatically and permanently towards the reduction of the debt. The objections raised against the scheme were twofold ; some of the Conservatives, drawing their leader with them, were of opinion that it was neither fair nor politic to set apart each year so large a sum, which might be more profitably devoted to the relief of taxation, whilst those of whom Mr. J. G. Hubbard was the spokesman, saw in the increasing cancelling of Government securities a source of serious inconvenience to investors and men of business. Mr. Childers' scheme, however, was supported by a very large majority, irrespective of party, and with but few modifications became law.

The summary rejection of one or two Government measures by the House of Lords, because no time was left for their proper examination, excited but little surprise. The Irish Registration Bill indeed was very simple in its nature, and looked upon by its supporters as an act of common justice to the Irish electorate, but it found only thirty-two supporters against fifty-two opponents. The Local Government Board (Scotland) Bill, however, aimed at remodelling the whole system by which Scotch business was managed in Parliament. There had existed for some time a movement in favour of dissociating the administrative duties hitherto thrown upon the Lord Advocate, a purely legal officer ; but the ambition of the Scotch members had been for a Secretary of State for Scotland, whilst the Government proposal apparently aimed only at depriving the Lord Advocate of many of his privileges

and functions. Sir William Harcourt strongly denied that this was the intention of the Government, but at the same time he declined to explain publicly the inner views of the Cabinet; and in spite of a very great division of opinion among the Scotch members themselves, the Bill passed through the Commons without substantial alteration. In the House of Lords, however, its career was very brief, and it was rejected on the second reading (Aug. 21) by 46 to 31 votes—a result which excited, however, less surprise than the far more crushing defeat by 30 to 17 inflicted on Mr. Anderson's Cruelty to Animals Amendment Act (Aug. 17) by which the cruel practice of pigeon shooting for wagers was proposed to be limited or put an end to. The Peers saw in the proposal the first attempt to interfere with field sports, and although the division was taken at a moment when attendance in London must have required a temporary cessation from these sports, they mustered in sufficient strength under the leadership of Lord Westbury to prevent the progress of the Bill.

The more important Bills sent up from the House of Commons, such as the Corrupt Practices Bill, the Irish Tramways Bill (with its emigration scheme attached), the Bankruptcy Bill—in spite of the array of Law Lords and ex-Chancellors—passed the House of Peers almost without discussion, and nearly all within a week of the prorogation. That event took place on Aug. 25, when, in the Speech from the Throne, the failure of the policy in the Transvaal was admitted, the belief expressed that the misunderstanding with France arising out of the Madagascar incident would be removed, and that the duration of the occupation of Egypt would be measured by the state of affairs in the East, although the desire for the withdrawal of our troops remained unchanged.

In spite of the complaints brought against the Government, and especially against Mr. Gladstone, for the waste of public time at the beginning of the session, and for his limpness of purpose on various occasions when public business might have been pushed forward, the parliamentary record was far from a despicable one. The Bankruptcy Bill, and the Patents Bill, the success of which was due chiefly to Mr. Chamberlain's tact and determination, were achievements which had baffled numerous law reformers, and from which more than one Lord Chancellor had turned away in despair. The Corrupt Practices Act was at all events a serious effort to remove from English parliamentary and borough elections the stigma which attached to them in so many parts of the country; whilst the fate of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill had shown that even in the Grand Committees the creation of an obstructive minority was possible, and its power unlimited either by reproof or penalty. The position of the Ministry at the close of the session was probably stronger than at the outset; but this was perhaps due to the failure of the Conservatives to impress upon the country that, if accident were to call them to office, they were prepared with an alternative policy productive of better results. The

inaction of the Conservative leaders in the House of Commons was variously explained, and at times it was suggested that it arose from as great a divergence of opinion between them and their followers, as was to be found, on the Liberal side of the House, existing between the Whigs and the Radicals.

The Parliamentary reputation which most gained was Mr. G. Trevelyan's, whose management of the delicate duties of his office called for general praise, except from the extreme Irish party, whose blame, however, might be regarded as an additional tribute to the Chief Secretary's efficiency. Mr. Courtney on a few occasions had the opportunity of showing that even in office he was prepared to stand by opinions which were not those officially put forward by his colleagues and superiors; Mr. Childers' *fiasco* in the matter of the Suez Canal was soon forgotten, but the difference between him and his great predecessor as Finance Minister was felt throughout the country, and his first Budget even was accepted rather with tolerance than pleasure. On the Opposition side, Lord George Hamilton on more than one occasion showed a power of infusing dull subjects with lively interest; and during the earlier portion of the session Lord Randolph Churchill's guerilla attacks on friends and foes established his reputation as the foremost among the free lances of the Lower House.

## CHAPTER V.

The Recess—Lord Hartington at Sheffield—Mr. Gladstone's Voyage—The Manchester Election—Mr. Chamberlain and the County Franchise—The Newcastle and Leeds Meetings—The Conservative Programme—Disintegration—The Housing of the Poor—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain on State Socialism—Mr. Courtney's Revolt—Mr. Goschen's Plea for Moderate Liberalism—The Scotch Campaign—The Reading Celebration—Lord Hartington's and Mr. Chamberlain's views of the Franchise Bill—Mr. Bright's Conservatism—Colonial and Egyptian Policy.

THE prorogation of Parliament was immediately followed by the release of Mr. Shaw, the Madagascar missionary, whose misadventures at one moment threatened to raise diplomatic difficulties between France and England. Luckily Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville had been able to avoid making any statement in Parliament which might have aroused French susceptibilities, and so have rendered diplomatic negotiations difficult. Lord Granville, by the display of both firmness and tact, was thus able to bring about the satisfactory solution of an imbroglio without any apparent sacrifice of French *amour propre*; whilst Mr. Shaw was compensated for the annoyance he had experienced during the illegal imprisonment to which he had been subjected by the caprice of the French Admiral. The tone, however, of the French press towards England still continued very bitter; and although its interest in Madagascar sensibly diminished with the release of Mr. Shaw, it showed itself again by a recrudescence of French chauvinism in the

Chinese seas, and an increasing activity of French agents in Egypt. Wherever the two countries were brought face to face on a foreign soil, a spirit of antagonism and mutual distrust became apparent; and although the Ministers of both countries showed themselves more yielding and conciliatory than their followers in the press and on the platform, it was obvious that the *entente cordiale* between the two nations, so far as concerned the people at large, was in danger. In home politics the only approach to any test of popular feeling lay in the Rutlandshire election, where the Liberal candidate, Mr. Davenport Bradley, put forward as the nominee of the Farmers' Alliance, was only able to secure 194 votes against 860 given to his Tory opponent Mr. J. W. Lowther. But at the same time, it is necessary to remember that no contest had occurred in the county for more than forty years, and that the electorate was absolutely agricultural.

The first to break silence after the close of the Session was Mr. Parnell, who at Dublin (Aug. 29) honourably complimented the Government for passing the Fisheries Act, the Labourers Act, and the Tramways Act, whilst speaking confidently that the past was only an instalment of the measure of local self-government which Ireland would ere long obtain. Lord Hartington's speech at the Cutlers' Feast, at Sheffield (Sept. 6), was necessarily more apologetic, both in regard to legislation of the Session and the success of the Government policy. He dwelt upon the ever-increasing difficulties of passing measures, even when they were administrative, like those of the preceding Session; and dimly foreshadowed the difficulties awaiting that political legislation which sooner or later would be inevitable. With regard to the action of the English Foreign Office, he said that it was as much a mistake to suppose the arrest of Mr. Shaw was necessarily a cause of quarrel between France and England, as it was to imagine that his release removed the ground of difference between the two countries. With reference to Egypt, Lord Hartington, however, expressed himself in a tone of optimism or indifferentism, which scarcely found an echo amongst his own party:—"It is no light thing," he said, "to restore authority which has so rudely been shaken, especially when that Government is, regarded from a European point of view, so defective as is in many respects the Government of Egypt. It is no light thing to reconstitute authority which has almost been cast down by armed insurrection, and which has rested and which still rests upon foreign armies of occupation." But, nevertheless, he not only believed that we should do it, but believed it so strongly that for the second time he fixed dates, and suggested that, "If they are wise, the Khedive and his Government will make good use of the time which lies before them before the British House of Commons again comes together to demand an account of the situation; and will be able to show such a list of reforms accomplished, and guarantees for freedom and order given, as will make it an easy task for us, even in the opinion of the most timid of our

critics, greatly to reduce, if not altogether to remove, the Army of Occupation from the soil of Egypt." With these exceptions, for some weeks after a long and tedious Session party leaders of all shades held their peace. Mr. Gladstone's voyage, in company with Mr. Tennyson, round the Orkneys would have passed unnoticed, but for its suddenly devised extension across the North Sea. At Copenhagen, however, Mr. Gladstone found at the Danish Court the Czar of Russia, the King of Greece, and a host of other relatives of King Christian; and forthwith the wildest stories were set afloat as to the intentions of the English Premier. He was credited with remodelling the whole continental policy of England, without reference to his own Secretary of State, and apparently with no other counsellor than the Poet Laureate. A northern alliance for France, or some other counterpoise to Prince Bismarck's federation of Southern Europe, the fusion of Eastern Roumania with Bulgaria into one independent State, and the consent to the occupation of Armenia by Russia, were among the proposals said to have been discussed by the assembled party. As, however, subsequent events gave no support to any one of these dreams, it may be fairly supposed that Mr. Gladstone's voyage was wholly without any political object.

The vacancy at Manchester, caused by the death of Mr. Birley, the "Minority" Conservative member, was the occasion for testing the strength of the Liberal Nine Hundred, who claimed an authoritative voice in election matters. The probable short duration of the present Parliament, and possibly a tacit understanding between the party managers, pointed to the avoidance of any trial of strength. This compromise, however, was by no means endorsed by the advanced Liberal section, who found in Dr. Pankhurst, a previously unsuccessful candidate, a champion ready to take the field without the support of the Liberal Organization. His views upon the two great questions of the day were those of the advanced politicians of his school—a federation between England and Ireland after the models of the United States and Hungary; the "liberation of the land from feudalism," and its subjection to national control. On the subject of the liquor laws, whilst a strong advocate of temperance, he was opposed to Local Option and to Sunday Closing; whilst he was ready for universal suffrage for both sexes alike, and the abolition of the House of Lords.

The Liberal organs at the outset of his canvass loudly protested against Dr. Pankhurst's "individualism," which they declared rendered all his Radical promises and beliefs of no avail. His open defiance of the local party leaders was denounced as "a blow at an invaluable system of organization," and he was accused of having attempted to revive the bad old plan of cliques and coteries, and hole and corner nominations, and of being in revolt against "the rational and convenient system by which the representative council of a party chooses the candidate whom that



party will support." The apologists of the Liberal Association, finding themselves forced to make some defence of their policy, averred that in the face of Dr. Pankhurst's determination to stand under any circumstances, a contest would have involved a large expenditure of money, and split up the party, with the final result of returning Mr. Houldsworth (the Conservative candidate) at the head of the poll by a large majority. The abstention of the Association from any active interference enabled Dr. Pankhurst to appeal to the constituency as the only representative of the principles of the Association; but at the same time they threw out the hint that the success of Dr. Pankhurst would be a severe blow to the caucus system, and would probably lead to a schism in every constituency. This view was at all events adopted most heartily by the Liberal Association. In reply to a summons, upwards of six hundred members of the Council assembled at Manchester to discuss the situation, and of these scarcely more than a score lifted their hands in support of a motion to adopt Dr. Pankhurst as their candidate. In default, however, of the favour of the Association, Dr. Pankhurst found his views on the Irish question such as to draw from Mr. Parnell a warranty of soundness, and in consequence the Manchester branches of the National League at once pledged themselves to support the Radical candidate. As, however, the polling day drew near, mutual concessions were found expedient; Dr. Pankhurst expressed his willingness if elected to submit to a test-ballot his claim to stand again at the General Election; and in return for this recognition of the authority of the caucus, a section of the Liberal Association consented to canvass on Dr. Pankhurst's behalf, and to attend meetings in support of his candidature. The result of the election was, however, apparently but little affected by this tardy truce. Mr. Houldsworth was returned by very nearly three votes to every one given to his opponent (18,188 to 6,216 votes) out of a register numbering nearly 53,000 voters. The result was regarded by both Liberals and Conservatives as satisfactory; to the latter in showing the small weight attaching to the Irish vote; and to the former, as evidence that at a general election they could count with certainty upon one seat at least.

The energy with which both parties organised their plans and forces for the autumn campaign in the provinces was a fresh indication that statesmen, in and out of office alike, looked rather to popular favour than to Parliamentary prestige for influence and support. To keep themselves and their programmes constantly before the public, to take advantage of every occasion to assert party claims or personal merits, became the object of every one who occupied a forward position in politics. But the limits hitherto assigned to political questions were, under this new system, soon found to be too narrow to express the politician's aim or to rouse public interest. Social questions, which had hitherto attracted but small attention from statesmen, especially

when addressing popular assemblies, were suddenly brought into the front rank, and it seemed at one time as if the new Reform Bill, which was declared by one party to be imperatively demanded, and by the other to be wholly unnecessary (though admitted by both to be imminent and inevitable), would be attacked and defended upon the grounds of social morality rather than of political expediency.

Mr. Chamberlain was the first to open up the political programme of the Government, in a letter addressed to the Battersea Radical Association soon after the rising of Parliament. On this occasion he assumed that public opinion was already made up as to the need of a County Franchise Reform Bill, but he thought it would have to ripen considerably before a final settlement of the whole question could be looked for. Towards the end of the month (Sept. 27) a more important element to the Reform movement was contributed by a mass meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, estimated at 50,000 men, who assembled to "pass resolutions in favour of assimilating the Borough and County Franchises, and urging the Government to accomplish the much-needed measure of justice and reform." Mr. John Morley, who was the principal speaker on the occasion, expressed his belief that as a point of tactics the Government would deal with the franchise first, and leave redistribution to be dealt with when they had a million and a quarter more voters to appeal to in support of their proposals. In the event of the House of Lords throwing out the Franchise Bill, he thought it would be the duty of the Government to prorogue Parliament, not dissolve it—call another Session immediately, and send up the same Bill again without delay.

The mass meeting at Newcastle, however, was but a sort of popular prelude to the more highly elaborated method of agitation which culminated in the Reform Conference at Leeds. On this occasion (Oct. 17) upwards of 2,500 delegates, representing 500 Liberal Associations in all parts of the kingdom, met together to determine the Liberal programme for the ensuing Session. The fact that the Conference was usurping a function hitherto jealously guarded by the Cabinet scarcely surprised those who had been studying the process of "government by devolution." The meeting was presided over by Mr. John Morley, M.P., who, although only a recent Parliamentary recruit, was already exercising an ascendancy in the counsels of the Radical party; and under his guidance the delegates at Leeds gave no uncertain intimation of their hopes and wishes. On the necessity of an extension of household suffrage to the counties they were unanimous and absolute; but it required some tact and persuasion on the part of the Chairman to conciliate the conflicting views as to the order in which certain other instalments of Reform should be given. Mr. Frith claimed precedence for the reform of the Government of London; Dr. R. W. Dale (Birmingham) and Mr. John Ellis (North Notts) were anxious that the Local Government

of Counties Bill should follow upon the heels of the County Franchise Bill—even if Redistribution were postponed to the following year; and this latter view prevailed, in spite of a direct resolution proposing to leave the arrangement of the Reform questions to the responsible Ministers. The minor points discussed by the Conference included a better system of registration, the extension of the hours of polling, the abolition of Parliamentary oaths, and the admission of women to the franchise. Votes were taken in support of these various questions; but the favourable vote of the meeting on the last point was due rather to its able advocacy by the daughters of Richard Cobden and John Bright, than to any hearty acquiescence of the majority with the principle at stake or a genuine conviction as to its political or general expediency.

Mr. John Bright, although a delegate to the Conference, took no active part in its deliberations; but at a subsequent meeting, over which he presided, he cordially endorsed the resolutions, and took the opportunity of expressing his views on the subjects of minority members and the uses of the House of Lords. The former point he regarded as a trick invented by the House of Lords for robbing the great towns of their legitimate power—their twelve members having no more weight than fourteen returned by unimportant constituencies. Mr. Bright's reform of the House of Lords would consist in depriving that body of the right to reject any Bill which had been twice sent up to it by the Commons, and he would thus greatly curtail the power of compromise, which under the existing system the House of Lords exercised with but slight scruple when dealing with bills on which the Liberal majority in the House of Commons had a strong interest.

The agitation commenced at Newcastle and fostered at Leeds was not long in awakening a lively interest in politics throughout the country, and both parties set themselves to work in earnest to catch the popular ear. The Birmingham Liberal Association, specially convened, passed resolutions demanding an immediate settlement of the Franchise question, to be followed without delay by a Redistribution scheme, based on the principle of equal electoral districts returning one member each. Although simultaneously a Conservative demonstration was taking place in Birmingham (Oct. 1), neither of the principal speakers thought fit to allude to these points. Lord Cranbrook and Mr. Plunkett were content to eulogise (Oct. 1) the harmony existing between Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, to minimise the products of the preceding Session, and to protest against the revolutionary programme of Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Gibson at Glasgow (Oct. 2), re-echoing across St. George's Channel the sentiments that were being simultaneously expressed by Sir S. Northcote in his Ulster campaign (see Chapter VI.), declared that Ireland required rest, not only from agitation but from disturbing legislation; and that

he looked forward to the gradual rise of a peasant proprietary as the surest means of ensuring that object.

But although the Conservative leaders had spread themselves over the three kingdoms, and were busy in stirring up their partisans, a more general and academic indictment of the Liberal party, and of the Whigs in particular, was thought advisable. In the *Quarterly Review* appeared an article attributed to Lord Salisbury (by whom the authorship was never denied), ostensibly a reply to Mr. Forster's speeches at Devonport (August 15); it was in reality a party manifesto, and a brilliant development of the speech addressed by Lord Salisbury to the Constitutional Union (p. 145) in the summer. The author began by calling attention to the recurrent characteristics of all Mr. Gladstone's administrations. Irish discontent partially bought off, the surrender of established rights, followed by the melting away of the triumphant majority, and ending in its legislative paralysis. After describing the dangers consequent upon such an unsettled condition of politics, the author defined the aim which the Conservative or Constitutional party should keep in view. He thus continued:—"The object of our party is not, and ought not to be, simply to keep things as they are. In the first place, the enterprise is impossible. In the next place, there is much in our present mode of thought and action which it is highly undesirable to conserve. What we require is the administration of public affairs, whether in the executive or the legislative department, in that spirit of the old Constitution which held the nation together as a whole, and levelled its united force at objects of national import, instead of splitting it into a bundle of unfriendly and distrustful fragments. The dangers we have to fear may roughly be summed up in the single word—disintegration. It is the end to which we are being driven, alike by the defective working of our political machinery and by the public temper of the time. It menaces us in the most subtle and in the most glaring forms—in the loss of large branches and limbs of our empire, and in the slow estrangement of the classes which make up the nation to whom that empire belongs. The spirit which threatens to bring it upon us is of course most marked in the home administration; but it has left broad and discouraging traces on our external policy as well. Half a century ago, the first feeling of all Englishmen was for England. Now, the sympathies of a powerful party are instinctively given to whatever is against England. It may be Boers or Baboos, or Russians or Afghans, or only French speculators—the treatment these all receive in their controversies with England is the same: whatever else may fail them, they can always count on the sympathies of the political party from whom during the last half century the rulers of England have been mainly chosen. But it is in home affairs that the ominous tendency of which we have spoken is most conspicuous, and it is in these that the danger threatens us

the most closely. Of course, when the word disintegration, as a possible peril of the present time, is mentioned, the mind naturally reverts to Ireland; and Ireland is, no doubt, the worst symptom of our malady." But in our country and in home politics the writer gave further indications of the same spirit. "It is an unfortunate circumstance," he went on, "that, just at the time when the House of Commons is attaining to a supremacy in the State more decided than it ever possessed before, it should appear to be entirely losing one of the most necessary attributes of a ruler. Our ruler is no longer an impartial judge between classes who bring their differences before him for adjustment; our ruler is an Assembly which is itself the very field of battle on which the contending classes fight out their feuds. The settlement by arbitration has given place again to the settlement by civil war; only it is civil war with gloves on. This is not the Parliamentary Government under which the nation lived a century ago, when the position of a strong Minister was secure from the sudden revulsions of feeling in the House of Commons; but, on the other hand, when his action was effectively controlled by the still vigorous power of the aristocracy and of the Crown. . . . Only those who carefully watch the progress of legislative measures and the principles on which they are constructed can realise how much the destinies of many innocent classes are affected by the busy bargaining which goes on in the heart of the Liberal party. The Radical desires equality, and the Whig does not. Reticence, beyond the limits of the questions popular at the moment with the party, is an obligation of prudence which is felt by all Radical politicians, and which the greater mass of them are too politic to resist. They profess that their unrelenting advance is always in a straight line, and that it is along the road to which they complacently give the name of 'progress.' But if it be progress, it must be progress somewhere. Whither are they 'progressing?' The question has often been asked, and has never been definitely answered. The obvious mode of determining the end towards which a traveller is going is simply to produce the line on which he has hitherto moved; and, ascertained in this manner, the object must necessarily be the equality not only of conditions but of possessions, and the extermination of religious dogma. Radicalism, acting with these objects, and pursuing them by the method of political disintegration, is not a very unusual or surprising phenomenon. The long conflict between possession and non-possession, which was the fatal disease of free communities in ancient times, threatens many nations at the present day. There is no reason to believe that this malady, when it once fastens on a free State, can have any other than a fatal issue. It slowly kills by disintegration. It eats out the common sentiments and mutual sympathies which combine classes into a patriotic State. The internal dissension becomes constantly more rancorous; the common action and common aspirations become feebler. The organised body loses its defen-

sive force against an external shock, and falls under the power of the first assailant, foreign or domestic, by whom it may chance to be attacked after the final stage of political debility has set in. But the existence of disquieting symptoms can hardly be doubted. If classes are not in actual conflict, they are at least watching each other with vigilant distrust."

Passing from the Radicals to the other chief section of the Liberal party, the Whigs, the recognised distributors of the political Danegeld, "with whom the Radicals have to negotiate, and whom it is their principal function to squeeze," the Reviewer proceeded:—"The present Whig party is a mere survival, kept alive by tradition after its true functions and significance have passed away. A Whig who is a faithful member of the present Liberal party has to submit to this peculiar fate, not only that he inherits the political opinions he professes—a lot which befalls many Englishmen—but that he also inherits a liability to be compelled to change them at the bidding of the leader whom the Radical party may have chosen for him. There are many strange and unattractive functions which, under the laws of caste, a Hindoo cheerfully accepts as the inherited burden of his life; but probably few of them suffer more than an educated Englishman, who thinks that it does not consist with the honour of his family to profess in public the opinions he really holds, or to oppose the political changes on which in his heart he looks with horror. Such a stress upon conviction is too severe to be permanent, and the ranks of the party are sensibly thinning under its pressure. Many have come to the conclusion, that genealogical consistency in the choice of political associates is of less importance than the maintenance of sound principles in legislation; and therefore have either openly joined the Constitutional party, or co-operate with it upon all the great questions of the day. Others have taken the plunge into advanced Radicalism, and are the foremost to scoff at the old-fashioned pretensions of the friends they have left behind. But the majority have neither the courage to abandon their Whig professions, nor to part from their Radical allies. They may often be met helplessly lamenting their sad fate; for the only solution of their difficulties that has yet presented itself to them is a combination of public loyalty with private imprecation."

In conclusion, the writer, admitting the ordinary starting point of all discussion that the concession of Home Rule, as a whole, was impossible, even by the advanced section of the Liberals, thought that the task before the country would be a far more difficult one. Under the guise of legitimate indulgences, or of carrying out accepted principles, the nation ran the danger of being led into concessions which would make Home Rule inevitable. The resolution to refuse it by instalments would vanish from the minds of bargaining politicians when votes were scarce, and a final clearance sale of English rule in Ireland might at any such moment be thrown upon the market. "The air," he concluded,

“is filled with rumours of new negotiations and successful bargains. Another ‘deed without a name’ is likely to place the Irish vote at the disposal of the Government for the purposes of a Reform Bill. Such complaisance at such a crisis will deserve warm recognition; and it will be duly given in the form of a Bill for the establishment of local government in Ireland, which is to be conducted by elective councils. No doubt the day will come when votes will again be in request for a critical occasion; and the entire emancipation, and possibly the consolidation, of these councils will be the price. Will the Whigs be parties to this arrangement also? And, if so, how long can the final disintegration of the empire be postponed?”

The Liberal organs in reply urged that the real promoters of disintegration were not those who by decentralisation strove to preserve the unity of the empire, but those whose veto had been fatal to every timely concession to Ireland; and the *Standard* even deprecated the alarmist tone of the writer as unbecoming to a statesman, and asserted that to write of revolutionary agencies as if they were irresistible was the one way to make them so.

But beside the political difficulty of the moment, important as it was, a social question had been brought into prominence, and for a time at least seemed to absorb the attention of leaders on both sides. The discussion was first prominently brought forward by the anonymous author of the Radical programme, who in the *Fortnightly Review* (October) discussed the question of housing the poor in great towns, and propounded a method by which it might be accomplished decently without expense. His scheme, which revived the recollection of certain Communistic experiments at home and abroad, attracted but little notice at the time. Its principal features were—1. The municipality to be compelled to undertake improvements declared necessary by municipal medical officers of health or by *medical officers appointed by the Government for the purpose*. 2. The municipality to have the right of compulsory purchase. 3. The price never to exceed *ten years’* purchase of the rental. 4. The cost to be met by a tax on the owners of house or real property in the district. But a few weeks later a small pamphlet, written not for political purposes, but by a missionary working among the poorest districts of London, attracted attention in both the press and pulpit, and speedily aroused politicians to a keener sense of the duties which lay at their very doors. The “Bitter Cry of Outcast London” startled even the most careless, revealing a seething mass of vice and misery which no statesman had attempted to alleviate. Mr. Torrens’s Act of 1868, its amendment in 1879, and Sir R. Cross’s Act of 1882, dealing especially with Artisans’ Dwellings, had rather aggravated than lessened the evil. The better class of workmen were better housed, and in some cases at a reduced cost—but the poorer, the more degraded, and the criminal classes were crammed more closely together—and rents were extracted from them out of all

proportion to the accommodation afforded. Lord Salisbury was the first to grapple with the difficulty presented, heedless of the obloquy which might be heaped upon the Conservative leader who tampered with Socialism, and recognised the duty of the State to provide for the decent housing of the people. In an article in the *National Review* (November) on "Labourers' and Artisans' Dwellings," Lord Salisbury expressed his belief that the moment was favourable for dealing with such a question, since it had not then become the subject of acute political controversy. Answering by anticipation the objections of those who would deprecate the intervention of the State in any social questions, Lord Salisbury argued that loans for public objects had been the recognised practice of the country for many years. Moreover, however admirable a doctrine *laissez faire* might be, it should be applied not only (as had hitherto been the case) to the detriment of the poor but at the cost of the wealthy. New streets, railways, viaducts, law courts, and many other requirements of a higher civilisation, had, compulsorily under Acts of Parliament, swept away the dwellings of thousands of the poor, for whom no adequate accommodation had been provided elsewhere. After discussing the rival remedies of the "Flat System," as illustrated in the Peabody and similar buildings, the planting out in the suburbs on the Gatliff plan and that of Shaftesbury Park, Lord Salisbury expressed his belief that the first step should be an inquiry into the extent of the existing misery, and learning how far the earnings of the very poorest can go towards paying the cost of decent lodgings. Loans to the Peabody Trustees to extend their buildings and to find fresh sites; facilities of access to the suburbs afforded by all railways; sanitary inspection of all speculative buildings in London and the suburbs, should be among the remedies tried: although Lord Salisbury regarded these at the best as palliatives. He was rather disposed to think that the ultimate solution would be found in the extension of Miss Octavia Hill's system under which, after finding some court where the buildings are out of repair, inhabited by a dense neglected population, the leases are purchased as they fall in; and then by direct contact with the tenants efforts are made to persuade them to preserve the rooms which she has put in repair. The success of Miss Hill's efforts was undeniable, for she had managed to reach the very lowest class that has any settled habitation, and by universal consent had raised their condition without increasing their rent; whilst she had carefully avoided all appearance of charitable relief or eleemosynary aid by drawing from four to five per cent. from the investments in which she had interested herself and her lady associates.

It was not to be expected that the Liberal party would allow their opponents the monopoly of credit which might accrue from the solution of the social problem. Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, without loss of time, hastened to contribute to the literature of the subject. In an article in the *Fortnightly Review* (December)



on the "Houses of the Poor," he congratulated his adherents on the awakening of the public conscience to the responsibilities of the rich. He claimed for himself the merit of having for years been crying in the wilderness against the apathy of the rich; and whilst ready to welcome Lord Salisbury as a fellow-worker, he regretted that the Conservative press should have attempted to make party capital out of their leader's sympathy with the poor. His object in joining in the discussion he explained to be to supplement Lord Salisbury's account of what had been already attempted, to indicate the causes of the failure of past legislation, and to set forth proposals of a more drastic kind for remedying the misery and degradation which cast a shadow over our prosperity. Wretched dwellings, Mr. Chamberlain maintained, were only one incident; poverty, ignorance, and crime were other factors not less important. Remedies must be manifold as the disease. Religion, temperance, and charity had each their sphere of usefulness, but at least equal importance must be assigned to school boards and trade unions; and he hoped that Lord Salisbury might in the end be found supporting the growing agitation for free schools, and frankly accept the trades' union movement, the most hopeful of the means whereby the working class might receive a better adjusted share of the joint profits of capital and labour. With regard to the main remedy for overcrowding, which is the result of the constant migration from the agricultural districts, Mr. Chamberlain argued that no satisfactory settlement of social questions could be possible until the arbitrary and anomalous system, "by which in England alone of all great civilised countries the actual tillers of the soil are practically forbidden even the hope of ownership, has been changed into something more humane and sensible." In coming next to the causes of the failure of the previous legislation, he found it chiefly, in London, because of the want of an efficient and thoroughly representative municipal government; and everywhere because the pressure of some independent authority was necessary to induce local authorities to resist the opposition of the small house-property owners to any form of sanitation. The Public Health Acts had all been rendered inoperative by this form of selfish obstruction; whilst Mr. Torrens's Act, and others of the like sort, had admitted such wide interpretation of the terms of compensation, that the ratepayers shrank from the heavy burden imposed upon them. Even Sir R. Cross's Artisans' Dwellings Act, embodying the most radical and comprehensive scheme of reform, had disappointed the hopes of its friends, because they were tainted and paralyzed by the incurable timidity with which Parliament was accustomed to deal with the sacred rights of property. In this lay the solution of the difficulty; but nothing would be effected until public opinion had considerably advanced on the relative rights of property and the rights of the community, and until Parliament was prepared to recognise the obligations as well as the privileges

of ownership, and to insist that the traffic in misery and vice should no longer be a source of profit to those who aided or assented to its existence. Here he parted company with Lord Salisbury in his conception of the duties of the State. Lord Salisbury appealed to private charity, and was in favour of everybody doing something except the authors of the mischief. The idea of making unremunerative loans to irresponsible persons was in his opinion merely the transfer of the burden from the shoulders of the landlords to those of the ratepayers; and if the State were to become the general landlord and lodging-house keeper, millions would have to be added to the taxation of the country, and the nationalisation of the land would be inaugurated in a way which Lord Salisbury hardly seemed to contemplate. For his own part, Mr. Chamberlain believed that the only solution of this great and important question was to throw "the expense of making towns habitable for the toilers who dwell in them upon the land which their toil makes valuable, and without any effort on the part of its owners." The mode by which his scheme might be carried out Mr. Chamberlain embodied in a series of proposals.

1. The law should make it an offence, punishable by heavy fine, to own property in a state unfit for human habitation.

2. In every case in which the local authority acquired property under these conditions, the arbitrator should be empowered to deduct from the ascertained value such sum as he thought fit by way of fine for the misuse of the property.

3. Local authorities should have power, subject only to appeal to the High Court, to close such property, or to make at the expense of the owner such alterations or repairs as may be ordered by the sanitary officer, without being compelled to acquire it.

4. Local authorities should be further empowered to acquire any lands and buildings for the purpose of a scheme under the Artisans' Dwellings Acts, at the fair market value of the same, with no allowance for prospective value or compulsory sale.

5. The valuation should be made in every case by an official arbitrator, and no appeal should be allowed from his decision.

6. The scheme of improvement should include any surrounding property which will be benefited by the reconstruction of the unhealthy area, and the confirming order should authorise a rate to be levied on the owners of such adjacent property, fairly representing the appreciation of their holdings by the proposed improvement.

7. The cost of any scheme for the reconstruction of an unhealthy area should be levied on all owners of property, including long leaseholders, within a certain district to be determined by the scheme.

The effect of these provisions would be, argued Mr. Chamberlain, that improvements on a large scale could be undertaken by the local authorities without fear of excessive cost or additional burden to the rated occupier; and he did not doubt that the

authorities would be ready to put an end quickly to the scandals of which they were already fully cognisant. But it would be useless to advise the people, if the people would not help themselves. The extension of the suffrage and a redistribution of seats would be useless if they did not lead directly to the practical solution of some of these social questions, which intimately concern the welfare of the masses and in the settlement of which they had a right to make their voice heard.

Meanwhile the spokesmen of both parties had been actively engaged in addressing large audiences throughout the length and breadth of the country; and Liberals and Conservatives alike found encouragement and support for their respective programmes. It would be impossible to do more than refer most briefly to these meetings, at which the pressing need for an extension of the suffrage was advocated by one side, and the dangers attendant on such a course were vividly described by the other. Here and there the individual views or opinions of the speaker showed themselves through the garb of party fealty with which each covered himself; but as a body the Liberals displayed greater unanimity than their opponents, most of them reserving to themselves the right of modifying their personal preferences in accordance with Mr. Gladstone's subsequent decisions. Mr. H. Fowler, at Wolverhampton (Oct. 13), insisted upon the extension of the franchise as the first work to be undertaken, and with it the necessary redistribution of power. Under the existing working of the Parliamentary system, the people, he held, were governed by a minority of the population, a minority of the voters, a minority of the taxpayers and a minority of the patriotism and intelligence of the country. Taking as an example the county in which he was speaking (Staffordshire), he showed that its eight boroughs returned thirteen members, four of which returned seven, and four others six members. The four boroughs returning seven members had a population of 60,000, the four others sending six members had 500,000. If it was more in consonance with public feeling that property should receive a larger share of representation, a similar anomaly was observable. In the four boroughs returning the seven members, the income from all sources, from trade, from rents, from profits on which income tax was payable, amounted to 643,000*l.*, whilst the income of the four boroughs having only six members, was 4,700,000*l.* Sir S. Northcote's Ulster campaign having been brought to a close, he crossed St. George's Channel and continued his propaganda almost up to the gates of Hawarden Castle. At Carnarvon, replying to an address from the Conservative Associations of six counties of North Wales (Oct. 22), he comforted his hearers for their small success at the polls with an historical retrospect of the country. Wales was the cradle of the British Empire, and such traditions and the pride of such an ancestry should make Welshmen Conservative. If they were not so, it was because Liberal prejudice had misrepresented Conservative principles; and Sir S. Northcote ap-

pealed to Welshmen to blend their Conservative pride in an ancient lineage, with national sympathies which would popularise that pride and subordinate it to the service of the nation. On the following day at Bangor (Oct. 23) his speech was rather a warning against that section of politicians who were playing either a selfish or a mad game, regardless of the interests of the country; and he promised his hearers that such men should be checked by the steady workmanlike opposition of the Conservatives.

Mr. Leatham's bold declarations at Huddersfield (Oct. 24) were, however, more valuable and interesting, not only as suggestive of the views of the independent Radicals with regard to future Irish legislation, but as indicative of the temper of the party on which the Home Rulers seemed at one time to lean, and from which their more reasonable demands had received a general support. Mr. Leatham's speech, moreover, served as a sort of fresh point of departure for many subsequent speakers, Tories as well as Whigs and Radicals, who seemed to find courage in his words to express their own inner sentiments. After remarking that some one would say, "You forgot Ireland," he went on, "I wish I could forget Ireland. Ireland is the skeleton in our cupboard, and for the last few years the cupboard-door has stood open both night and day." He maintained that our policy had been a just one, and that the next revulsion of feeling in Ireland would be on the side of reason and justice. "We must persist in our policy of absolute and unfaltering justice; but, on the other hand, there must be no trifling about the maintenance of the Union. . . . Sincerely as I am attached to the Liberal party, and warm as is my allegiance to those who lead it, I would renounce both, rather than admit that upon this supreme and cardinal question it was possible to give way. The country which begins to parley with its own dissolution is lost. The obligation to maintain the body politic is vital; it is this which made the Americans of the North struggle to the death in order to maintain the Union, and the same obligation compels us. To maintain their great America whole and indivisible, the Americans of the North changed for a time their whole nature. God grant that it may never be necessary for us to change ourselves. A nation of unmartial shopkeepers and of patient farmers became at once the most resolute, the sternest, and perhaps the fiercest among men. They flung economy to the winds; they turned their backs upon prosperity; steadfastly they looked death in the face. Is it nothing—a sentiment which is so great that it should so seize upon a whole people and change and transform them at its pleasure? The whole world trembled with the shock and shuddered at the carnage. But they saved their country. And so, if the worst comes to the worst, we can save ourselves."

At Wrexham, Mr. Osborne Morgan, and at Tavistock Lord Arthur Russell (Oct. 24), representing distinct phases of Liberal opinion, agreed in the need for extending household suffrage to the

counties; whilst on the same day Earl Percy and Sir Hardinge Giffard at Newcastle, and Sir W. Hart Dyke at West Malling, denounced the squeezableness of their opponents and their readiness at any moment to abandon fixed principles when expediency seemed to require a change of front. In Scotland, a Liberal demonstration at Aberdeen (Oct 26), largely attended by the leading landowners of the northern counties, passed resolutions in favour of an extension of the suffrage, and at Dumfries (Oct 29) the Attorney General replied vigorously to the charge of financial extravagance brought against the Liberals by Mr. Gibson, at Glasgow (Oct. 2); and urged upon his hearers to discuss amongst themselves the question of an extension of the franchise; and in respect to redistribution insisted upon the abolition of faggot-votes, and that there should be a real local representation, not a mere representation of numbers.

Much wider interest, however, was aroused by a speech from Mr. L. Courtney, delivered on the same night to his constituents, at a moment when his name was being actively put forward as that of a fitting successor to Sir Henry Brand, whose approaching retirement from the Speakership had been recently announced. The names of Mr. Goschen, Sir William Harcourt, and Sir Henry James had likewise been canvassed; but, except in the first case, no formal offer of support from the Government was publicly announced. Mr. Courtney's accurate knowledge of the forms of the House, and his firmness and fairness displayed in the chair on more than one difficult crisis, had caused him to be regarded by many, in the House and outside, as the probable nominee of the Government should he consent to abandon the chances of a more active political life. His habit of expressing his individual views irrespective of the ties of office and party, had on more than one occasion attracted the attention of the public, and his rapid advancement from one post to another seemed to suggest that such an exercise of independent judgment was not always displeasing to the chiefs of the party. On the present occasion the resolutions of the Leeds Conference were fresh in public recollection, and so far the speeches of both members of the Government and of their supporters wholly endorsed the views expressed by the Leeds delegates.

Mr. Courtney took a very different course, and after touching upon measures which he hoped would engage the attention of Parliament during the three sessions which he assumed yet remained for its work, he laid stress upon the reform of county government, both in England and Ireland. The liquor traffic, he maintained, could only be dealt with by county parliaments, the creation of which he advocated before the county franchise was extended, as that ought, in his opinion, to be the crowning work of the present Parliament. Speaking of the Leeds Conference, he said:—

“What appeared to be the most remarkable feature about the

Leeds Conference was the extraordinary simplicity of their conduct. They seemed to act as if there were no other people in the world but themselves. That certainly was often a very convenient principle to go on. The Conference passed their resolutions and took no account of any but the English people. But I would have people always to think of Ireland when they were revolving reforms of any kind. That was now necessary. If the Conference at Leeds had been asked if they would have their measure applied to Ireland they would have felt the question to be a staggerer, though they might have said that they would let the same measure be applied to that country. I ask, too, why should the Government put the question of reform forward piecemeal when it would be impossible, in all likelihood, to pass a measure thus incomplete, as would certainly have been the case in 1876. The Conference did not find it so easy to limit their proposal to the franchise. The question of woman's suffrage was forced on them, and they resolved that in the event of any coming franchise bill women must have their votes, and he believed that on a Reform Bill being brought forward women would then soon have votes. The Conference further took the step of condemning the minority vote, and they thus raised the whole question of representation, though they did not intend at first to do so." Mr. Courtney, moreover, joined issue with Mr. Bright in some of his observations made at Birmingham and Leeds, and in a letter regarding the temperance and licensing questions. He believed the speech of Mr. Bright at Birmingham, in which he spoke lightly of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, could hardly be read by Mr. Bright's admirers without regret. Mr. Bright had spoken slightly of the minority question, and said that he had never known men of common-sense care much about these questions. Mr. Courtney ventured to think that there were some persons who had the credit of possessing common-sense by whom the question of minority representation was thought of great importance, as, for instance, Sir Charles Dilke and Professor Fawcett, as well as the late President Garfield. In conclusion, he expressed his conviction that the House of Commons, as then constituted, might be relied on to reverse the resolution of the Leeds Conference respecting minority representation.

On all the most important points, Mr. Courtney thus placed himself in opposition to the majority of his own party. He was willing to see the franchise question postponed for one, or even for two years. He upheld the principles of minority representation, and counted upon woman suffrage as one of the planks of the new Radical Reform Bill.

Mr. Courtney's opinions, however, had seemingly, so far, found no echo within the Cabinet; for even Sir Charles Dilke, who was engaged on a political campaign in Scotland, gave no sign that he in any way sympathised with his Radical colleague. Speaking at Glasgow (October 30), he insisted upon the necessity of dealing with the franchise first and separately. He regarded an identity

of franchise as even more valuable as a first step in redistribution than for its own sake; but it was immaterial whether the latter were dealt with in 1884 or 1885, for it would become the keynote of the whole future of our politics, and would be the means by which the tyranny of the few voters over the many would be put an end to. Sir C. Dilke, moreover, whilst defending the Government from the charge of having wasted the time of the Session, thought that some further changes would be necessary, either in the matter of procedure, or by widening the powers of the delegation, by which the House could retain greater control over its own time. The task of the Liberals, he thought, should be to revive local self-government throughout the country—in the towns as well as in the counties; and in such a revival of interest some practical solution of the question of the housing of the poor might possibly be found. Touching our foreign politics, he claimed for Lord Granville the merit of having consistently adhered to the policy of common action with the other Powers. By virtue of this, and the consideration for the feelings of other nations, the difficulties which beset the Madagascar incident had been removed. In Egypt, true to the promise that British forces would be withdrawn as soon as a native army was ready to take its place, Sir C. Dilke foresaw the substantial reduction of the British force in the course of a few weeks, and a move away from Cairo towards the coast.

Lord Salisbury, speaking almost simultaneously at Reading, naturally interpreted current events in a very different spirit. He thought that the hope of maintaining friendly relations with the French Republic, especially in distant parts of the globe, was wholly illusory, the subordinate agents of the French Government being quite beyond the control of the weak and shifting central power. He maintained that to withdraw from Egypt, after parading outward signs of British supremacy, would be the starting-point of intrigues, of which the French would be the authors or fosterers; and he added that, apart from all party politics, without any relation to the division that separates Liberal from Tory, if, after all the efforts that had been made, after all the blood that had been shed, and the treasure that had been poured out, the issue should be that another Power should gain an influence in Egypt superior to our own, the Government would meet with the almost unanimous condemnation of all parties and all sections.

As to Ireland, a scheme of local government was talked about, which would concede a portion of Home Rule, and this would mean the subordination of the Protestants in the north to Mr. Parnell and the other three provinces. He was satisfied that the sentiment of this country would never tolerate injustice and oppression to be practised by the Roman Catholics upon our own kindred and co-religionists in Ulster. It was absolutely necessary that the people of this country should be alive to the danger that attached to such apparently innocent propositions, and should insist that sufficient securities were taken that no damage or injury

should be done to the fundamental principle of the Imperial connection between Great Britain and Ireland. Having spoken of the divided counsels in the Cabinet on this subject, he dealt next with the proposed suffrage reforms. He observed:—

“I do not for a moment entertain the idea that the Government will present to us a scheme for the alteration of the suffrage without telling us what their intentions as to the redistribution of seats may be; and I will tell you why I think that improbable. In 1866 a similar proposition was made, and a motion condemning it was introduced into the House of Commons. That motion was seconded by Lord Stanley, who is now the Earl of Derby, the Chief Secretary for the Colonies, and he showed in the most convincing manner the utter impossibility of separating the question of the suffrage from the question of the redistribution. I believe his speech, which was then spoken of as unanswerable, would be a perfect mine of argument against any Government that should propose such a separation, and I do not believe that any Government can commit itself to such a policy. But on the point of redistribution, it is a matter, I think, that ought not to be decided without allowing the people of this country to have their voice in it, because on the arrangement of the redistribution the possession of the political power in the future will very largely depend.”

The plea put forward by Mr. Goschen at Edinburgh (Oct. 31), in behalf of “Moderate Liberalism,” was as far removed from Sir C. Dilke’s essay on the virtues of the Radical programme as it was from Lord Salisbury’s gloomy prognostics of the future of the world ruled in accordance with the benevolent intentions of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. Recognising with unfeigned regret that the country, or at least the Liberal section, had made up its mind for a reduction of the county franchise, he hoped that the influence of the educated classes, the traditional good feeling pervading so large a portion of the community, the sense of fair play which so strongly distinguishes the inhabitants of this island, the sobriety of judgment in politics which our working classes show in such striking contrast to their fellow workmen abroad, may all work together to prove that the country was right. As to redistribution, they were all agreed that there must be a large redistribution, but he was totally opposed to equal electoral districts. Having expressed a strong desire to maintain the army in efficiency, he alluded to Liberal foreign policy, and added:—

“A foreign diplomatist once told me that an eminent ‘English Conservative statesman,’ speaking of Cyprus, had said to him that the English people ‘liked getting something.’ They may have liked getting Cyprus, but I do not think they like it now they have got it. For my part, I believe no more fatal mistake was ever made, and I allude to it not for the sake of making a party attack, but because it so strikingly exemplifies the vice of a policy of ‘grabbing.’ It was with that unfortunate transaction that the ball was set rolling in Africa and elsewhere, which has not stopped yet.



Conservatives often taunt the Liberals with having weakened the influence of the country abroad. The seizure of Cyprus, after the fireworks exploded, weakened our influence to an extraordinary extent, because it shook confidence in our disinterestedness. The Turk had difficulty in believing the honest professions of a Power which had seized on one of his provinces at a time of his extremest need. The French extorted conditions about Egypt which afterwards produced the most serious complication. Tunis was also seized as a direct consequence, and the native Egyptians, in their turn, were deeply stirred by the seizure of Tunis. Such have been the results, hostile in many ways to English interests, of the high-handed act on the part of England, of questionable morality, based on the principle that Englishmen 'liked getting something.'" As to Ireland, he said, if asked whether at this time he was prepared to make constitutional changes, he unhesitatingly answered "No." He agreed with the view expressed by Lord Hartington last year, that it was not a moment to give fresh powers to local bodies, when the risk would be run that those powers would be used for increasing social and political difficulties. Nor could he conceive that it was the moment for dealing with the Irish franchise. He was as anxious as any one to have equal laws for England, Scotland, and Ireland; but when a country was in a state of more than veiled rebellion, he drew the line.

A couple of days later (Nov. 2), lecturing at the Edinburgh Philosophical Institute, Mr. Goschen gave his hearers a carefully prepared Academic discourse on "Laissez-Faire and Government Interference." He traced the revolution in recent years in public sentiment respecting the functions of the Government, and gave as instances the legislation on compulsory education, ships and sailors, prevention of accidents in mines, and referred to the land agitation as an insurrection against the principle of *laissez-faire*. While recognizing the honest aims which often inspired the demand for Government interference, he pointed out the difficulties and dangers which beset the course upon which the public was electing to travel, and said if this system of State Socialism was to be extended, he would rather see such interference entrusted to local authorities than to the central Government. Speaking of the desire for improved dwellings for the poor, he said in his opinion the real remedy was to insist on a more thorough enforcement of the responsibility of house-owners. Those who let out rooms unfit for habitation should be warned, and if necessary punished, like tradesmen who offered putrid food for sale.

Opinions such as these had as little in common with the forward policy explained by Sir C. Dilke at Glasgow and Paisley, as they had with the fervid appeals for resistance addressed by the Duke of Richmond, Sir Richard Cross and others to the Conservatives of Aberdeen, and through them to the country at large. The Duke of Richmond defended the constitution of the House of Lords, and appealed to the widespread desire of membership, and to the con-

ditions under which the peers-roll was recruited, as evidence of its real popularity among all classes of Liberals.

This argument was also put forward by Lord Salisbury, who in his Reading speech, above referred to, maintained that the abolition of the House of Lords by anything short of a revolution was scarcely within the purview of practical politics, and that although from fear of death a body, like an individual, might do strange acts, it would scarcely commit suicide. Lord Salisbury, moreover, traced the strong Conservative bias of the House of Peers to the accession of Mr. Gladstone to power; and whilst admitting that to be a lasting institution that body must have the support of popular sentiment, he saw no evidence of the permanence of the ultra-Liberalism which had set itself in antagonism to the Upper Chamber of the Legislature.

Throughout the month the torrent of speeches by public men on politics never ceased to flow, but from those of the Ministerial leaders, from the Premier to the Postmaster-General, it was difficult to discover whether any definite course of action during the ensuing Session had been determined upon. According to an announcement, which claimed to come from a responsible source, the County Franchise Bill had been selected by the Cabinet as the first Government measure, but as to its details and scope even the members of the Government were not in unison amongst themselves. The Franchise Bill would, it was declared, be accompanied by a Redistribution Bill applying to Ireland as well as to Great Britain, so that the House and the country might have before them together the whole Ministerial scheme; but on all these surmises and semi-official assertions very considerable doubt was thrown by Mr. Gladstone at the Lord Mayor's banquet. On this occasion the Prime Minister went out of his way to ridicule the premature knowledge of the intentions of the Cabinet displayed by the newspapers. To the surprise also, if not to the dismay, of some of his colleagues, who had adopted a very different tone, he added the ambiguous statement that he doubted as much the policy of being too soon, as of being too late in the determination of legislative measures.

The twentieth anniversary of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's parliamentary connection with the borough of Reading (Nov. 14) was the occasion of a somewhat remarkable Liberal demonstration. Politicians holding views so widely divergent as the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Fawcett, Mr. John Walter and Mr. John Morley, took the opportunity of bearing testimony to their regard for the Member for Reading, and of explaining what were the common grounds on which Liberals of all shades could meet; but Mr. John Morley's bitter sarcasm on the hollowness of Liberalism (which he likened to the Duke of Wellington's bronze charger recently removed from the Hyde Park Arch) could hardly have been to the taste of many of the guests present. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's speeches were devoted principally to a review of the

achievements of Liberalism since the death of Lord Palmerston ; to a eulogy of its "cosmopolitan" foreign policy, at which Lord Beaconsfield used to sneer, but which was now bearing precious fruits ; and to a defence of the destructiveness of a Liberal policy, which in the first instance had to remove abuses, before the wall of construction could with safety be commenced.

The London Liberal Associations were not likely to allow to pass without challenge the decision of the Leeds Conference, by which the importance of London Municipal Reform was relegated to a subordinate place in the Liberal programme. The Metropolitan Liberal Councils accordingly called a meeting (Nov. 16) at the Cannon Street Hotel. Mr. W. E. Forster, who presided, described the existing Government of London as absolutely intolerable—instancing two vital points on which it was powerless—the housing of the poor and the supply of wholesome water. He expressed his belief that the Cabinet fully recognised the paramount need of immediate reform, and that on the first night of the Session the introduction by the Prime Minister of his County Franchise Bill would be immediately followed by the Home Secretary's proposal of the Government of London Bill. This latter, he thought, might be divested of party prejudices, and referred to a Grand Committee, by which its complicated details might be calmly discussed and improved. He was sanguine, too, that a Redistribution Bill would form part of the Ministerial programme, claimed for Greater London 64 Members (in place of the existing 22), and inclined to the subdivision of large electorates, and the application of one-member constituencies, as the real way by which the representation of minorities might be secured.

The Conservatives, under the inspiration of the new Lord Mayor (Mr. W. Fowler, M.P.), at once replied (Nov. 19), denouncing the projected unification of the Government of London, and, a few days later, Lord Salisbury, at the City Carlton Club (Nov. 22), supported this view, arguing that London was an agglomeration of towns between which there was no community of either interest or feeling. He denied that the Municipality would be useful in proportion to its size, and held that the delegation of so much work to unpaid members would be a total error, and end in the administration of a vast community of irresponsible professional advisers. On these and other grounds he promised to oppose the Government of London Bill with the whole strength of the Conservative party in the Lords, should Mr. Fowler's opposition in the Commons prove unsuccessful. With this assurance the question, so far as leading politicians were concerned, was allowed to drop until the close of the year, and public speakers were occupied with the wider, though possibly not more pressing, demand for a Franchise Bill. On this point Mr. Chamberlain once more sounded an alarm, which for a moment spread consternation in the Liberal camp, so far, at least, as it was represented by the London

press. Speaking at Bristol (Nov. 26), and going through the thirty questions, the solution of which Mr. Gladstone in his Midlothian campaign had declared to be pressing, Mr. Chamberlain showed that the Government had already dealt with eight of them, in addition to the time-devouring Irish Land Question, which had not been included in Mr. Gladstone's list. Going from the past to the future, Mr. Chamberlain was very anxious to deal with the Government of London in the next Session, as well as with the County Franchise, if possible, but he thought that nothing should be allowed to elbow out of the way so pressing a matter as the extension of household franchise to the counties. He thought it absolutely necessary to deal with this, before attempting a Redistribution measure—first, because it would strengthen the hands of the Conservatives to offer them all the resisting surface which a Redistribution Bill would offer, before bringing in the simpler measure; next, because it was impossible to project a fair Redistribution Bill till after the county electorates had been enlarged, and their precise strength on the Register accurately estimated. Mr. Chamberlain re-expressed his own strong preference for manhood suffrage, while avowing that the time for manhood suffrage had not yet come. Though he did not positively announce that Ireland would be included in the Government Reform Bill, he admitted that there was only one possible answer to the question. The objection to assimilating the Irish franchise to the English was after all more obvious than forcible. Such a course would inevitably have great inconveniences, but the alternative course might be attended by still greater. Mr. Chamberlain treated the very general dislike felt for three-cornered constituencies and the cumulative vote as tantamount to a condemnation of the whole principle of minority representation. So long as it remained true that "the minority not represented in one place finds its exponent in another," there would be no need to secure that minorities should be represented everywhere. On the following day (Nov. 27) Lord Hartington spoke, but in a very different tone, at the Free Trade Hall of Manchester. He admitted that Lord Salisbury could certainly force a dissolution, if he pleased, on the Franchise Bill, supposing that the Government decided to introduce it; and he admitted that, so far as appearances went, Lord Salisbury would be pleased to do so, since he had recently become a great admirer of the American Constitution, and wanted to introduce a sort of reference of every constitutional change to a popular plébiscite, by using the House of Lords to compel a dissolution. Lord Hartington reminded the meeting that no such plébiscite was taken before the great Constitutional change of 1867, a change, nevertheless, proposed by a Government in a minority, and therefore a Government needing a much more stringent check on the use of its responsibility than Governments supported by a majority require. He charged the steady loss of influence by the House on Lord Salisbury's own extraordinary tactics. A House that had

never in his recollection acceded to any measure for extending popular rights, except under absolute compulsion, could not expect to retain its influence in such a country as England.

On the subject of reform, Lord Hartington reproached the Leeds and London Conferences with having neglected practical difficulties to press on a measure which could hardly be shaped until these had been overcome. He thought there would be great difficulty in either abolishing the 40*s.* freehold qualification for counties, or in extending that qualification to boroughs, and yet without some decision on that point, even the Franchise Bill could not be introduced. He saw still further difficulty in either excluding Ireland from its scope, or in extending to Ireland a measure which must increase the numerical strength and the political power of the Irreconcilables. Although he did not assert that these and like difficulties were insurmountable, Lord Hartington expressed a wish that they would be faced and answered by those who pressed the Franchise Bill so urgently upon the Government. Speaking a few days later at Accrington (Dec. 1) he reverted again to this point, and hinted that if he were to accept without demur such a Reform Bill as had been sketched out by the Radical Caucus, and advocated by its nominees, it would be triumphantly asserted that in the Cabinet itself the Whigs had consented to give way to the Radicals. Personally, he was indifferent to such an imputation; and willingly admitted that the Whigs had never been the leaders in Reform. Their part, and he claimed credit for it, had been to accept Reform in time; and then by their influence to moderate it and to prevent it being too violent or too abrupt. As might have been expected, these somewhat divergent utterances were subjected to the usual magnifying process of a party press, and rumours of dissension in the Cabinet were rife. Mr. Chamberlain's rejoinder on behalf of himself and his fellow-thinkers was not long delayed. Speaking at Wolverhampton (Dec. 4), chiefly on the county franchise, he said that he was completely unaware of the divisions in the Cabinet of which the newspapers said so much. "To the best of my belief, every member of the Cabinet is anxiously pursuing the same general objects, is governed by the same principles, and is actuated by the same loyalty to the great chief whose long experience and commanding ability entitle him to influence and authority among his colleagues, and whose long-tryed sympathy with the popular rights has given him the confidence and the admiring affection of the great majority of his countrymen." Mr. Chamberlain went on to argue for the right of Ireland to a full share in the proposed Electoral Reform; and then he insisted on the advisability of separating the Franchise Bill from the Redistribution Bill. As to Redistribution, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that in the House of Commons forty members for certain constituencies represent a quarter of a million of persons, while forty other members represent more than six millions and a quarter; so that the six millions

are thrown in, as it were, to be represented implicitly, and not explicitly by any representative machinery at all. As for the Lords rejecting the Franchise Bill, Mr. Chamberlain expressed a hope that the nobility might be endued, in the language of the Church, "with grace, wisdom, and understanding."

On the same day the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. G. O. Trevelyan) addressed his constituents at Kelso, urging the imperative and immediate need of the extension of household suffrage to the counties, not only in order that the unenfranchised many might receive their due, but that the enfranchised few might be saved from the nuisance of agents and canvassers. He emphatically called for the settlement of the Franchise question before any Redistribution scheme was broached, and opposed the idea of permitting non-resident voters to vote, maintaining that the one thing on which the party was in earnest was that "the people who live outside the county should not have a vote for that county, and that persons who live in a county must and shall have votes for that county." Advocating, moreover, the extension of household franchise to Ireland, he declared that the very worst recipe for keeping Ireland quiet would be "to doctor its representation in a manner which everyone who gains or loses by it knows to be grossly unjust." Referring also to Sir S. Northcote's proposal to redistribute representation in Ireland, not with reference to population to existing electorates, he solemnly declared, speaking doubtless from Lord Spencer's point of view, with his intimate knowledge of the condition of the public mind, that such a redistribution would immensely aggravate the difficulties of that country.

Mr. John Morley at Newcastle (Dec. 12) and Mr. W. E. Forster in a still more important speech at Bradford on the following day, spoke in favour of the "one-man-one-vote" principle, applicable alike to towns and counties, and of including Ireland in any suffrage which was proposed for England and Scotland. The latter further urged that in the creation of electorates returning one member each, the extinction of corruption as well as the true representation of minorities were to be looked for. The most important speeches, however, with which the year closed were those of Mr. John Bright at Keighley (Dec. 14), and Lord Randolph Churchill's Edinburgh "trilogy." The former expressed his belief that the House of Lords would prefer to force a dissolution on the Redistribution proposals of the Government, than on the Franchise Bill, and that the assimilation of the borough and county franchise might therefore become law after a show of opposition. But on the question of 40s. freeholders, and on property qualifications in general, Mr. Bright showed himself at variance with at least the more Radical section of his colleagues, and was consequently taunted with becoming Conservative in his old age. Mr. Bright's rejoinder to such criticism was that the English constitution was not based on, and never aimed at the principle of universal suffrage; and that the aim of every reformer, who was

not at heart a revolutionist, should be to enlarge as far as possible the existing basis of the Constitution, and not to substitute some alien foundation. On the question of the representation of minorities, he was, as ever, convinced that the "unicorn" system at present in partial use was un-English and unjust; and he held that it would be preferable to elect on one list the full number of members to which each town or county might be entitled, rather than to divide it into wards or districts with one or more members for each division.

Lord Randolph Churchill, in the course of his three days' campaign at Edinburgh, travelled over the whole expanse of the Home and Colonial policy of the Government, and could nowhere find cause for aught but reprobation and censure. In Egypt he held that we should have upheld Arabi, relieved the Fellabeen of their liabilities, ignored the claims of the bondholders, and established artificially a Constitutional Government under a trustworthy and energetic Prince. With regard to the suffrage question at home, he declared the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer to be "premature, inexpedient, unnatural, and therefore highly dangerous," whilst the demand for redistribution, which he regarded as another name for disfranchising the smaller boroughs, was unneeded, uncalled for, and unjust. Nevertheless, Lord R. Churchill was anxious to see introduced into the constituencies urban populations now partially or wholly unrepresented, an expedient by which the artisan voters already exercising a predominating influence in so many places would be rendered stronger still. In dealing with the future legislation of Ireland, Lord R. Churchill followed the line opened by Mr. Leatham at Huddersfield some six weeks previously. He would regard the Irish demand for Home Rule in the same light as the Northern States of the Union regarded the Southern claim for the exercise of State rights, which eventually led to the Civil War; and he would meet any demand for a repeal of the Union with an unchangeable "No." He accused the Liberal Government of having been the cause of Irish misery, the outcome of which was Irish anarchy, which had been helped on by the headlong zeal of those who were now powerless to hold in check the force they had evoked.

Two bye elections, York (Nov. 22) and Ipswich (Dec. 12), practically left the state of parties in the House unchanged, each party gaining a seat from the opponent. At York, Mr. F. Lockwood, Q.C., in spite of the disadvantage of having to contest the seat against a local candidate (Sir F. Milner), and being the first to go to the poll under the new Corrupt Practices Act, was only defeated by a small majority; whilst at Ipswich, Sir T. Charley found himself made the scape-goat of certain religious differences, to which he was personally a stranger, but which had been imported with keenness into the political struggle.

In the course of the autumn, Lord Derby had, on two important occasions, the opportunity of showing the views by which he pro-

posed to direct the Colonial policy of the country. The vexed question of our relations with the Transvaal Government and our engagements towards the Colonists at Cape Town seemed to promise an inexhaustible supply of misunderstanding and mutual recriminations. Successive Colonial Ministers had failed to persuade the South African Colonists to take any steps in the direction of confederation, though probably the only measure which could secure them against the double danger of the natives and the Dutch. The restoration of Cetewayo, so far from bringing peace to Zululand, had been the signal for the revival of a tribal war, in which Cetewayo had been worsted and was for a time supposed to be slain. Upon this, the Transvaal Boers not satisfied with openly neglecting the terms of the convention by which they were bound, desired to throw off the remaining traces of British supremacy. Envoys were therefore despatched to London to negotiate the cancelling of their debt, and entire removal of the nominal suzerainty which restrains them from doing as they please with their native neighbours. The general feeling that the Bechuanas were entitled to protection, and that the great trade route from Cape Colony to Central Africa and Zambesi should not be left to the control of the Boers, influenced Lord Derby in arriving at the solution which, whilst conceding many of the points demanded by the Delegates, was recognised as a fair settlement of a question of which the solution by force of arms was unanimously rejected.

In our still more remote Australian Colonies, difficulties of a different nature had arisen, but out of the demand for the annexation of New Guinea the deferred Australian Confederation seemed likely to spring. In April the country was startled by the publication of a telegram to the effect that the police magistrate of Thursday Island—one of the numerous group which almost bridges the eighty miles of sea between Cape York and New Guinea—had crossed over to Port Moresby, hoisted the British flag, and taken possession of the country in the name of the Government of Queensland. This autocratic act was, however, disowned by the Home Government, and Lord Derby pointed out that, even if annexation was desirable, it could not be allowed to a single colony to assume so vast an addition to itself alone. If, he suggested, the Australian Colonies would combine to share the responsibility, the matter would be placed on a different footing. The hint was immediately taken, and the results of the Conference will be found in a subsequent chapter.

Throughout the year Egypt had occupied the unceasing attention of English statesmen, and in December the hopes of realising the promise of withdrawing our troops seemed as far off as they were in January. The sudden success of the Mahdi in the Soudan had upset all previous calculations, and the danger which threatened Upper and even Lower Egypt forced the Government at the last moment to countermand the order for the withdrawal



of our troops from Cairo, and for the reduction of the Alexandria garrison to a minimum. The Suez Canal question, which had been left in abeyance ever since the outburst of feeling in Parliament, once more came up for discussion. M. de Lesseps taking advantage of the Lord Mayor's invitation, attended the Guildhall banquet, and in a judicious and conciliatory speech paved the way for a better understanding between himself and the British shipowners, whilst somewhat ostentatiously putting aside all connection with the Government. He next visited the chief commercial and shipping centres—Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle—and, finally, after a series of interviews in London, the bases of an agreement were arranged which differed from that previously proposed by the Government in many important points. No public money was to be advanced in lieu of the 8,000,000*l.* the Government had been ready to grant; a second canal was to be cut at the cost of the company; this country was to be represented on the governing council not only by the official directors, but by seven delegates of the shipowners, forming also a consultative body in London. At the same time, it was urged that the gravest objections to the Ministerial arrangement had not been removed. The administration of the old canal was still to remain French, and that of the new one would never cease to be French also. M. de Lesseps declared that during his lifetime and that of his son the Canal would never cease to be French. The claim of the company to a monopoly was asserted as strongly as ever, and the demand that the shares held by the English Government should be given full voting power was rejected. On the other hand, the Egyptian Government entered a protest beforehand against the alteration in the status of the Canal Company under the existing concession without the Khedive's assent. At this point the negotiations remained suspended, but it was generally admitted that the new terms, although changed somewhat in form from those presented by Mr. Childers to the House of Commons, imported but little, if any, superior advantages for British commerce.

It will be seen from the foregoing summary of the political events of the year that the attitude of parties had during its course become more distinctly marked, and the lines of future policy more clearly established. The more Radical section of the Liberals had by the administrative skill displayed by their leader in the Cabinet conciliated a large section of the public, whose desires turned rather to useful legislation than to the triumph of any section of political opinions. From this and other causes the Radicals in office and in Parliament found their influence, seconded by their far-reaching organisation, so much increased that they were in a position to bring to the front the demand for a new Reform Bill; and although amongst themselves they were divided as to the safest means by which the extension of the suffrage and the redistribution of seats could be effected,

they were united in the belief that some scheme of reform should be no longer postponed. The Conservatives on their part found it expedient at least to sink any minor divergences of opinion in order to display a united front to the proposed constitutional change. After much hesitation they seemed at the close of the year to oppose any extension of the franchise either by the admission of the agricultural labourer into the county, or of the suburban artisans into the boroughs. They were equally agreed to resist any attempt to create a central government for the metropolis, on the ground that it would be certainly unmanageable and probably dangerous; but in Ireland as well as in the large centres of population in England and Scotland, they seemed prepared to accept the doctrines of a State Socialism, which would provide land for the peasantry of the former country, and dwellings for the workmen of the latter at the cost of the landowner and taxpayer.

## CHAPTER VI.

### IRELAND.

Imprisonment of Messrs. Davitt and Healy—The Mallow Election—The Dublin Trials—James Carey—The Parnell Testimonial—The Monaghan Election—The Orange Lodges.

OUR record of last year in Ireland closed with the expression of a hope that the unwritten chronicle might prove brighter than the chronicle which was just completed. There was hardly time to entertain such pleasing anticipations before they were inexorably dissipated. The month of January had run barely half its course before a succession of events proved not only that the relations between the neighbouring islands were as unhappy as ever, but that the new year was destined to leave behind it as gloomy a memory as either of its predecessors. There is this difference, however, that while 1882 was conspicuously a year of crime, 1883 was a year of punishment of crime.

In December of 1882 the Irish Executive had turned its attention to certain speeches delivered by Mr. Michael Davitt, Mr. Healy, M.P., and Mr. Biggar, M.P., which appeared to the Castle authorities to call for prosecution. On the 2nd of January, Mr. Biggar's case came before the Waterford Sessions, Waterford having been the scene of his offending utterances. The prosecution, however, came to nothing. Mr. Biggar had made a very violent attack upon Lord Spencer, and had passed the severest strictures upon the conduct of the jury in the Hynes case; but, however much his remarks might have offended against the canons of political good taste, there was nothing in them to justify the interference of the law. Mr. Biggar was committed for trial at

the Spring Assizes after being allowed to find bail and give securities in small amounts; and nothing further was heard of the matter.

The Executive would, perhaps, have displayed greater discretion if they had treated the speeches of Mr. Biggar, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. Healy with politic indifference from the beginning. Failing this, the wisest course might have been to let the matter drop in all three cases. An unsuccessful prosecution is, indeed, always bad for an Executive, but it is not the worst that can befall it. A successful prosecution may sometimes have more disastrous consequences. It proved so in this instance. The Executive, fearing that its action with regard to Mr. Biggar might make it appear too easy-going, determined to push things farther in the cases of Mr. Davitt, Mr. Healy, and Mr. Quinn, a secretary of the National League. They were called upon to find securities for their good behaviour, or to go to prison for six months. To men in their position there was of course no alternative. To have consented to find securities would have been to admit that they were wrong, and to discredit them for ever in the eyes of the people to whom they were appealing. In sending them to prison, on the other hand, the Castle authorities were only increasing their opponents' popularity and power in the country a thousandfold. Mr. Davitt had, indeed, passed a large part of his life in prison, but every fresh incarceration made him more and more of a martyr in Irish eyes, and he invariably came out of confinement a far more potent political force than he had entered it. Mr. Healy, on the other hand, although one of the most popular of the Parnellite party in Ireland, was one of the few leading Nationalist members who had not suffered imprisonment for his opinions. It was, dramatically, the one thing wanting to his career, and the temporary inconvenience of six months' seclusion was but a trifle in contrast with the increase of influence and authority which was certain to accompany it. But the prosecutions did something more than merely increase the personal and political popularity of Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy. The opponents of the National movement were always most anxious to see a split in the Parnellite ranks. Such a split they thought had occurred after the formation of the new National League, when Mr. Davitt made proclamation of marked difference of opinion with Mr. Parnell, and was severely censured by Mr. T. P. O'Connor for doing so. There did, indeed, seem at moments the possibility of the National movement being divided into the two camps of the Parnell party and the Davitt party. But any such division, if it existed at all, was completely put an end to by the imprisonment of Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy. The necessary intercourse caused by common imprisonment between Mr. Davitt and one of the ablest of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants was in itself enough to solder close the two powers in the National party. In the excitement and enthusiasm caused by the imprisonment all small differences

were forgotten, and, as a matter of fact, when Mr. Davitt finally came out of prison, he gave in his adherence cordially to the National League, with which, at its first inception, he appeared to be at odds. It is, indeed, one of the most remarkable things in Mr. Davitt's connection with the agitation in Ireland that the originator of the Land League has always been content to act loyally with Mr. Parnell, and has steadily rejected the many opportunities of setting himself in opposition.

Of course the Executive could not allow its action to be influenced by such considerations as these, if the speeches of either Mr. Davitt or Mr. Healy seriously called for strong measures. But the offending orations were hardly of sufficient magnitude to justify the temporary martyrdom of their speakers. They had said nothing very new or very surprising, and in making an example of them, the Executive only succeeded in making Mr. Davitt more popular than before, in raising Mr. Healy to the front rank among the politicians of the Parnellite party, and in effectually preventing for the time any suggestion of a split between the followers of Mr. Parnell on the one side, and the adherents of Mr. Davitt on the other.

The Government was engaged on yet a third prosecution, the results of which were equally favourable to the Nationalists. *United Ireland* was the paper of all others in Dublin which expressed most frankly the opinions of the advanced party in Ireland. At the time of the Government descent upon the Land League this journal was promptly proscribed, and for a long time made its appearance with the greatest difficulty, being printed now in Paris, now in Liverpool, and smuggled into Ireland as chance permitted or opportunity offered. It now made its appearance again, and was as active as ever in its support of the extreme National party. Its editor was Mr. William O'Brien, a young man of education and ability, conspicuous among the prominent non-Parliamentary followers of Mr. Parnell for his "irreconcilable" opinions. He had, it will be remembered, come forward at the time of the Hynes trial to give his testimony to the riotous conduct of the jury at the Imperial Hotel on the night previous to the verdict. After the execution an article appeared in *United Ireland* entitled "Accusing Spirits," in which a bitter attack was made upon the Government of Lord Spencer. On the 15th of January Mr. William O'Brien was committed for trial for having, in the phraseology of the indictment, published a false, malicious, and seditious libel for the purpose and with the intent of bringing the government of the country and the administration of the law into hatred and contempt, and in order to incite hostility against the same, and for the purpose of disturbing the peace of the country, and of raising discontent and disaffection among the Queen's subjects.

At this time Mr. William O'Brien was a candidate for the small constituency of Mallow, one of the most peculiar constitu-

encies in the South of Ireland. It was very small; it was popularly held to be very rotten. During the old Parliament it had been represented by a very moderate Home Ruler, Mr. John George McCarthy. That a Home Ruler of any shade should be able to sit for Mallow seemed remarkable enough, but it was pretty generally admitted that a Home Ruler would have no chance again. At the General Election Mr. William M. Johnson, an Irish Liberal lawyer, had been elected by a considerable majority over his Conservative opponent. When, on the formation of the Ministry, Mr. Johnson, as the new Solicitor-General for Ireland, went down again to Mallow, a Home Rule candidate was run in opposition to him. The result was discouraging enough to the Home Rulers. Mr. Johnson was returned by a larger majority than before, while the Home Rule candidate got very considerably less votes than had been won by Mr. Johnson's Conservative rival. Now, in the beginning of 1883, Mr. Johnson, having accepted other duties, was leaving Parliamentary life; Mallow was again vacant, and the National party, apparently forgetful of their former rebuff, were bringing forward, not a nominal Home Ruler, but one of the most aggressive and uncompromising champions of the principles of Mr. Parnell.

The struggle was watched by both sides with the keenest interest. The defeat of Mr. O'Brien would undoubtedly be a very severe check to the aspirations of the Nationalist party; his success would be a decided triumph for them. The issue seemed doubtful until the beginning of the *United Ireland* trial. With his committal for trial Mr. O'Brien's chance of election became a certainty. Two days after the formal committal he was returned at the head of the poll by a majority of seventy-two votes over Mr. Naish, the new Solicitor-General for Ireland, and the Nationalists had scored their greatest success since the election of Mr. Parnell for Cork City. The trial itself came to nothing, owing to the disagreement of the jury.

During the week of the Mallow election several executions took place, which were the subject of much comment in the Nationalist Press and on Nationalist platforms. Patrick Higgins, Thomas Higgins, and Michael Flynn were hanged for the murder of the Huddys in the Joyce country in the early part of the previous year; Sylvester Poff and James Barrett were hanged for the murder of Thomas Brown near Castle island. Considerable belief in the innocence of Poff was expressed in Ireland, and a widespread sympathy for the dead man was finding vent in bitter criticisms of the administration of justice, when a series of events, the most startling and the most impressive that had yet occurred in the history of Ireland under the new Government, diverted public attention from everything except certain proceedings in the Dublin Police-court and in Kilmainham Court-house.

On the 13th of January Dublin was surprised by a mysterious police raid on various houses, resulting in the arrest of no less

than seventeen persons, most of them in an humble way of life, but one of them, a well-to-do tradesman, and recently elected Town Councillor, by name James Carey, of whom the year was to hear more. The arrests were made in consequence of a series of inquiries which had been going on at the Castle under the peculiar statutory powers allowed by the Crimes Act of examining witnesses without bringing any specific charges against individuals, and so obtaining information not otherwise to be got at. The seventeen prisoners were at once charged with conspiracy to murder certain Government officials and other persons. Attempts were made on behalf of many of the prisoners to obtain bail, but bail was in every instance steadily refused. Two days later three more men were arrested.

The news of these arrests created great excitement on both sides of St. George's Channel. In Ireland all who belonged to the disaffected portion of the community were inclined to believe that the authorities had made one more needless blunder in arresting a number of inoffensive men and putting them to unnecessary annoyance and indignity by repeated examinations. The refusal of bail was regarded as a special grievance, and the complaints against the harshness of the executive were many and bitter. Others, however, were more disturbed by doubt as to whether the Castle had really been fortunate enough to place its hand upon any of those unknown criminals who were held responsible for the mysterious murders of the preceding year. While they hoped, with the *London Times*, "that there is at length a probability of securing the clue to a series of atrocious crimes, perpetrated with a cold-blooded deliberation and remorseless purpose not easily paralleled, save among the fanatics of Nihilism," they felt that it did not follow that even now the Government was in the possession of legal proof. Any such doubt was soon to be removed. On January 20 the prisoners were brought before the court, and it was made known that one of their number, Robert Farrell, a labourer, and an old-time Fenian, had turned informer. Farrell's evidence was startling. Something had always been known by the outer world of the Fenian organisation, but Farrell's revelations disclosed the existence of an organisation inside that, a mysterious inner circle, composed of men carefully selected from the larger body, and organised for the assassination of Government officials and others. The scheme of this inner circle was managed with an ingenuity that would have done credit to a Nihilist committee. Its members were unacquainted with the bulk of their associates; each man only knew the colleague who swore him in, and who was known as his "right," and another introduced by himself, and who was styled his "left." The chief business of this inner circle, as far as Farrell's knowledge of it went, was to try and assassinate the then Chief Secretary, Mr. Forster. Farrell described with great coolness and elaborate minuteness of detail a series of plans to take Mr. Forster's life, each of which only failed through some mere

chance, some bungle in the working of a preconcerted signal, or some error in the calculation of the hour at which the Chief Secretary's carriage would pass by an appointed spot. Farrell himself was never a member of the inner circle, nor was he ever present at any meeting called for the purpose of planning the murder of any one; but he admitted being implicated in certain attempts on the life of the Chief Secretary. He furthermore stated that one of the prisoners, Hanlon, had given him a circumstantial account of the attempt to murder Mr. Field.

Farrell's evidence aroused the most intense excitement everywhere. It was whispered abroad that the Government expected to elicit from this inquiry information not merely with regard to the attack on Mr. Field, but the murders in the Phoenix Park, and public curiosity was strained to its highest. On the 27th evidence was given implicating Joseph Brady, Timothy Kelly, John Dwyer, Joseph Hanlon, and a car-driver, Kavanagh, in the Field attack. One of the witnesses, Lamie, was, like Farrell, an informer, who had been a Fenian. He gave some curious evidence of the formation of vigilance committees to see that the orders of the Directory were carried out. One of these vigilance committees had been broken up by the fight in Abbey Street, when apparently a Fenian named Poole was being marked for assassination. The work was interrupted by the detectives, and in the scuffle that followed Sergeant Cox was killed.

On February 3 the inquiry first was directed towards the Phoenix Park murders. Knives were produced which had been found in James Carey's house, deadly-looking weapons, such as are used by surgeons for amputation. The medical men who had examined the bodies of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke considered that the knives corresponded to the nature of the wounds inflicted. A chairmaker and his wife, who lived at the strawberry beds, identified Edward O'Brien and Joseph Brady as being in the Phoenix Park on the day of the murder. The keeper of a deerkeeper's lodge testified to seeing a car with Joseph Brady on it pass out of the Chapelizod Gate on the evening of the murder. Another witness had seen Brady and M'Caffrey in the park on the evening of the murder. On February 10 Michael Kavanagh, the car-driver, turned informer. His evidence was startling. On May 6, 1882, he drove Joe Brady, Tim Kelly, and two other men, whose names he did not know, but one of whom he identified as Patrick Delaney, to the Phoenix Park. There they found James Carey; there Carey gave the signal for the murder of Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish by raising a white handkerchief. Kavanagh saw the murder committed; then his four passengers got on again to the car and he drove off as fast as he could, returning to the city in a roundabout way. On the night of the Field outrage he drove Brady and Daniel Delaney to Hardwicke Street, where Tim Kelly and Hanlon were, and after the assault he drove Brady and Kelly away.

But the crowning surprise came on February 17, when James Carey entered the court as an informer. This Carey had conducted himself all through the course of the investigations thus far with cool effrontery. His position among the other prisoners was peculiar. He belonged to a somewhat better class in life than the rest. His place on the town council he owed to the fact that he was an ex-suspect. He had been arrested under the old Coercion Act on suspicion of being concerned in an outrage in Amiens Street. After his release he stood at the municipal elections for town councillor, and was elected by a very large majority over a Liberal and Roman Catholic opponent. His demeanour during the early part of the investigation was noisily defiant. He protested loudest when he was first arrested; we hear of him swaggering out of the prison van to the first examinations smoking a cigar, ostentatiously dressed to mark the distinction between his position and that of his fellow-prisoners; again we hear of him losing his temper and assaulting the governor of Kilmainham Gaol. But after the evidence of Farrell and Lamie his audacity appears to have broken down. He determined to save his own neck at any hazard, and he turned informer.

Carey, on his own showing, was the worst of the assassins. He had lured other men into the organisation; had plotted murders, had arranged the Phoenix Park assassination, and given the signal when the deed was to be done. It was at his suggestion that knives were chosen as the weapons to be employed in committing the crime. In 1861 Carey had joined the Fenians, and was a prominent member until 1878. In 1881 the Invincibles were formed, outside the Fenian body, though composed of men drawn from its ranks. The oath which Carey took as leader of this body pledged him to obey all the orders of the Irish Invincibles, under penalty of death. At the head of the organisation appeared to be a mysterious person, whose name Carey never knew, but who was always called "No. 1." He gave most of the orders, he seems to have supplied the money. After the attempts on Mr. Forster failed, and when Mr. Forster and Earl Cowper resigned, it was No. 1 who settled that Mr. Burke was to be the victim. Carey's evidence practically closed the inquiry. The prisoners were at once committed for trial. The trials began in April, and did not last very long. Brady, Curley, Fagan, and Kelly were found guilty, the latter after the jury had twice disagreed, and were sentenced to death. Caffrey and Delaney pleaded guilty, and were sentenced to death. Delaney's sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. The five others were hanged. Mullett and Fitzharris were sentenced to penal servitude for life, and the remaining prisoners to various periods of penal servitude.

Carey's evidence failed to connect the Land League as a body with the "Invincibles." When it first became known that James Carey had turned informer, and that he had apparently inculpated the Land League in his evidence, public curiosity on both sides of



the Irish Sea held its breath. What might not come next! The wildest improbabilities were gravely suggested; the enemies of the Land League exultingly announced that the time had at last come when the secrets of the nefarious body were to be revealed, and its flimsy pretence of constitutional agitation finally torn away from it, while others went even so far as to hint with unmistakable clearness that the true heads of the Invincibles would now be found among the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary party. These predictions, however, were not verified. Some humble members of the Land League were accused by Carey of being concerned in the Phoenix Park assassination, but his evidence absolutely failed to show any connection between the Land League, as an organised body, and the Invincibles. Carey accused the wife of a secretary of the English branch of the Land League—a man named Frank Byrne—of having brought over weapons from London to Dublin for assassination purposes, but on being confronted with the woman, who was immediately arrested, Carey at once declared that she was not the woman he meant. A man named Sheridan, who had figured in the debates on the Kilmainham Treaty, and another named Walsh, who were implicated by Carey's evidence, got away to the United States. Frank Byrne and Walsh were in France at the time when the disclosures were made in Kilmainham Court-house. They were arrested in reply to the appeal of our Government, and examined, but were speedily set at liberty, on the ground that there was no case to justify their extradition, and made their way to America.

A curious piece of evidence came out in the trial in support of the claim made by the leaders of what may be called the Parliamentary part of the national movement, that their action, far from having anything in common with the actions of the secret societies, was actually inimical to these, and was in consequence bitterly obnoxious to them. One of the assassins kept a diary, in which he recorded from time to time his opinions of the political events going on around him, and one of these records gave, in clear and direct language, full expression to the writer's scorn and contempt for Mr. Parnell and those who, like him, were practising the methods of constitutional agitation.

The trial made it evident that the death of Lord Frederick Cavendish was a mischance, wholly unplanned and wholly unintentional. While the horror of the murder was first fresh in men's minds, it seemed obvious that Lord Frederick Cavendish had been sacrificed by the irreconcilable party as an immediate answer to the message of peace which Mr. Gladstone was sending to the distraughted country. The Government had recalled a thoroughly unpopular and unsuccessful Chief Secretary, and were sending in his place a young man of ability, of unprejudiced sympathy with the work entrusted to him, who was known to be in the most complete agreement with Mr. Gladstone. It seemed almost certain that his murder was the deliberate answer of the secret societies to

any attempt on the part of England to hold out the hand of fellowship to Ireland. It is gratifying, as far as anything in the hideous tragedy can be gratifying, to find that this theory was erroneous. The evidence of the chief criminal made it clear that the Phoenix Park murder, horrible though it was, was not so absolutely horrible as it had first appeared. The assassination was entirely aimed at Mr. Burke, a man who was well known to be one of the most dangerous enemies the secret societies had in all the range of Castle authority. He was believed to have all the threads of their workings in his hands; it was at him the blow was levelled, not at the friendly stranger. Lord Frederick Cavendish was murdered not because he had come with a message of conciliation to those who would not be conciliated, but because he was walking in the company of a man marked for death. The murderers of Mr. Burke did not even know who his companion was—did not learn till later that the brave man who had fallen in the effort to save his companion was the new Chief Secretary. The levity of destiny shows only too painfully in the chance which killed Lord Frederick Cavendish, and deepened the darkness of the gloom in which the struggle between the two countries was going on. But the horror of the murder is somewhat lessened by the knowledge that the Phoenix Park assassins had not compassed the death of one who, judged even by their own dark canons, was innocent of all offence against the country which, in their madness, they believed themselves to be serving.

One result of the trials was to fully justify the Government in any action which had resulted in the substitution of a new chief secretary for Mr. Forster. However excellent Mr. Forster's intentions, however praiseworthy his motives, the result of his administration was not success. With all the instruments of coercion in his hands, he did not know how to employ them properly. It reads like the grimest of satires upon his term of office to know that at a time when the gaols were choking with the number of Mr. Forster's "suspects;" when, according to his own belief, he had every dangerous man in the island under lock and key, his own life was in incessant danger at the hands of men of whose existence and purposes he was guilelessly unaware. Only a succession of chances, that read almost like providential miracles, saved him, time after time, from men whom a word of his, or a stroke of his pen, could at any moment have clapped in safe keeping, had he the slightest suspicion of their existence. The law gave him power to arrest on suspicion, but he had no suspicion of the only body of men whose plans were really dangerous, whose actions were really deadly.

The informer's own fate was dramatically tragic. For some time he remained in Kilmainham Prison. His life would not have been worth an hour's purchase had he been turned out free into the streets of Dublin, and yet, with reckless effrontery, he wrote letter after letter to the Town Council, of which he was a member,

announcing that he would soon take his seat amongst them again. Meanwhile preparations were being made to get him out of the country. He really seems to have been unwilling to go, to be deeply angered against the Castle authorities for refusing to pay him any reward. At last he seemed to be got rid of, to have disappeared; no one, it was thought, knew whither. Most people conjectured that he would be successfully buried from knowledge or pursuit in some Crown colony, or possibly in the wardership of some Government prison, where, under an assumed name, he might probably escape detection for the term of his natural life. Suddenly, one day towards the end of July, came a startling telegram from the Cape, from the representatives of the firm of Donald Currie, announcing that James Carey, the informer, had been shot dead on his arrival at the Cape by a man named O'Donnell, who had travelled out with him on the same ship from England for the purpose of killing him. At first the news was doubted. There was something grimly dramatic about the way in which the informer was struck down, that at first people refused to believe it. But the news was soon corroborated. O'Donnell was brought to England, tried, found guilty, and executed early in December. It is as well to conclude the list of the year's executions at once by mentioning that on Tuesday, December 18, Joseph Poole, convicted of the murder of a suspected informer named Kenny, was hanged in Dublin.

After the ghastly revelations in Kilmainham Court-house there came a season of comparative quiet in Ireland. So terribly had the public ear been crammed with horrors in Dublin, that a series of trials going on in Belfast raised little excitement, and passed off comparatively unnoticed. Yet at any other time these trials would have roused the keenest attention. A murder conspiracy was being unravelled—a conspiracy scarcely less deadly than that of Dublin, though its aim was the assassination of local landlords rather than of prominent Government officials. As usual, the evidence of an informer was necessary to complete the Government case, and a James Carey was found to bring guilt home to the North of Ireland conspirators in the person of one Patrick Duffy. Ten of the twelve men brought to trial were sentenced to ten years' penal servitude; of the remaining two, one received seven, the other five years of imprisonment.

Early in March the Parliamentary party lost one of its most remarkable, and certainly one of its most picturesque figures, by the resignation of Mr. John Dillon. Mr. Dillon's appearance singled him out at once, whether on the back benches of the House of Commons, or on the crowded platform of an Irish meeting, as a man remarkable among his fellows. His grave, melancholy face, his intensely dark hair and eyes, gave him a curiously Spanish air, more appropriate to those stately faces that smile from the canvases of Velasquez in the great gallery of Madrid than to a nineteenth century member for Tipperary. He was one of the

few followers of Mr. Parnell whose appearance in any sense corresponded to the ideal picture of a member of a revolutionary party. Those who watched him in the House of Commons felt instinctively that he would have found more fitting surroundings in some Jacobin convention, some Committee of Public Safety of the year 1793. Mr. Dillon's character did not wholly belie his appearance. He was among the extremest of the extreme section of Mr. Parnell's following. His speeches had been wilder, and had raised fiercer controversy than those of any of his colleagues. The son of a rebel of '48, he inherited all, and more than all, the uncompromising hostility of Young Ireland, and he made no secret of his scant belief in Parliamentary agitation, and his preference for other means of winning redemption if other means were possible. He was undoubtedly out of place. Thirty years earlier he would have flung himself enthusiastically into the movements of the national party; have matched passions with Mitchel; perhaps have striven to emulate the glowing oratory of Meagher, and have followed Smith O'Brien from London to Ballingarry, and from Ballingarry to Van Diemen's Land. He should have played the father's part, the father the son's. John Dillon the elder had a belief in the sympathies of English statesmen and politicians, of which his son inherited no jot. Had the elder Dillon lived to carry out his cherished purpose of effecting a lasting union between the representatives of Irish Nationalism and the leaders of the English Liberal party, the story of Irish politics for the last twenty years might have been very different.

John Dillon the younger was rumoured to be at odds with Mr. Parnell on many points. People talked of him as being anxious to set himself up as a rival to Mr. Parnell, as scheming to wrest the leadership away from him. Mr. Dillon never showed the least sign of any such purpose. Whenever he found that he could not work in complete unison with his chief, instead of thrusting himself forward and declaring his own views, he simply held aloof and was silent. In the end his health gave way, and retirement from political life became inevitable. He had desired to resign more than once before, but had been restrained by his friends; now, however, the condition of his health rendered rest imperative. He resigned his seat, and went away to recover his strength in Italy and Colorado; and his vacant place was filled by Mr. Mayne, who was of course an ardent Parnellite.

In the month of May a fresh stimulus to popular excitement was given by the case of the *Kerry Sentinel*. The proprietor of this paper was Mr. Timothy Harrington, who had suffered imprisonment in the preceding year for a speech he delivered, and who was rewarded for his imprisonment by being elected to represent Westmeath in Parliament, while still confined in Mullingar Gaol. The offence with which the paper was charged was the issue of certain seditious proclamations alleging to emanate from the "Invincibles," calling upon the people to assemble in a

particular place for the purpose of being sworn in, and threatening those who refused with the fate of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. The sub-inspector of constabulary who examined this document noticed that there were some lines at the top, impressed by type but not marked in ink, which had evidently nothing to do with the purport of the proclamation. On carefully investigating these lines, he read the words, "Yours very truly, Michael Davitt." As a letter from Mr. Michael Davitt had appeared in the *Kerry Sentinel* and in no other local paper, the sub-inspector at once concluded that the "Invincible" manifesto had been printed in the offices of the *Kerry Sentinel*. He accordingly directed the seizure of the newspaper under the powers allowed him by the Crimes Act. Mr. Edward Harrington, editor of the paper and brother of the proprietor, with a number of his compositors, was prosecuted. The case of the defence was that the document, though undoubtedly printed in the offices of the *Kerry Sentinel*, was so printed without the knowledge of any of the responsible authorities of the paper; that it was done in all probability as a joke, as otherwise the offenders would scarcely have been careless enough to let it be so easily known where the proclamation was printed, or where the alleged meetings of "Invincibles" were to take place.

Mr. Edward Harrington, however, and his foreman were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and two compositors to two months' imprisonment each. Energetic efforts were made in Parliament by Mr. Harrington and his friends to have the sentence mitigated, but the efforts were unsuccessful, and Mr. Harrington suffered the full term of his imprisonment, not being set at liberty until early in the following January.

A curious incident which took place about this time served to illustrate the remarkable difference between the existing Irish movement and its predecessors. For the first time in Irish history the supreme influence of religious authority at Rome appeared to have lost its hold upon the country. A large proportion of the priesthood throughout Ireland, especially of the younger priests, were well known to be in sympathy with the agitation which was led by Mr. Parnell. Many, however, of the older priests, and of the holders of higher ecclesiastical offices, bishops and archbishops, were decidedly antagonistic to the movement, though hitherto they had practically abstained from any strong manifestation of opinion. So quiet, indeed, had even some of the most marked opponents of the land agitation among the Irish priesthood kept, that it was not uncommonly whispered that the Parnellite party were too strong for the priests to venture into open opposition. As a matter of fact, any popular movement in Ireland which seems likely to be successful is sure in the end to bring the priests with it. Their hold upon the affections of the people is very great, but that hold is only retained so long as they keep with the people. A movement, therefore, that does not enrol the priests on its side is seldom looked upon as serious

in Ireland. The Young Ireland movement was practically entirely unsupported by the priesthood, and it was the steady opposition of the priests which did most to lessen the formidable character of the Fenian insurrection. To many, therefore, who were studying the condition of things in Ireland, one of the most serious features of the case was the steady support given to the popular movement by a large proportion of the priesthood, and the absence of overt hostility on the part of the remainder. Now, however, an effort was being made by those in authority in Rome to pit the strength of ecclesiastical authority against the strength of the national agitation. The result was curiously significant. The direct cause of the attempt was a tribute to Mr. Parnell, which was being organised by the National League throughout the country. Mr. Parnell was known to have suffered heavy pecuniary losses by his absorption in political life. His property was neglected, his private means were being exhausted; and many of those who were most concerned in keeping him as the leader of the movement, judged that no more fitting method of at once gauging his popularity and exhibiting the national gratitude could be found than by means of a national testimonial. Accordingly, a subscription was set going, and one of the earliest subscribers to it was Archbishop Croke, the ecclesiastical hero of the Nationalists. His example was rapidly followed by the priests in his diocese of Cashel, and by the priesthood in general throughout the country. The Vatican seems to have taken alarm at the action of the national members of the Irish clergy. It had already in vague and general terms formulated an indictment against some of the proceedings of the Land League, and there were many in Rome who appeared to consider that Archbishop Croke was not acting in accordance with the spirit of this indictment in lending his archiepiscopal support to the leader of the National League. Archbishop Croke was summoned to Rome; was said to have been severely rebuked for the part he had played. Before, however, the news of the nature of his reception had become known, the Papal authority was manifested in a more direct way in Ireland itself. While the subscription was going on, and money was coming in with reasonable if not with startling rapidity, suddenly, without warning, like lightning from a clear sky, an angry message came from Rome. This message took the form of a letter addressed by the Pope to the Irish bishops, discountenancing in the most uncompromising manner the projected tribute to Mr. Parnell. It is hardly to be wondered at if the English press were inclined to attach the greatest importance to such an utterance from the Flaminian gate. The influence of the Holy See had always been paramount in Ireland; it was only to be expected that this new document would have the most disastrous effect upon the hopes and purposes of the agitators against whom it was directed. The letter, indeed, did not come directly from the Pope itself—a circumstance that was generally overlooked at first, but which was eagerly

dwelt upon afterwards, when it was thought advisable by many to relieve the Pope as far as possible from personal responsibility for the epistle. The letter was signed by Cardinal Simeoni, prefect, and Monsignor Domenico Jacobini, secretary of the Sacred Congregation de Propagandâ Fide.

The result of what the *Times* called "the thunder of the Papal rescript" must have proved surprising, not merely to the Vatican, but to impartial students of the Irish question everywhere. For the first time practically since the new phase of Irish agitation had been inaugurated, the head of the Roman Catholic Church had definitely pronounced against it. For the first time ecclesiasticism had deliberately pitted itself against the popular party as represented by Mr. Parnell. The answer of the Irish National party was one which might fairly be called of uncompromising defiance. The Papal letter was clear and precise enough in its summons to the country to abandon the proposed tribute to Mr. Parnell, and in abandoning it to tacitly acknowledge the error of the course it had been pursuing. The leading men of the Nationalist party all over the country replied to the letter in the most energetic terms. Men of whose earnest catholicity there could not be the slightest doubt were emphatic in their refusal to recognise the authority of the Pope's letter, or to allow their political action to be guided by it. These sentiments found an echo in every part of Ireland where the principles represented by the National League had influence; the subscriptions to the tribute poured in with greater rapidity than before. Dramatically the Papal letter was a failure, and from the point of view of the Vatican something worse. Its only influence, indeed, was to decrease for the time the number of priests who took a prominent part in the Nationalist movements; while, on the other hand, it not merely failed to lessen the power of the National party, it strengthened it, and created the widest breach that had yet been made between the Irish people and the authority of the Seven Hills. From Richmond Prison Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy wrote long letters on the subject. Mr. Davitt's letter expressed the greatest regret at the Papal action, and called upon the country to show its sense of indignation by increasing the amount of the Parnell tribute fourfold. Mr. Healy's letter more bitterly and more fiercely appealed to the national feeling against what he declared to be the English conspiracy at the Vatican.

The attitude of Mr. Healy was the attitude more or less of every man who took any part in the National movement. While the counsel, even the commands of the Pope were cordially rejected, such rejection was justified on the grounds that his Holiness had been deliberately misinformed by those with whom he was in communication upon the state of things in Ireland. The presence of Mr. Errington in Rome was made the plea for this belief. Mr. Errington's position was curious. He had entered Parliament as a Home Ruler in the early quiet days of the movement, when to

be a Home Ruler was to be in the van of Irish politics, and meant in England a member of Parliament who once a year or so took part in a grave, eloquent, and decorous debate on Home Rule. But the peaceful days of the Consulship of Mr. Butt had passed away; with Mr. Parnell's leadership a new order of things came into existence, and an easy-going politician could no longer count on being returned for an Irish constituency by avowing Home Rule proclivities. Mr. Errington had no sympathy with the new phase of the movement, and instead of taking any prominent part in Parliament after the General Election, he entrusted himself with an amateur diplomatic mission to Rome, to inform the Vatican of the real position of Irish affairs. Mr. Errington's mission soon became notorious. In the House of Commons incessant questions were poured in upon the Government as to the exact nature of their relations with Mr. Errington, and the precise amount of official or semi-official dignity with which the *agente raccomandato*, as Mr. Errington came to be styled, was invested. But while the annoyance felt in England about Mr. Errington was confined to a feeling of dislike at opening up regular diplomatic negotiations with the Vatican, the feeling in Ireland was very different. The Nationalists saw in the presence of Mr. Errington in Rome distinct proof of a plot on the part of the British Government to poison the ears of the Pope against the people of the Island of Saints. The extreme improbability—nay, more, the practical impossibility, not to speak of the absurdity of such a plot did not strike the followers of the National League. They only saw that Mr. Errington was in Rome; that he was hostile to their cause; that he was in some sort of communication with the British Government, and that there came letters from the Leonine City assailing their leader and their cause. If the epistle of Cardinal Simeoni was indeed due to the influence and the advice of any person outside the circle of the Propaganda, the Holy See had little reason to be grateful for the result of such advice and such influence. It must be admitted, however, that no one could have anticipated the spirit in which a document of so much importance would be received in Ireland. Respectful submission was the least that might be looked for, and in its stead came angry defiance, fierce denunciation, or unconcerned indifference. The National party went on just the same as if no rescript had been written, and it was soon perfectly obvious that the Papal letter had only given a further impetus to Mr. Parnell's popularity, had consolidated his following, and strengthened his authority.

Curious proof of Mr. Parnell's increased popularity was given in July. On June 4 Mr. Healy, together with Mr. Davitt and Mr. Quinn, was allowed to leave Richmond Prison, after serving four out of the six months of imprisonment ordered in the sentence. A month later (July 2), Mr. Healy was elected member for Monaghan county, one of the strongholds of Ulster. Six months earlier, any one who should have said that it would be



possible for a Parnellite politician to represent an Ulster county would have been laughed at heartily for his folly; but the seemingly impossible had come to pass.

The choice of the Nationalist candidate was in itself peculiar. Instead of attempting the attack upon Ulster with some mild-mannered politician, the Nationalists put forward one of the most aggressive and uncompromising of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants. Mr. Healy had, however, some special qualifications for the position. He was well known to be a master of the Land Act, to have worked long and hard at it in the House of Commons, and to be the author of the Healy clause. He had been personally complimented at Westminster by the Prime Minister himself upon his knowledge of that measure, a knowledge not only far beyond that of his own leader, or of any of his colleagues, but said at the time to be beyond that of any member of the House, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone himself, and of Mr. Law. When Monaghan was left vacant by the resignation of Mr. Litton, appointed to a place of profit under the Crown, the Nationalists resolved to contest the seat, and to put Mr. Healy forward as their champion. The campaign was skilfully managed. Mr. Healy went through the county Monaghan, accompanied by Mr. Parnell, making speeches everywhere on the Land question, without intruding allusions to the Home Rule doctrines, which might have sounded unpleasantly in the ears of Ulster farmers. Little was spoken of beyond the services rendered by Mr. Healy to the Land Bill, and the strong necessity that existed for still further amending and improving that measure. Vexed questions were kept in the background; the Land question alone was insisted upon, and on the Land question Monaghan county was won for the Parnell party. The feelings with which this victory were regarded in England were sufficiently represented by a cartoon in *Punch*, in which Mr. Parnell was represented as cutting a square piece marked Monaghan out of Mr. John Bull's overcoat, and observing, "Bedad, I've been and spoilt his Ulster anyhow." Mr. Healy's vacant place in Wexford was immediately filled by Mr. Redmond, brother of the member for New Ross, who was elected, in his absence, by a large majority over the Liberal candidate, the O'Connor Don, an Irish gentleman of old family and great position in Wexford. Mr. Redmond, the newly elected member, was an exceedingly young man, not long of age, who had thought fit to leave Ireland somewhat hurriedly in the previous year, in consequence of a very violent speech, containing some eloquent references to arms and insurrection, which he had delivered at Cork. The Parnellite party was strengthened later on in the year by the return of Mr. Small for Wexford county; of Mr. Lynch for Sligo county, and of Mr. McMahon for Limerick.

On July 4 a banquet was given by the Mayor and Corporation of Cork to celebrate the opening of the Industrial Exhibition. The city of Cork had been very anxious to obtain the privilege of being

the scene of the Royal Agricultural Society's Show for 1883. When, however, it was decided that the Agricultural Show was to be held in Limerick, the Cork Corporation resolved to hold an Industrial Exhibition as some compensation to themselves and their fellow-townsmen for the loss of the other attraction. The arrangements for the exhibition were successfully carried out; it was opened by Lord Bandon with great success on July 2, and the banquet was the justifiable celebration of a well-organised and happily completed enterprise. It was not a little curious to find the name of Mr. Parnell prominent among the distinguished guests, who included Lord Bandon and the Earl of Dunraven, as well as moderate Home Rulers like Mr. Shaw and Colonel Colthurst, who had but little reason to love the party which Mr. Parnell represented. That Mr. Parnell should be present at the banquet was only natural; he was member for the city, and the Mayor and Corporation were strongly National. But it was surprising to find men of such markedly different opinions, prominent members of the landlord class, which it was Mr. Parnell's aim to destroy, consenting to take part in any ceremony in which he had a share. The fact, slight though it was, served to show how very much the position of Mr. Parnell had been strengthened of late.

Early in August the Government, after pleasing one party in Ireland by the Tramways Act, succeeded in giving more general satisfaction by accepting the tender of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company for the carriage of the mails as heretofore between Holyhead and Kingston. This fine line of boats was exceedingly popular with those whose business in life frequently called upon them to cross St. George's Channel, and there was general discontent expressed in Ireland when it was announced that the Government, in renewing the contract for the carriage of the mails, was about to accept the tender of another company, whose boats might be less suitable for passenger traffic. The dissatisfaction was so general that the Government consented to reconsider its decision, and the result was that the contract was renewed with the original Company. It was a curious experience for the Government to have to deal with a question on which practically the whole of Ireland was in agreement, and they undoubtedly acted wisely in taking a step which gave satisfaction to Irishmen of every variety of political party or opinion.

By the death of Mr. Hugh Law, in September, the Government lost a zealous and valuable public servant, and the Irish Lord Chancellorship one of the ablest holders of that office. Mr. Law's name will be especially remembered for the signal service he rendered to two Liberal Governments, first by his drafting of the Bill disestablishing the Church in Ireland, and secondly by his drafting and management of the Land Bill of 1880.

Mr. Parnell's victory at Monaghan aroused the greatest excitement in the north of Ireland. The Orange lodges were resolved to challenge Mr. Parnell's alleged power in Ulster, and whenever a

Nationalist meeting was organised for any Ulster town an opposition Orange meeting was got up for the same time and place. Such demonstration and counter-demonstration on the part of the Green and Orange parties was in the highest degree prejudicial to the public peace. For generations the hostility between Orange and Green had run too fiercely to be smoothed down by the soft-spoken lyric of Thomas Davis, and the feeling had now been exceptionally stimulated by what the Orange lodges regarded as the Parnellite invasion of Ulster. In the month of September Orange and Green meetings were held at Dungannon and Omagh, and only the effective presence of military and constabulary prevented some serious breach of the peace. At this critical juncture Sir Stafford Northcote, as leader of the Opposition, undertook a crusade into Ulster against the Irish policy of the Government. The English Conservative press commended Sir Stafford Northcote highly for repeating Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian tactics in Ulster; while Liberal journalism contented itself chiefly with good-humouredly bantering the leader of the Opposition on his Irish crusade. Sir Stafford Northcote's speeches, naturally enough, did not exceed the bounds of statesmanlike criticism of the action of political opponents. But though the utterances of the leader of the Opposition could not be regarded as inflammatory in their language or their purpose, they had a decidedly inflammatory effect in Ulster. The very fact of such a crusade being undertaken roused the Orange lodges to enthusiasm. Other speakers, less temperate and judicious than Sir Stafford Northcote, did much by impetuous and unreasoned harangues to rouse the spirit of faction, and for a time the situation in Ulster almost suggested the beginning of a civil war. Whenever a Nationalist meeting was called a counter Orange demonstration was summoned, and in spite of all the efforts of the authorities violent physical contests often took place between the followers of the two factions. The executive did their best to deal with the serious difficulty in an impartial manner. Whenever it was considered that meetings thus organised and counter-organised would lead to disturbance, they adopted the plan of proclaiming both meetings. One prominent Orangeman, Lord Rossmore, who had distinguished himself by his efforts to disturb the peace, and by his defiance of the law's authority, was promptly removed from his position as justice of the peace—a step which, while it roused the greatest anger in the Orange lodges, served to show even the most prejudiced of the National party that the executive was holding its scales with justice, and was prepared to tolerate no infringement of the law from any political party in the island. The English press on the whole was pretty unanimous in its condemnation of the action of the Orange leaders. The journals devoted to the Ministry were, naturally, especially warm against a series of assaults directed quite as much against the existing Government as against the Irish Nationalists; and even the most strenuous journalistic adherents of the Opposition

were compelled to censure the manner in which the politicians of the school of Lord Rossmore had chosen to defend their principles. A paper like *Punch*, which may be regarded as expressing pretty fairly what the bulk of the country feels at any given moment on any given question, was especially severe in its condemnation of the Orange policy, and of the professing loyalty which was even more dangerous to law and order than avowed disloyalty. When the year ended the situation in Ulster was still unsettled. Lord Rossmore, smarting under his dismissal from the justiceship of the peace, was becoming more violent than ever in his attacks upon the Government; Orange manifestoes of exceptionally warlike character were freely circulated, and a pair of meetings, Nationalist and Orange, which were announced to be held at Dromore on the first day of the new year, were looked forward to by impartial politicians with well-justified alarm.

One of the latest events of the year was also one of the most remarkable—the solemn presentation to Mr. Parnell of the long-collected, much-discussed testimonial. A banquet to Mr. Parnell was given in the Rotunda, Dublin, on Tuesday, December 11. The testimonial, originally intended to be limited to some fourteen thousand pounds, had swelled to some thirty-eight thousand pounds. Mr. Parnell's speech on this occasion came, like so many other of his utterances, upon the world somewhat in the nature of a surprise. It had been confidently expected in many quarters that the tone of Mr. Parnell's speech would be, if not exactly conciliatory towards the Government, at least uttered in no unfriendly or unsympathetic spirit. The speech, however, was given in most uncompromising terms.

Mr. Parnell began by contrasting the position of the Irish question at that moment with its position three years before, when the Land League was founded. But though much had been done since to further the well-being of Ireland, there was yet much to do. There must be no more coercion, and there must be no more emigration. On this latter point Mr. Parnell had the strong support of the majority of the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, who, in a circular issued in July, had declared themselves very strongly opposed to the Government emigration policy. Mr. Parnell sharply censured the conduct of Lord Spencer and of Mr. Trevelyan. For Lord Spencer he found this excuse, that he first came over to Ireland as a sort of inferior bottle-holder to Mr. Forster, and was only carrying out the same principles in a higher position. Between Mr. Trevelyan, however, and Mr. Forster there was this great difference, that while Mr. Forster always tried to overwhelm his opponents by saying that his great ambition was to enable every one in Ireland to do what they had a legal right to do, Mr. Trevelyan's great ambition appeared to be to prevent anybody in Ireland from doing what he had a legal right to do. In support of this charge, he adduced the case of the imprisonment of Mr. Timothy Harrington, of the seizure of the *Kerry Sentinel* and the

imprisonment of its editor—"as well might you flog a schoolmaster because an idle schoolboy drew an idle picture on his slate"—for the proclamation of the Nationalist meetings in the north of Ireland. But, in spite of the Government, the National position was a strong one, and its cause a winning one. Even coercion could not last for ever, but if it were to be renewed it should be by a Tory and not a Liberal Government. "Beyond a shadow of doubt it will be for the Irish people in England—separated, isolated as they are—and for your independent Irish members, to determine at the next General Election whether a Tory or a Liberal English Ministry shall rule England. This is a great force and a great power. If we cannot rule ourselves we can at least cause them to be ruled as we choose. This force has already gained for Ireland inclusion in the coming Franchise Bill. We have reason to be proud, hopeful, and energetic, determined that this generation shall not pass away until it has bequeathed to those who come after us the great birthright of national independence and prosperity." Such was the tenor of Mr. Parnell's utterances.

The uncompromising and emphatic vigour of this speech naturally roused the greatest excitement in both countries. The *Freeman's Journal*, after declaring that the banquet would "live in the memory of all who were present, and in the records of the time, as the most magnificent of Irish national demonstrations," added that Mr. Parnell's speech "demolishes the fictions about facts and treaties with the Government like so many houses of cards." The English papers for the most part were surprised by Mr. Parnell's tone. The *Times* declared that "no more uncompromising defiance was ever flung in the face of a nation or a Government," but consoled itself by believing that Mr. Parnell had "overrated his strength," while his attack upon the Irish executive might "be taken as a proof that Lord Spencer's administration in Ireland is an obstacle the Land League party cannot get over." Perhaps the most remarkable utterance of the London press, however, was an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, entitled "The Master of the Situation." It said "the young Irish squire of English education and American descent" was "in some respects the most interesting figure in the empire. . . . One of the youngest members of the House of Commons, . . . he is, beyond question, one of the most powerful. . . . He is not only the chief of a devoted party, as much the 'uncrowned king of Ireland' as in the days before Kilmainham, but he aspires, not without solid ground for his ambition, to play the part of a Parliamentary Warwick, and to pose as the master of the situation in the Imperial Parliament." "One-half of our recent mistakes," the *Pall Mall* went on to say, "have arisen from our not taking sufficient account of Mr. Parnell and the people who think with Mr. Parnell. . . . It would be equally irrational to wax wroth at what is described as his 'malevolent language,' or the 'brutality' of his vituperation. We gave them the plank bed, the solitary cell, and prison fare. They give us in

return 'vulgar obloquy and truculent abuse.' So far as the exchange goes we have so much the best of that we need not be too squeamish about the quality of their compliments." The article concluded by saying that though "Mr. Parnell's claim to be master of the situation cannot be fully recognised until he gives proof that he can hold together a party which has never before been held together for any length of time," yet, "should Mr. Parnell really unite Irishmen, and teach them submission and loyalty to their own leader, he will do more for Ireland than anything he has as yet even attempted."



# FOREIGN HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### FRANCE AND ITALY.

#### I. FRANCE.

THE new year of 1883 opened in the midst of the stormy and conflicting emotions roused throughout the length and breadth of France by the death of Leon Gambetta. Rarely, indeed, has been witnessed a more imposing spectacle than that of the public funeral decreed to his remains by the State; never were demonstrations of national regret and sense of loss more universal. But, already, those whose pretensions to power had been silenced by the mere fact of his existence, were beginning to speak boldly. "We ought to make haste," said the *Gazette de France*; "now that Gambetta is dead, the Count de Chambord must show himself at once." And the *Constitutionnel* to this replied, "Conservatives must remember that the royalist solution of the situation is not the only one." Thus provoked, the *Gazette de France* retorted, "The royalists alone can deal with the present situation, for Prince Victor is a minor. Waiting is impossible. We must take time by the forelock."

This declaration disturbed Prince Napoleon (Jérôme), afraid of being anticipated by the Count de Chambord. For a while, though, he hesitated, amused by the project of abdicating his pretensions in favour of his son, for whom he proposed to obtain a post in the Italian army, in the hope that King Humbert would present his nephew to the Courts of Europe as heir to the throne of the Napoleons. But Prince Jérôme's fears of the Count de Chambord got the upper hand, and on January 13 he sent for MM. Philis and Georges Lachaud, to whom he communicated the text of a manifesto, which it was decided to placard and distribute gratuitously, in order to produce as great an effect as possible. In spite of the representations and remonstrances of the larger number of the Prince's immediate circle, this manifesto appeared on the morning of January 15. It was a wordy document, opening with violent abuse of the Republic, which was followed up by separate indictments of every branch of the administration. "After twelve years' trial of a Parliamentary Republic," said the Prince, "you have no Government . . . the army is given up to incompetent men . . . the administration is the slave of the most miserable electioneering interests . . . the magistracy is menaced



. . . Our finances are dilapidated . . . Religion is attacked by a persecuting atheism." In conclusion, Prince Napoleon proclaimed himself ready to raise up the fallen nation, and bade France remember that as the "heir of Napoleon I. and Napoleon III. he was the only man living whose name had united the votes of seven million three hundred thousand men."

The immediate result of this manifesto was the arrest of its author, who was lodged in the Conciergerie before the close of the day. On January 31 the magisterial investigation into his case was concluded, and on February 9 he was released. The decision of the thirteen judges before whom the case was tried was said to have been unanimous, and to have been expected by the Government, who had already introduced (Jan. 21) two Bills dealing with the questions raised by the manifesto of Prince Napoleon. M. Fallières, in introducing these measures said, "What we ask of you is to give us the powers necessary if the case happened—to take preventive measures against any member of one of these families, whose conduct shall appear to us a menace to the public peace, or a danger to the security of the State.

"There is another point to which we think it right to call your attention—viz., the posts held in the army by some of the persons in question. Serious inconveniences might, at a given moment, result from this situation; and we have deemed it proper to ask of you the right of placing them, if circumstances require it, *en disponibilité*. We have consequently the honour of submitting to you the following Bill:—

"*Clause 1.*—A decree by the President of the Republic adopted at a Cabinet Council may enjoin any member of one of the families which have reigned in France, and whose presence is calculated to imperil the safety of the State, to quit immediately the territory of the Republic.

"*Clause 2.*—Any person coming under the foregoing clause, who, after being conducted to the frontier, and quitting France, through the aforesaid measures, has returned thither without the permission of the Government, shall be taken before the police courts and sentenced to an imprisonment of from one to five years. At the expiration of his punishment he shall be reconducted to the frontier.

"*Clause 3.*—Those persons coming under the foregoing clauses who form part of the army may, to whatever branch they belong, be placed in the state of *disponibilité* provided for by the Law of the 19th of May, 1834."

This Bill was received with incessant interruptions from the Reactionaries, such as "Why not shoot them at once?" "This is a law of general safety," &c.; whilst the Extreme Left gave vent to excessive indignation at the permissive character of Clause 3, some exclaiming "Dismiss them at once!" others, "It ought to have been done ten years ago;" and M. Clémenceau called out "Are you going to wait till they have shot you?" An

equally stormy reception was given to the second Bill, which was introduced by M. Devès, and which ran as follows:—

“*Clause 1.*—Whoever, by any of the means named in Article 23 of the Law of the 29th of July, 1881, shall commit an outrage against the Government of the Republic, shall be punished by imprisonment of from six months to two years, and by a fine of from 100 fr. to 3,000 fr., or by either of these penalties singly.

“*Clause 2.*—The removal or defacing of the public emblems of the authority of the Republican Government, out of hatred or contempt for that authority, and the exhibition in public places or meetings, the distribution or sale, of all signs or symbols calculated to spread the spirit of rebellion or disturb the public peace, shall be punishable by imprisonment of from three months to one year, and a fine of from 100 fr. to 2,000 fr., or either of these penalties.

“*Clause 3.*—The offence provided for by Article 24, paragraph 2, of the Law of the 29th of July, 1881, and those provided for by Clauses 1 and 2 of the present Bill, shall be within the jurisdiction of the police courts, and the prosecution shall be conducted according to the common law and the ordinary rules of the code of criminal investigation.

“*Clause 4.*—Article 463 of the Penal Code applies to the offences provided for by the present Bill.”

Another Bill was brought forward by M. Ballue before the close of the sitting, who proposed that the Orleans princes should be deprived of their military positions, on the ground that they had been conferred on them in violation of the Law of the 19th of May, 1834, which forms the organic statute on the promotion of officers. These princes, contended M. Ballue, enjoyed the same privileges as if they were members of a reigning family. The Duc de Chartres had, indeed, renounced his pay, at least temporarily, but his family had just then exacted forty millions from impoverished France, so that his disinterestedness gave him no title to public gratitude. If the Government wished to put the principle of military subordination beyond question, the Orleans princes should at once be struck off the Army List. His Bill embodied these objects. Ultimately M. Fallières suggested the reference of his own and of M. Ballue's proposals to the same committee as that on M. Floquet's Exile Bill, which was to be nominated on the 23rd. Urgency was then voted on the Ballue proposals, by 407 to 94, and M. Laroche Joubert ironically moved that, in the face of prevailing excitement both in and out of doors, these Bills had better be discussed at Versailles instead of Paris.

On the 24th it was known that the Cabinet had unanimously agreed to oppose M. Floquet's proposal demanding the instant expulsion of all members of former reigning families, but it was also understood that complete agreement by no means prevailed as to the provisions of the Ministerial Bills. A meeting took place

on the 25th between the committee and Ministers, at which Mr. Duclerc stated his objections to the Floquet Bill, and added that his colleagues had commissioned him to defend the Government Bill. Various questions were asked, and Ministers having retired, M. Floquet was sent for, and promised to agree to whatever the committee should decide. The Expulsion Bill was then, by 6 votes to 4, with 1 neutral, remodelled thus:—

“ 1. The soil of France, Algeria, and the colonies is forbidden to all members of families which have reigned over France.

“ 2. The persons described in the foregoing clause shall enjoy no political rights in France. At elections, ballot papers bearing the names of these persons shall be treated as null. They shall not in any capacity form part of the French Army.

“ 3. Any person named in Clause 1 who shall have contravened the provisions of the present Bill shall be taken before the Summary Jurisdiction Courts and sentenced to imprisonment of from one to five years. On the expiration of his punishment he shall be conducted to the frontier.”

M. Madier de Montjau declined the post of reporter, and after a tie between M. Lockroy and M. Viette, M. Marcou was elected by 6 votes to 5.

On the following day M. Duclerc, having been taken ill, was unable to keep his appointment with the committee. Further attempts were meanwhile made at compromise. On the 27th the five moderates of the committee presented a declaration in favour of the first and second clauses of the Government Bill as a sufficient safeguard. The majority of 6 had just agreed to insert this declaration in M. Marcou's report, when M. Fallières and M. Devès solicited a fresh interview with the committee. They announced that nine of the Ministers (the whole Cabinet with the exception of M. Duclerc, ill, and Admiral Jauréguibury, resigned) had agreed to M. Fabre's counter-project, which was substantially the same as the declaration of the minority. The question was thus re-opened, and the committee by 7 to 4 decided to begin afresh, and the Fabre scheme was adopted by 6 to 5, M. Ballue turning the scale in its favour. After an hour's adjournment, M. Fabre read the following report, which was adopted by 6 to 5:—

“ An incident has offered the Government and the Chamber occasion for considering whether it was not advisable to put an end to the exceptional situation in which the repeal of the exile laws (contrary to the examples of all Governments which have preceded the Republican Government) has placed the members of the families which have reigned in France. M. Floquet submitted a proposal which was declared urgent, and which was closely followed by the proposal of MM. Lockroy and Ballue. The Government, on its side, has submitted a Bill on the same subject. The members of the Government heard by the committee have rejected M. Floquet's proposal, which seemed to them excessive. Nevertheless, the committee at first adopted this proposal, combined

with those of MM. Ballue, Lockroy, Duclaud, De la Porte, and Liouville. But in consequence of the compromises which have been proposed, the Ministry has made fresh declarations, which have led the majority of the committee to submit the following proposal to you:—

“ ‘*Clause 1.*—The members of families which have reigned in France can fulfil no electoral function and no civil or military employment. Voting papers bearing the names of the above-mentioned persons will not be counted.

“ ‘*Clause 2.*—A decree of the President of the Republic, delivered at a Cabinet Council, may order any member of one of the families which have reigned in France, and whose presence is calculated to compromise the safety of the State, to at once leave the territory of the Republic.

“ ‘*Clause 3.*—Any person coming under the foregoing clause, who, after having been conducted to the frontier and having left France in consequence of the aforesaid measures, returns without Government authorisation, shall be brought before a correctional tribunal and condemned to an imprisonment of one to five years. After the expiry of this term he shall be again conducted to the frontier.’ ”

This report was at once presented to the Chamber, and the debate was set down for Monday, the 29th, but suddenly there appeared a *Havas* note announcing that M. Duclerc refused the compromise. The President, who, as well as most of the ministers, had first learnt M. Duclerc's decision, in which General Billot concurred, from the newspapers, sent General Pittié to him to inquire if it were authentic. Finding this to be the case, he convened a Cabinet Council, at which it was agreed that ministers should all resign. M. Duclerc's resignation was then obtained; it was decided that the eight Ministers who had been in favour of the compromise should carry the matter through and present themselves to the Chamber as still in office. Accordingly, M. Fallières accepted the Premiership, and at the opening of the Chamber made the following statement:—

“ In consequence of a disagreement which has occurred in the Cabinet on the subject of the discussion of the Bill which figures in the order of the day of this sitting, the Ministers yesterday handed their resignation to the President of the Republic. Three of these resignations have been accepted. They are those of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War, and Marine. The other resignations have been withdrawn. The President of the Republic has done me the honour of confiding to me the Premiership. Although I have not had time—for this office was only confided to me a few hours ago—to complete the Cabinet, I felt that our first duty was to place ourselves at your disposal. We consider it a question of honour to settle as early as possible the question submitted to your deliberation—not that the country has anything to fear for its security, but because when such questions are raised before

Parliament, it is to the interest of all parties that they should be speedily settled."

The passing of the Bill as drawn by M. Fabre was now considered a settled thing. On February 1 the Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution to remain in permanent sitting until the proposals before it on the Expulsion Bill should be disposed of, and the House did not rise till midnight, having previously passed the whole Bill by 343 to 163. The Senatorial Committee, however, recommended its rejection (February 8). In the course of the debate (February 11), M. Challemel Lacour made a very powerful speech in its favour; and M. Devès put very forcibly the point that the practical effect of the Orleanist Princes having gone to Frohsdorf was to class their pretensions as Legitimist. On the 12th the Government attempted conciliation, by accepting M. Barbey's counter-proposition empowering "the President of the Republic in Cabinet Council to banish any prince whose demonstrations or acts tended to jeopardise the Republic;" this was lost by 148 to 132. The clauses of the Bill were then put. The first clause, disqualifying any prince for political or military posts, was lost by 172 to 80. On clause the second, M. Léon Say moved an amendment, to the effect that any prince who publicly acted as a pretender should be punished with exile; which was carried by 165 to 127. The Chamber of Deputies instantly sent back the Bill as amended by the Senate, substituting for it, as the final expression of its views, the Barbey proposal, which had commanded an imposing minority in the Senate; but the Senatorial Committee, by 7 to 1, pronounced against the Deputies' amendments, and demanded (February 16) the pure and simple rejection of the Bill. On the following day the Senate threw out the Bill, by 142 to 137.

Ministers at once resigned, and a new Cabinet, after some negotiations, was formed, in which M. Ferry took the Premiership and portfolio of Public Instruction; General Thibaudin became Minister of War; M. Charles Brun of Marine; M. Challemel Lacour of Foreign Affairs; M. Waldeck Rousseau of the Interior; M. Martin Feuillée of Justice; M. Tirard of Finance; M. Raynal (a Jew) of Public Works; M. Méline (a protectionist) of Agriculture; M. Cochery of Posts and Telegraphs, and M. Hérisson of Commerce. On February 22, the new Ministers appeared in the Chamber, when M. Ferry read a declaration, of which the following are the principal passages:—

"It is especially important to close the incident which has so unfortunately disturbed the accord between the two Assemblies of the Republic. Our first duty will be to satisfy and appease, within the limits of what is just, legal, and possible, your legitimate demands; and we are resolved on immediately exercising for this purpose the unquestioned rights conferred on the Executive Power by the Law of May 19, 1834. We think there is at present nothing more to be done. . . . The urgent measures," he went on

to say, "those which are ripest and can wait no longer, are easily enumerated. Not to speak of the reform of the magistracy, which has just taken a great step in advance, and which Parliament is in honour bound to bring to a termination; or of the municipal law, on which it will, we think, be easy for the Government and the Chambers to agree; or of the Army Bills, which, like the army itself, occupy the chief place in our common thoughts—there have been placed on the orders of the day of the Chamber, the Habitual Criminals Bill, so impatiently awaited by the country, and the Bills relative to superannuations and provident societies—Bills which, with that on trades unions, will give a special stamp to the work of this legislature. On our side, gentlemen, we shall shortly lay before you the ordinary Budget of 1884, which will have to be dealt with by the Chamber, as it has been by the Government, on the principle of the strictest economy. We shall open negotiations with the great railway companies with a firm hope that they will result in just agreements, maintaining the rights of the State, and facilitating the carrying out of the great public works without overcharging our credit. We shall likewise shortly submit to you measures completing the organisation of the French Protectorate in Tunis, convinced that such an organisation as we desire will enable us rapidly to reduce, in a considerable proportion, the expenses of the occupation.

"The foreign policy of this Cabinet, like that of all its predecessors for the last eleven years, can only be a policy of peace."

The declaration was well received, backed, as it was, by an explanation from General Thibaudin as to the way in which it was intended to utilise the Law of 1834 which had been referred to. Amongst its main provisions were these:—

"Article 6.—The placing in non-activity, by withdrawal of functions, is effected by Royal decision, on the report of the Minister of War.

"Article 8.—Officers in non-activity by withdrawal or suspension of functions are capable of being again placed in activity. The time passed by them in non-activity is reckoned as effective service solely as negating dismissal from the service and as regards superannuation allowances."

A report therefore of the Minister of War to the President of the Republic appeared in the *Official Journal* of February 25, which after reciting the commonplaces proper to the situation, went on to declare that there was ground "for applying to the under-mentioned officers the provisions of the Laws of the 19th of May, 1834, Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6; of the 4th of August, 1839, Articles 2, 3, and 5, especially the last paragraph; and of the 13th of March, 1875, Article 8; and for placing them in non-activity. These officers are M. d'Orléans (Henri Eugène Philippe Louis), Duc d'Aumale, General of Division, on the retired list; M. d'Orléans (Robert P. L. E. F.), Duc de Chartres, Colonel of the 12th Regiment of Chasseurs; and M. d'Orléans (F. P. M.), Duc d'Alençon, captain

in the 12th Regiment of Artillery. If you approve of this proposal I have the honour to request you to sign the accompanying Decree. Accept, &c." This document was followed by the Decree, and the situation it created was eventually acquiesced in by the Senate. On March 1, when the question as to the legality of the action taken in respect of the Orleanist Princes was raised by General Robert before the Upper House, M. Ferry demanded the order of the day, which was at once voted by 154 to 110.

In his declaration the Premier had given prominence to the Magistracy Bill; the Chamber, which, in June 1882, had, by a coalition of Extremists and Reactionaries, endorsed the principle of elective judges, referring the settlement of details to the committee, reversed its decision when the report was presented, on January 27, by 274 to 224. The Reactionaries again voted in a mass for a system condemned by them as revolutionary, but 38 Republicans changed sides, and 33 became neutral, against whom we must set off 18 new recruits. The attempt to split up Clause 1, so as to take a separate division on the abolition of irremovability and on election, having been defeated, both these innovations were negatived, and the committee declared that the Bill was at an end. M. Devès thereupon stated that the Government scheme should be at once brought forward. The two most important clauses of this Bill were that empowering the Government to reduce the number of judgeships, and that which suspended judicial irremovability for three months. Submitted to the Chamber on January 29, the Bill went up to the Senate at the end of May, and was returned to the Chamber on July 31, with amendments, to which the Deputies agreed on August 1. One clause only, that debarring magistrates from seats in Parliament, had been struck out by the Senate, M. Ferry agreeing, on the ground that the whole question of the "parliamentary incompatibility of officials" should be dealt with by another Bill. In spite of the Ministerial pledges, a motion was made in the Chamber to reinsert the clause, and this motion was only defeated by 215 to 197, so that but for the votes of Ministers and Under-Secretaries Government would have been in a minority. The feeling of the Extreme Left was so strong that they maintained that neither deputies nor senators should fill judgeships, embassies, military commands, nor even paid offices of departments or municipalities. On November 24, the Bill promised by M. Ferry passed the Chamber. It was a compromise, for whereas the Radicals contended that a seat in Parliament should necessitate the resignation of any public appointment, the Bill as it passed permitted Ambassadors, Ministers, Under-Secretaries of State, and Professors to continue to sit; but military men on the active list were shut out; and any Senator or Deputy becoming a director of a company subsidised by, or having a contract with, the State will forfeit his seat, though he will be eligible for re-election. So, too, with all

persons whose names figure with their parliamentary qualification in prospectuses or circulars of financial undertakings.

In dealing with these questions, the Government of M. Ferry appeared to be feeling their way towards taking up an attitude of opposition to the Extremists. As the year went on this intention became more clearly defined. When the Chamber (March 5) discussed the question of the Revision of the Constitution, which had been revived by the Extremists, who hoped to overturn the Cabinet with the aid of the Reactionaries, the only interesting incident of the debate was the speech of M. Jules Ferry. He reminded the Chamber that it had already voted revision, fourteen months ago, when it overthrew Gambetta; that nothing had come of the resolution; that any Cabinet taking it up to the Senate would encounter a certain rebuff; that a revision campaign would be a very dangerous move; that the country wanted stability; and that the eve of the Senatorial elections of January, 1885, would be quite early enough to moot the question. Although in August, 1881, the Premier had given the watchword "no revision," he was of course unable, in his new situation and with his new colleagues, to do more than beg for a postponement, but he boldly made this a question of confidence. The result justified his determination. On March 6 the Chamber expressed its confidence in the declaration of the Government respecting revision, and refused, by 307 to 205, to consider the Andrieux-Barodet proposals. But if they were resolved to meet the Extremists in the Chamber with a firm front, the Cabinet seemed equally determined to make no dangerous concessions to the Reactionary party in the Senate. M. Waldeck-Rousseau met M. Jules Simon's Bill on Associations with the announcement that he should decline to give "unlimited freedom to monastic communities." He pointed out that the effect of this Bill, which had been originally submitted by M. Dufaure just after the anti-Jesuit decrees, would be to legalise the Jesuit and other monastic communities, and to rescind all the decrees under which successive Governments since, and even prior to the Revolution, have asserted a right of control over monasteries. The Bill was rejected by 169 to 122, and the unhesitating attitude of M. Waldeck-Rousseau showed its effects in the unexpected smallness of the minority, which was composed wholly of the Reactionaries and the Jules Simon group, who had for the last few years coalesced on most of the important questions decided by the Senate. On May 14, in a speech delivered at Angoulême, which was the most thoroughgoing political harangue which had been heard in France since the death of Gambetta, M. Waldeck-Rousseau insisted with significant force on the necessity that order and liberty should go hand in hand. "The Republic," he said, "will be the universally recognised Government of France as certainly as day comes after night, and one season follows another. But with what delay will that definitive evolution be accomplished? Those who, like myself, believe that every day



which passes without this result being obtained is a loss of prosperity, tranquillity, and work for the country, put themselves that question with their hearts full of patriotic anxiety. Gentlemen, during the last twelve years we have lived a life of strife. The Republican Government has been constantly assailed; it has been vouchsafed no peace or respite; it has had the responsibility of power without having really exercised it. What has been the result? Any one who will examine accomplished facts with impartiality will be constrained to own that, far from being exhausted by the struggle, Democracy has gained strength. Seeing that so much has been done, I cannot help inquiring what could have been accomplished if France had not been condemned to expend so much of her force in internal strife. I am not one of those men who always accuse their adversaries of perfidious intentions, and I believe that many of them are men of good faith; so I ask them just to calculate what the continuance of a sterile struggle, without hope of any possible issue, may cost the grandeur of France. The inhabitants of this department can, perhaps, better than any one in France understand how disastrous for commerce and industry political strife must be. Is it not true that we all suffer from its effects? Would it not, therefore, be more patriotic and wise to fortify Republican institutions which have the resolute adhesion of the country, and thus contribute to the greater development of its material interests? With regard to the duty of the Government in the direction of affairs, it should have no greater care than to insure and render definitive the work of pacification and unification, the completion of which is so necessary for the welfare of France. It is the duty of Government to discern the will of the nation as expressed calmly by universal suffrage, and I am convinced that after so many trials and sacrifices the country longs for a stable state of affairs, which would enable the Republican Government to work in peace at internal organisation. The Government should assure to all that quota of justice and protection which can be only given by a militant Government, which has abdicated none of those traditions which are the glorious inheritance of the French Revolution. That duty, gentlemen, is to be a Government." In touching on the liberty of the press, M. Waldeck-Rousseau declared, in conclusion, that he would permit free discussion of all and every subject, but that he would not allow the Republic to be outraged, though he wished to welcome all those who would loyally adhere to the existing form of Government.

In July, M. Ferry promptly declined to be present at the unveiling of the statue on the Place de la République, because the President of the Municipality announced his intention of demanding, in his speech, autonomy, and a Mayor for Paris, as also of urging on the Premier the desire felt by his party for a general amnesty. M. Ferry also, in the course of his tour through Normandy in the month of October, threw down the gauntlet to

the Extremists in the speeches made by him at Rouen and at Havre. A reply, in the form of a manifesto, was instantly issued by the "Union of the Permanent Radical Committees," which was signed by MM. Clémenceau, Laisant, and others. This document asserted that "for the last twelve years the Republic had been attacked by Reactionaries and Clericals with the connivance of Republican apostates; that sincere Democrats must defeat these machinations, and band together in order to accomplish the reorganization of the Republic."

It was also attempted to make capital out of the incidents which attended the visit paid to Paris by the King of Spain in the course of the same month. The Government, it was maintained, were guilty of a disgraceful want of patriotism in receiving a prince fresh from Berlin, who had donned a Prussian uniform, and accepted the honorary colonelcy of a regiment of Uhlans in garrison at Strasbourg. The King was received on his arrival with hooting, and other manifestations of hostility so offensive that the President of the Republic was forced to make a formal apology, the publication of which in the *Official Journal* was exacted by the Spanish Government. The Minister of War, General Thibaudin, who had feigned illness in order to avoid taking part in the official ceremonial of the King's reception, became, for a moment, the hero of the Extremists, but some idea of the want of unity which causes the weakness of their party may be gathered from the fact that on a subscription being opened to present him with a sword of honour on his resignation of his portfolio, only half the sum necessary was forthcoming.

The results of the elections to the Departmental Councils, which took place in the same month (October), were such as to encourage the Government to persevere with firmness in the policy of moderation which they had from the first pursued. Roughly speaking, these Councils now contain over 2,000 Republicans, to 1,000 Reactionaries of various shades, and this shows a considerable gain to the existing order of things, even as compared with the numbers of 1880. Anarchist demonstrations have also proved abortive; the gathering at St. Maudé, to celebrate Napoleon's Day (August 15), laid bare the internal divisions of the Bonapartist faction; and the Legitimist banquets, which had in previous years been a source of annoyance, ceased with the death of the Count de Chambord, which took place at Frohsdorf, after a lingering illness, on August 23. But this death gave to the Orleanist princes a political importance which they had never before possessed. (See "Annual Register," 1883, p. 225.)

The colonial policy pursued by the Ferry Cabinet has undoubtedly been, in a high degree, popular with the country. The settlement of Tunis, delayed by the fall of M. de Freycinet in July, 1882, has been pushed forward. M. Cambon, the Minister Resident, came over to Paris immediately after M. Ferry's accession to office, in order to confer with the Government with a view

to putting an end to the ill-defined situation of the French by obtaining the ratification of the Convention, the articles of which ran as follows:—

“*Art. 1.*—In order to facilitate the performance of the duties of its Protectorate by the French Government, His Highness the Bey of Tunis engages to make the administrative, judicial, and financial reforms which the French Government shall deem desirable.

“*Art. 2.*—The French Government shall guarantee, at the time, and under the conditions which to it shall seem best, a loan to be issued by His Highness the Bey for the conversion or reimbursement of the consolidated debt, amounting to 125,000,000 fr., and of the floating debt, to the *maximum* extent of 17,549,300 fr. His Highness the Bey engages not to contract any further loan for the account of the Regency, without the authorisation of the French Government.

“*Art. 3.*—His Highness the Bey shall charge on the revenues of the Regency—(1) The sums necessary for the service of the loan guaranteed by France; (2) the sum of two millions of piastres (1,200,000 fr.), the amount of his civil list; the surplus revenue being devoted to the expenses of the administration of the Regency and the reimbursement of the costs of the Protectorate.

“*Art. 4.*—The present arrangement confirms and completes, where needful, the Treaty of May 12, 1881. It shall not alter the provisions already agreed to as to the settlement of the war contributions.

“*Art. 5.*—The present Convention shall be submitted to the ratification of the Government of the French Republic.”

The Ratification Bill also contained a clause authorizing the Government, in case of need, to advance sums to the Bey at 4 per cent. interest, to be paid back within ten years from January 1, 1889, the total of these sums not to exceed 2,500,000 fr. per annum. Proceedings upon this Bill were not completed till the end of June, but that for the organization of the new Tribunals passed both Houses in March, and the Tribunals themselves were formally installed on April 24. They were intended to have present jurisdiction in cases between Frenchmen and natives in Tunis, and eventually between the Bey's subjects in their litigation with one another. Ultimately, it was understood, their action would also extend to foreigners; that is, when all the Powers had agreed to repeal the Capitulations. The long-standing question of the compensations due to foreigners settled at Sfax when the bombardment took place, was decided by a decree of the Bey published on May 7, and awarding various sums, to the amount of 1,447,854 fr.

The friendly offices of England as mediator in the quarrel between France and Madagascar were declined by the Government of M. Duclerc by a Note of January 24, but it was not until May 17 that news was received of the presence of a French fleet in Malagasy waters. It was explained that the fleet in question consisted only of a frigate, three corvettes, and a gunboat, under

the command of Rear-Admiral Lethière, and belonged to the ordinary naval station in the Indian Ocean; it was added, that Admiral Pierre, who was on board the frigate *Flore*, would replace Rear-Admiral Lethière, who was about to return to Europe. A significant paragraph, however, appeared in the *Temps* of May 18. "It is possible," said that journal, "that Admiral Pierre, after taking over the command, may present a Note to the Malagasy Government, asserting the rights of France on the north-western coast of the island; but we have reason to believe that the Note will not possess the character of an ultimatum." No one, therefore, was surprised when, at the Cabinet Council of May 25, the Minister of Marine communicated to his colleagues a telegram, dated Zanzibar, May 23, which contained most important intelligence from Madagascar. By that telegram Admiral Pierre, Commander of the French Naval Division in the Indian Seas, announced that he had commenced putting into execution the instructions which he had received from his Government. He informed the Cabinet that he had done away with all the military posts that the Hova Government had established on Sakalava territory, on the north-west coast of Madagascar, over which territory France claims to exercise her protectorate. The French Admiral also announced that he had seized the Custom House Station of Mayunga, which commands the road and river leading to Antananarivo. The Hova garrison occupying the Mayunga Station he described as having been driven out. On the 31st of the same month the *Flore*, carrying the flag of Admiral Pierre, arrived off Tamatave, and on the evening of June 1 an ultimatum was handed to the Governor of Tamatave, to be forwarded by him to the Prime Minister at Antananarivo, demanding:—

"1. The recognition of all rights the French claim in virtue of all treaties they have made with the Malagasy.

"2. The right to become proprietors of land.

"3. An indemnity of 1,000,000 fr. in payment of certain claims which have been made by French citizens."

The Malagasy reply to the French ultimatum was negative. It was communicated to the French Consul on Saturday the 9th, and on Sunday the 10th the French fleet, consisting of six vessels, opened fire on the fort, which lies at the base of the point on which the town is built. Soon after the firing commenced the Hovas were seen to evacuate their position, retreating in good order to the hills, and on June 14 the French flag was hoisted on the fort. By an official document, issued on the same day, Tamatave, and the adjacent territory occupied by the French, was declared by Admiral Pierre in a state of siege. Since this date a desultory warfare has been carried on, in which the chief incidents have been occasional night attacks by the Hovas, or the burning of villages by the French. Further details of the circumstances attending the capture of Tamatave were, however, communicated to the French Government by the Ambassador of England on July 10. According to this infor-

mation, Admiral Pierre, on June 22, had ordered the arrest of the Secretary of the British Consulate, one Adrianizza, a Hova by birth, on the charge of conniving with the enemy. Admiral Pierre was alleged to have ordered the British Consul, Mr. Pakenham, to leave the town within a specified time, and Mr. Pakenham, being ill, had died before the time expired. He was also alleged to have arrested Mr. Shaw, the agent of one of the Protestant missions at Antananarivo, and who wielded great influence there. Lastly, he was alleged to have prevented an English man-of-war, the *Dryad*, from communicating with the shore, in spite of the request of the captain, who, however, had confined himself to a verbal protest. This intelligence was received with the utmost incredulity by the French Government, and M. ChallemeLacour, in the Chamber of Deputies, on July 17, declared, in reply to M. Charmes, that he was "certain that Admiral Pierre had not ignored the considerations mutually incumbent upon two great civilised nations, nor forgotten the rules imposed by international relations." On an investigation, however, of the above allegations they were found to be correct, and an indemnity of 25,000 fr. was paid by the French Government to Mr. Shaw, and a despatch written containing a general expression of regret.

During the early months of the year the Tonquin question did not occupy a prominent place in French politics. After the publication of the semi-official note, in the *Liberté* (Dec. 27, 1882), respecting the measures intended by the Government, the matter was allowed to sleep until, on March 13, M. de Saint-Vallier put a question in the Senate to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the situation of the French colonies, and especially of Tonquin. In reply, M. ChallemeLacour said "as regarded the question of Tonquin, the Government had definite resolutions, which it would submit for the consideration of the Senate after the Easter vacation, in the form of a demand for a vote of credit. Referring to the clauses of the Treaty of 1874, he regretted that the Sovereign of Annam had violated the treaty, and recognised the suzerainty of China; and that he had permitted the persecution of French subjects, and encouraged brigandage. The Government was resolved to put an end to this state of things. The head of the expedition recently sent out had only received instructions to restore order and enforce respect for treaties; but he had been compelled to do more, in the presence of serious hostilities. What was now to be done? To withdraw was out of the question. Nor was a conquest of Tonquin contemplated; but it was necessary to pursue an energetic policy, lest what is said in China should be believed—viz., that the French occupation was temporary, and on the point of coming to an end."

The Bill was not laid on the table until May; it demanded the inscription in the ordinary Budget of 1883 of a supplementary credit of 5,500,000 fr. for the expedition to Tonquin. In the preamble it was stated that a "General Civil Commissary would be

placed at the head of the expedition, which would be charged to organise the Protectorate, and to insure the raising of the sums destined to defray the costs of French occupation." In the course of the debate on this credit (May 15), which was followed with languid attention, M. ChallemeL-Lacour stated that "since Commandant Rivière had seized the fortress of Hanoi, he had been constrained to resume action, but that the French garrisons were now safe." A second clause, added to the Bill by the Chamber, and stipulating for the establishing by law a Civil Commissaryship, was struck out when the credit passed the Senate (May 24), but the Government acted on the recommendation, and on June 13 M. Harmand was gazetted Civil Commissary-General in Tonquin. But on the very day on which the Tonquin credit was voted, disastrous tidings had reached the Government. Commandant Rivière had been forced, by the attacks of the Black Flags, to make a sortie from Hanoi; he was accompanied by only 150 men, the bulk of his force, numbering some 400, having been left in the citadel. With this handful of men he met the enemy on ground covered with a bamboo thicket from the shelter of which the Annamites shot down Rivière and his troops. On June 3 the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave detailed explanations, in the Senate, as to the measures which Government then thought it necessary to take. Three ironclads had sailed from Quiberon, Brest, and Corfu, to be followed by other vessels; reinforcements had been sent up to Tonquin by the Governor of Cochin China, and several companies had also been despatched from New Caledonia. At the beginning of July it was hoped that forces would be on the spot of a sufficiently imposing character to provide for every emergency. M. ChallemeL-Lacour then proceeded to deal with the Bourée Treaty, and the relations between France and China. He pointed out that M. Bourée had never been authorised by the Home Government to enter into any negotiations with the Chinese Government, that he had never applied for such authorisation, and had acted spontaneously and precipitately, so much so that the Viceroy of Pe Tchi Li, with whom the negotiations were carried on, expressed a doubt as to whether he had the requisite powers to treat or were anything but a mere *éclairneur*. M. Bourée appeared to have acted under the impression that in October or November, 1882, a war between France and China respecting Tonquin was inevitable, and he took upon himself, without instructions or authorisation, to prevent it. . . . The document which had then been drawn up by M. Bourée was not a Treaty or a Convention, but merely the draft of a Convention or a kind of memorandum. Its conditions were utterly unacceptable. The whole document was at variance with the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of 1874. It was on these grounds that the arrangement made by M. Bourée had been disavowed, and that he himself had been recalled. . . . In conclusion, M. ChallemeL-Lacour denied there was any reason to apprehend war with China, and

emphatically affirmed that Tonquin was "outside the frontiers of the Chinese Empire." Never were the vicissitudes of French foreign policy more strikingly illustrated; both M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire and M. Gambetta had recognised the right of China to concern herself in the affairs of Tonquin; M. de Freycinet had insisted that they did not regard her; M. Duclerc had, it was asserted, sent M. Bourée to Peking, and M. Bourée was now disavowed by M. Challemeil-Lacour, who, however, entrusted a mission to M. Tricou, which had no meaning unless the suzerainty of China in Annam were a fact to be taken into consideration in settling the points in dispute. Meanwhile some doubt appeared to exist as to whether France were really at war, even with Annam. On July 22, in reply to the Duc de Broglie, the Minister for Foreign Affairs said:—"The Government of Annam, the Emperor Tu Duc, has never declared war against us; but I take the liberty to observe, that the Duc de Broglie seems not to know how difficult it is to be certain whether we are at war with the Annamites, or even with the Chinese. We have not declared war against Annam."

The Duc de Broglie: "That is all I wanted to know."

M. Challemeil-Lacour: "The Duc de Broglie seems satisfied, and I might sit down; but I am not satisfied. I should be insincere towards the Senate, the country, and myself, if I did not add something. No, we are not yet in a state of declared war with Annam. We neither desire the destruction of that Empire nor its dynasty. Neither has Annam ever protested against the treaty of which we demand the fulfilment. But I should deceive you if I were not to say that the facts taken altogether, the language of Annam, and the conduct of Annam, the attitude of the Chinese Government and its Ambassadors, oblige us to believe that in reality we are in a state of war with Annam. There is no war declared, but there is open war. It is but too clear, from the admissions of the Chinese Government and its diplomatists, that the Chinese and Annamite bands, whether under black or yellow flags, are paid by the Annamite Empire. What matters whether we are at war with adventurers or with a Government which supports and pays them?"

For a moment, however, the war in Tonquin, whether "declared" or "open," seemed likely to come to an end. On August 25 the preliminaries of a Treaty were signed at Hué between France and Annam. The conditions were:—1. Full and entire recognition of the French Protectorate over Annam and Tonquin; 2. The definitive annexation of the province of Binh-Thuan to French Cochina; 3. Occupation by the French troops of the forts of Jhuan-An (at the mouth of the river of Hué); 4. The immediate recall of the Annamite troops from Tonquin; 5. That all mandarins should be ordered to take up their posts; 6. Confirmation of all nominations made by French authority; 7. France undertook to expel from Tonquin the bands known as the "Black Flags," and to ensure freedom of trade. This Treaty

contained provisions certain to be unacceptable to China, and the negotiations pending between that Power and France have led to no result.

The Yellow Book on China and Tonquin, issued when the Chambers reassembled on October 23, contained the Chinese reply to the last French memorandum under date of the 16th. The Marquess Tseng stated "that the French proposals were inconsistent with the interests of China in Annam . . . In the absence of the old arrangements, by which the King of Annam was independent (as previous to 1876) of any power but the Emperor of China, no other would be accepted which did not give China exclusive control over the Red River." But China, he added, was prepared to open that river for commerce to all nations having treaties with the Empire.

The French continued to make good their advance, and when the report on the Tonquin credit was presented to the Chamber (Dec. 2), it was announced that the Government, in accord with the military chiefs and Civil Commissioner (M. Harmand) at Tonquin, were convinced of the necessity, if France wished to keep the land conquered, and turn the delta of the Red River into a sort of intrenched camp by taking possession of Sontay, Bacninh, and Hong-Hoa, of at once raising the number of land troops in Tonquin to 8,000, at least. The question of their sufficiency the committee on the report left to Admiral Courbet. The report further declared that "nothing irreparable had as yet taken place between France and China." The Government had, it declared, promised that if further increase were necessary the matter should be laid before Parliament, but it was hoped that with the 5,300,000 fr. voted last May, and the 9,000,000 fr. now solicited, it would be able to meet all expenses up to January 1, 1884. These two credits, however, did not comprise the sums necessary for the restoration of the *matériel* supplied by the naval and artillery services to the expedition, estimated at 3,000,000 fr. If these sums did not figure in the present Bill, it was because it only applied to the expenditure which must be charged on the Budget of 1882, and the contracts this restoration of the *matériel* implied could not be made soon enough for the expenditure thereby entailed to figure in the present year's estimates. This credit was adopted on December 10, by 381 to 146, after a stormy debate, at the close of which various orders of the day were submitted. That of M. Paul Bert, which was accepted by the Cabinet, was as follows: "The Chamber, convinced that the Government will display all the necessary energy in defending in Tonquin the rights and honour of France, passes to the order of the day." This was put to the vote, and carried by 375 to 206, the minority consisting of the entire Right and Extreme Left, with a portion of the Radical Left. When the credit of 20,000,000 fr., intended to cover the expenses of the expedition during the first six months of 1884, came before



the Chamber a few days later (Dec. 16) it was accompanied by a prefatory statement, which, after explaining that the 9,000,000 fr. just voted, coupled with the 5,898,000 fr. previously accorded, were required for the present year, and that next year's estimates assigned only 614,000 fr. for Tonquin, said:—"The agitation announced at Hué, and the news of the assassination of King Hiep Hoa, which is not yet officially confirmed, yet is unfortunately but too probable, enforce on us an extreme vigilance in the direction of Annam. It is necessary to reinforce the garrisons of the towns occupied by us, while maintaining a sufficient effective for the expeditionary force. We have therefore to send to Tonquin considerable reinforcements, which will be placed under the orders of a general of division commanding in chief. We shall thus, moreover, be merely conforming to the mission given us by the Chamber of displaying all the requisite energy for defending in Tonquin the rights and honour of France. In these circumstances, we ask for a credit of 17,000,000 fr., and to this should be added a sum of 3,000,000 fr., representing the value of the deliveries which were made in 1883 by the naval construction and artillery departments, and which cannot be replaced till 1884, as shown in a note to the Bill of November 8 last—total, 20,000,000 fr."

This credit, also, was promptly voted by 312 to 180, and in the Senate both were carried almost unanimously. On the very day on which they were taken (Dec. 20) the telegram, announcing the capture of Sontay by the French troops under Admiral Courbet, reached Paris. It was read by M. Ferry—who had taken over the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, on the retirement, through ill health, of M. Challemeil-Lacour—in the speech by which he wound up the debate, with great effect. The first credit was then adopted by 211 to 7; and the second, after a few words from the Bonapartist Marshal Canrobert, who declared the country's honour to be at stake, but desired a plan of conciliation, was carried by 215 to 6. The bulk of the Reactionaries did not vote at all. The last news of the year, which reached Paris at the close of the month, was that M. Tricou had arrived at Hué, and was there engaged with M. Champeaux in revising the Treaty concluded on August 25. The Chinese Government was also, so it was said, about to make new proposals.

French finances, during 1883, presented the same unsatisfactory features as in 1882. Intoxicated by the surplus revenues of 1880 and 1881, the Chamber had run up expenditure and remitted taxes, as if it could count on the surplus of every year being superior to that which had gone before it. Not even the critical statements elicited during the debates on the Extraordinary Budget for 1883 (Dec. 1882) seemed to have much effect in enlightening the body of the Deputies. When the Conversion Bill came before the Chamber in April, M. Ferry was obliged energetically to combat an amendment for devoting the 34,000,000 fr. expected to be saved by conversion to the relief of agriculture. He deprecated

the reduction of the land tax as premature, whilst admitting the desirability of considering the reduction of conveyancing duties, and of the adoption by the State of part of the cost of local roads; but, he added, "as regarded the Budget of 1884, the Chamber must reflect that the policy of unlimited public works was incompatible with remissions of taxation." "If," said M. Ferry, "the Chamber would make up its mind to say, 'Better relieve agriculture this year than multiply railways,' then it would approach the solution of the difficulty which was crippling French finance." When the Bill came before the Senate, M. Chesnelong urged that "unless M. de Freycinet's plan of public works was abandoned, there was no prospect of an improvement in the financial situation." M. Tirard, in reply, was forced to acknowledge that of "late years they had been going too fast; the Budget of 1882 was in deficit, and the Budget of 1883 would be in the same situation." He, however, denied that a loan was imminent. "In 1883," he said, "there would be no loan . . . As for 1884, money must be borrowed for the extraordinary works, as had been always understood." But, when the Extraordinary Estimates for 1884 were laid on the table (Aug. 1) it was found that it was intended to apply 36,000,000 fr. of the loan of 300,000,000 fr. Redeemable Three-per-cents to covering the deficit of the Extraordinary Budget for 1883. Of the remaining 264,000,000 fr.; 140,000,000 fr. were to be expended on canals; 110,000,000 fr. on war material and fortifications; 11,000,000 fr. on naval improvements and military posts; and 3,000,000 fr. on subterranean telegraphs. The interest and redemption of the whole to be covered by a charge levied on the Ordinary Budget. When the Extraordinary Budget came to be taken by the Chamber, in November, almost the only point at issue between the committee, of which Mr. Rouvier was the reporter, and M. Tirard, was as to the amount which should be devoted to this purpose. "There was," M. Rouvier contended, "no real deficit. The whole difficulty lay in this matter of the sinking fund. The system proposed by the committee would produce a better effect on the public mind than M. Tirard's, inasmuch as it removed the prevalent, but, as he believed, unwarranted apprehensions of a deficit . . . As regarded the Public Works Estimate, he defended the expenditure incurred. In four years railways had been constructed on which two milliards had been expended, and this expenditure had caused an annual charge on the country of not more than 54,000,000 fr. These railways might remain some time unproductive, but there could be no doubt that they would bring life and prosperity to the districts they traversed . . . Their construction was a democratic duty." M. Rouvier, in the name of the committee, maintained that deficits only existed because the Government persisted in redeeming debt, whilst they were adding largely to it. This was the contention also of M. Tirard; but, less logical than M. Rouvier, he refused to agree to

the reduction of redemption urged by the committee. On this point the whole discussion turned. The reduction proposed by the committee was rejected on December 1 by 287 to 183, and on the 20th the whole budget was disposed of. By the narrow majority of 237 to 218, an amendment was adopted ordering a valuation of landed property as regards the land tax to be made at the expense of the departments; and by 221 to 218 it was also resolved that land ceasing to be agricultural and becoming devoted to manufactures or commerce should be taxed as houses.

The Army Estimates, passed (Dec. 6) after a short general discussion, in the course of which General Campenon, who had succeeded General Thibaudin as Minister of War, dwelt on the necessity of prudence in matters of change, and of proceeding experimentally. He remarked that 8,000,000 fr. had been saved in the Estimates, but hoped that the state of the revenue would not necessitate this deduction another year. The Budget of the Ministry of Marine also passed without much comment, Vice-Admiral Peyron pointing out the importance of torpedo vessels, the construction of which had been pressed forward by his predecessor, Admiral Jauréguiboury, added that the department would not lay down any large war vessels next year, and declared that an expenditure of 60,000,000 fr. must be incurred for the artillery necessary for the fleet and the coast defences. A lively discussion arose, as usual, over the Budget of Public Worship, which gave rise to the regular series of declarations. MM. Lockroy and Clémenceau, as representatives of the school of radical measures, refusing to sanction the Concordat, and wishing to reject the Budget; whilst M. Paul Bert, standing for Radicalism with a future, accepted the Concordat as a treaty to be denounced by-and-bye, and meanwhile determined to use it in order to put the Government screw on the clergy; whilst the Cabinet defended the *status quo* as leaving little to be desired. Certain payments to the clergy were struck out, and the stipend of the Archbishop of Paris was reduced, but these items were re-inserted by the Senate. The Budget was not sent to the Upper House until the closing days of December, and a considerable body of the Reactionaries announced their intention of abstaining from taking part in the proceedings on the ground that sufficient time had not been given for consideration. But it was understood that if the Senate would sacrifice its pride, and vote the Budget with sufficient rapidity, the Chamber of Deputies might be induced to accept the Senatorial amendments. This was done (Dec. 29), after a powerful appeal by M. Ferry. "The Senate," he said, "has sacrificed its scruples, and patriotically voted the Budget, heedless of epigrams, and the Chamber will meet this sacrifice by making a lesser one." The Premier concluded his speech by the important declaration that the "new year would be a year of constitutional reforms." The Budget was then voted.

The revenue returns for eleven months of 1883 showed at the

beginning of December a deficit of 55,110,000 fr. The items of taxation to which the great bulk of this deficit was due were registration and stamp duties. Registration showed a diminution as compared with the estimates of 42,900,000 fr., and stamps 3,300,000 fr. Customs duties also showed considerable shortcomings; but the duties on home consumption—excise profits on state monopolies, &c., showed an increase of 10,690,000 fr. These figures, however, do not show a real diminution in the yield of these sources of revenue; they are shortcomings as regards the estimate, for more revenue was expected, and expenditure was adjusted according to the higher estimate. What the figures show is not that revenue is diminishing, but that the estimate was wrong. The returns of the present year, as compared with 1882, give an increase of 33,908,000 fr. If registration duties have not yielded so much as last year by 9,900,000 fr., customs duties have produced 10,400,000 fr. more; home duties 23,400,000 fr., and sugar—an article singled out from the mass of taxed articles in the French returns which, as compared with the estimate, yielded 13,400,000 fr. less—yields, as compared with last year, 3,200,000 fr. of increase. The postal service, which has also exceeded the estimate, yields an increase of 6,347,000 fr. From these figures it will be seen that M. Tirard's description of the position of affairs is not without justification, though his assertion that there is no real deficit can hardly be called a correct statement of the situation.

The Finance Minister has endeavoured to meet his difficulties by retrenchment. He has reduced the interest on the Five-per-cent. Debt, and he has concluded conventions with the great railway companies, by which the latter have engaged to construct the lines included in the Freycinet scheme. The convention signed in May between the Government and the Paris, Lyons, and Mediterranean Company was intended to serve as a model for similar conventions, to be concluded between the Northern Railway and the other great companies of France and the State. It stipulated for the concession to the company of new lines comprised in M. de Freycinet's scheme of public works, the total length of which amounted to about two thousand kilometres. The capital for construction is to be raised by the company, which was authorised to issue Three-per-cent. debentures. In addition to the relief thus to be obtained, M. Tirard has reduced the public works expenditure by one-half, to that extent diminishing the growth of the debt. Several of the estimates in the Budget for 1884 have also, as has been stated, been reduced. But it is contended that all his retrenchments are insufficient. It is asserted that the revenue will not exceed 119½ millions sterling, and consequently there will still be a deficit of over 1,600,000l. This deficit is foreseen, without taking into account the supplementary estimates, and, above all, without taking into account the expenses of the Tonquin expedition. It is therefore maintained that the

present financial situation in France is this: the largest debt in the world, growing rapidly; and unmanageable floating debt, a constantly increasing expenditure; and, on the whole, a slackening yield of taxes and recurring deficits of indefinitely large amounts.

## II. ITALY.

The first important event of the year in Italy was the signature by the King, on March 1, of the decree for the resumption of specie payments. These payments were to commence on April 12, and on the 8th of that month Signor Magliani made his Budget statement in the Chamber of Deputies. He began with the triumphant announcement that last year's surplus, which he had estimated at 7,000,000 lire, had exceeded 12,000,000 lire, and he added, that had it not been for the expenditure entailed by the inundations in Venetia, *i.e.* some 30,000,000 lire, the surplus would have amounted to upwards of 40,000,000 lire. This large surplus was to be mainly accounted for by an increase of 24,000,000 lire in the year's revenue, and by economies effected in the public administration to the amount of 12,000,000 lire. The ordinary receipts during the last five years had increased at the average rate of 21,000,000 lire each year, and the Government had been able to dispense with the issue of new Rente to the amount of 96,000,000 lire, which had already been sanctioned by Parliament. Signor Magliani ascribed the progressive financial improvement which these figures indicated to the economic progress of the nation. The commerce of the country was, he declared, constantly growing, and had increased in the last ten years by 500,000,000 lire, while the difference between the value of the imports and exports had fallen, in the same term of years, from 233,000,000 to 76,000,000 lire. He emphatically repudiated Protectionist theories and doctrines, but he believed and hoped that wise legislation would succeed in developing national resources. The Budget for 1883-84, said the speaker, would therefore close with a surplus, "no recourse being had to those extraordinary resources which Parliament had authorized;" and he added, that he had "full confidence that the Budget equilibrium would be maintained in the following year in spite of the final abolition of the Grist Tax." Referring to the resumption of specie payments, Signor Magliani said the arrangements which had paved the way for the operation had been successful, and he specially and warmly praised the conduct of the English firms which had been engaged in it. After laying on the table the report on the results of the Metallic Loan, the Finance Minister proceeded to sketch the Budget of 1884; he enumerated the sources of revenue by which the Exchequer was to be compensated for the loss of the Grist Tax, and pointed out the need for a revision by the House of the Customs Tariff. In conclusion, he again repeated that the financial position of the country

was very good, and that the Budget equilibrium could be maintained—if expenditure was carefully restricted—without issuing fresh Rente or otherwise drawing on extraordinary resources.

In connection with this eloquent and hopeful statement, it is necessary to note that the statistics published in the preceding February by the Ministry of Finance do not seem fully to warrant Signor Magliani's description of the progressive growth of Italian commerce. According to the report for 1882, Italian exports amounted to 1,155,570,000 lire, showing a decrease of 36,752,000 lire as compared with the preceding year. On the other hand, there has been an increase of 14,369,000 lire in the value of goods imported, namely, 1,346,380,000 lire, the largest amount, by more than fourteen millions, that Italy has ever imported in a given year. Here, however, we must note that the unusual quantity of gold and silver coin which figures in the category of metals has contributed materially in raising the total value of the imports. The gold coin imported in 1880 was only 9,000,000 lire, and the silver coin 23,500,000 lire; while in 1881 the gold coin imported amounted to 71,500,000 lire, and in 1882 to 62,000,000 lire; and as regards silver, 23,500,000 lire were imported in 1880, 18,000,000 lire in 1881, and 54,500,000 in 1882. The decrease in exports may probably be accounted for in a similar way, for the quantity of gold coin sent out of Italy, which amounted to 7,500,000 lire in 1880, and to nearly 20,000,000 lire in 1881, fell last year to only 970,300 lire; and the quantity of silver coin exported fell from 12,250,000 lire in 1880 to 7,250,000 lire in 1881, and to a little under 3,000,000 lire in 1882.

The only class showing any noticeable improvement in the exports is, indeed, that of cattle and animal products, which appears to show a total increase of about 47,000,000 lire. Woollen goods, silk, and wine all show a considerably decreased exportation, the single item of wine having decreased by nearly 18,000,000 lire.

The *Opinione*, the organ of the old Right, drew attention also to the fact that while the Rente payable on the Consolidated Debt in 1876, when Sella had accomplished an equilibrium for the first time between revenue and expenditure, amounted to 365,389,000 lire, and on the Redeemable Debt to 50,642,000 lire, making a total of a little over 416,000,000 lire, representing a nominal capital altogether of 8,455,896,000 lire—the country is now, in 1882, burdened with the annual payment of nearly 441,000,000 lire interest on the Consolidated Debt and 40,703,000 lire on the Redeemable Debt, representing together a nominal capital of 9,846,759,000 lire, and showing an increased indebtedness since 1876 of 1,390,863,000 lire. “This increased debt,” said the *Opinione*, “contracted in the seven years since 1876, when the equilibrium was attained, is a matter we submit to the consideration of all who occupy themselves with finance; and it is for them to draw their own conclusions, both political and economical, from the fact.” The question, however, remains, Has the money been wisely employed in the

development of Italian resources, and is it producing a return which makes the burden worth bearing?

The general impression made by the Finance Minister's statement was, however, so favourable as to make it impossible for the Opposition to join issue with the Government on financial questions. A vigorous, but fruitless, attack had been made on their foreign policy in the course of the debate on the Foreign Office Estimates in March previous. It was led by Signor Minghetti, who was ably seconded by Signor Sidney Sonnino. Both speakers blamed Signor Mancini, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the whole Cabinet, for having refused the invitation of England to co-operate with her in the re-establishment of order in Egypt, and for having thereby lost a great opportunity of strengthening the position of Italy in Europe. Signor Minghetti, whose speech embodied the opinions of the men of Cavour's day, set forth by one of the most thoughtful and accomplished of Italy's living statesmen, stated that just as the events of 1879-80 had diminished the influence of Italy in Egypt, so the events of 1881-2 had offered the opportunity of restoring it. He asserted that the invitation of England "had been rejected the very day it was made, without, it might be said, reflection—without foreseeing the consequences." In conclusion, Signor Minghetti read Sir Augustus Paget's report to Lord Granville of some explanations which Baron Blanc (then Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs) had given him on October 27, 1882, to the effect that the Italian Government was not jealous of the preponderating influence of England in Egypt, and that it was confident the interests of Italy in that country would never suffer in the hands of England. That this language might not be supposed to have been adopted because of English success Baron Blanc had appealed to the Ambassador as to whether he had not always spoken in the same sense, and said that he knew his sentiments were also those of Signor Mancini, and that the policy which had been settled was to complete the alliance with Austria and Germany by one with England. "If such a policy," added Signor Minghetti, "was followed with firmness and ability, he should be glad to give the Minister for Foreign Affairs his support." Signor Mancini, in reply, first touched on other points which had been raised in the course of the debate condemning *Irredenta* demonstrations; and, in reference to the bombs which were exploded in front of the Austrian Embassy at Rome on February 27, he added—"disgraceful insults to a friendly nation represent neither a theory nor a principle." As regarded Tunisian affairs, negotiations were, he said, pending to obtain a treatment for Italy corresponding to the position she had there acquired by treaties. Italy had declared that, when she clearly understood the laws that were to regulate Italian interests, she would take into consideration the proposal to concede to France the exercise of the Consulate jurisdiction created by the capitulations. The Treaty of Commerce and the choice of new Ambassadors proved that a

better understanding had been established with France. Signor Mancini then examined at great length the accusations directed against the attitude assumed by Italy in the Egyptian question. "Italy," he said, "had not given a categorical refusal to England's invitation. Her refusal had not been absolute, for the Government had reserved their final reply till they should have seen the results of the conference." Public opinion in Italy was against an armed intervention. Austria and Germany had not given their consent; and further, "the deliberations of the Government were not a little influenced by the knowledge that France also would have intervened had the Italian flag floated alongside the English. . . . The duration and expense of the expedition it would have been impossible to foresee, and the financial and economic programme of the Government would have been upset without adequate compensation." Signor Mancini next gave details as to the losses suffered by Italians in Egypt, the Sfax affair, and the insult to the Italian Consul at Tripoli, stating that the satisfaction which Italy had demanded had been given. He presented Green-Books relating to the Turco-Greek dispute, the demand for reparation for the massacre at Beitul, and the recent incident at Tripoli. In conclusion, he demanded, amidst much cheering, an explicit vote of confidence; but at the close of the discussion on the following day the evident feeling of the Chamber rendered any challenging of opinion superfluous, and the debate ended without any ~~one~~ being taken on that point. It was, however, clear to all observers that the struggle was only averted, and could not be long delayed: it was also thought that when it came it would present new features, and lead, perhaps, to a reshaping of the constituent elements in Italian politics. The political situation of the country had been much changed by recent electoral legislation. Its full effects were not yet evident, but it was clear that the extension of the suffrage had led to increased activity on the part of the extreme Radicals, and thus intensified the opposition made by those whose tendencies were of a Conservative character. The Premier, a man of great astuteness, would certainly not be the last to detect the growing force of Conservative feeling in the Chamber and in the country: it gradually became clear that he was drawing closer to the Right, that the position of the more Liberal members of his Cabinet was daily more uneasy, and that there was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction spreading in the ranks of his old supporters in the Extreme Left.

On May 11, Signor Depretis spoke at length in defence of the severely repressive policy with which he had been charged in respect of political agitation. "Our Government," he said, "like that of other countries, has become very difficult. Facts demonstrate that when we desire to push reforms too far, mischief ensues; it then becomes necessary to turn back. It is better, therefore, to advance at a more moderate rate." This statement was felt to be a direct challenge to the Radicals. Signor Nicotera



at once met it by a motion implying want of confidence in the Government; it was understood that the long-expected moment had come, and that the debate on this motion would determine the lines of division in the Chamber for the future. The debate, which occupied a whole week, opened on May 12, and on the very first day Signor Minghetti, the ex-chief of the Conservative Ministry, and the leader of the Conservative Opposition, expressed his "unreserved" intention of coalescing with Signor Depretis, and of supporting him in his recently developed policy of resistance to the Radical advance. The Premier himself, assured of the support of his ancient opponents of the Right, as well as of that of the Conservative elements in his own party, took up an uncompromising attitude. He said, he would not be contented with any doubtful vote, and would be neither a tolerated nor an absolved minister. He had no desire to remain in office unless the country had need of him. In reference to the accusations of the Radical party as to his severity in repressing agitation, he instanced the condition of Europe. Everywhere, declared Signor Depretis, vigorous measures of repression were required. The line taken by Signor Depretis was hotly followed by Signor Mancini, who, in allusion to the alliance between the Cabinet and the Opposition, asserted that "if new friends had joined the Ministerial ranks, the Government could only rejoice; it was a victory for their party and its illustrious chief, Depretis." The Minister of Public Works, Signor Baccarini, and the Minister of Justice, Signor Zanardelli, on the other hand, made speeches towards the close of the debate in strong opposition to the declarations and policy of Signor Depretis and the rest of the Cabinet. It was clear that these two Ministers had resolved to unite with the Extreme Left, and with the leaders of the so-called "Historic" Left, such as Crispi, Cairoli, and Nicotera; but it was also clear that their combined efforts to detach Depretis from his new Conservative supporters, and to keep power in the hands of the Liberal party, were doomed to be defeated. The vote taken was twofold. First, on an amendment hostile to the Premier, there were present 410 Deputies, and the votes given numbered 355—against the amendment 301, in its favour 54. Next, an amendment expressing full confidence in the Cabinet was put to the vote; at this were present 382—in favour 348, against 29, neutral 4. The leaders of the party hostile to the present policy of Signor Depretis left the Chamber with their friends after the first vote. Thus ended the most important debate heard in the Italian Chamber since the Right left power, and which has fixed the direction and tendencies of the Conservative reaction which has set in over Italy. The Ministers of Justice and of Public Works decided to offer their resignations, and the Cabinet was reconstructed a few days later by the Premier. Signor Zanardelli was replaced as Minister of Justice by Senator Giannuzzi Savelli, President of the Court of Appeal, a Neapolitan whose character has always stood high as a magistrate; the portfolio of Public Works was accepted by Signor Genala, a Deputy

best known for the moderation of his views and his competence in railway matters.

The conduct of the Right in thus coming to the support of Depretis was, undoubtedly, popular in the country, but especially in North Italy; and Signor Minghetti, going down to Bologna immediately after the division, was received with demonstrations of great enthusiasm. The results of the municipal elections, which took place in the second week in June, were also in the highest degree significant, as showing the increasing influence which the Clerical and Conservative party are gaining, almost everywhere, by their compact organisation and discipline. The Liberals, on the other hand, undismayed by the check which they had received in Parliament, were bent on the work of re-forming their broken ranks. On November 18, Signor Crispi delivered an address at Palermo, at which it is said 10,000 people were present. He announced that the party had been re-organised, with the two-fold object of opposing the present Government, and of carrying into execution its old political programme, but, whilst condemning their conduct of home affairs, he also declared his complete approval of the foreign policy of those in power. These were the lines indicated also by the speakers at the great political banquet given at Naples the night (Nov. 26) before the Chambers resumed their sittings after the summer recess, and at which all the leaders of the Liberals in opposition came together. Seven ex-Secretaries-General and over eighty Deputies were present to meet the ex-Ministers, Cairoli, Zanardelli, Baccarini, Nicotera, Crispi, and Doda. The speakers all condemned the transformation of policy by which the present Premier has succeeded in obtaining support from the Right, whilst holding on to the Left. Signor Cairoli expressed his deep regret that the Government found nothing but indulgence for the clerical party whilst laying a heavy hand upon the Radicals; but he spoke with satisfaction of the relations with Germany and Austria which Depretis had fostered; and his declarations on this head were confirmed by Signor Zanardelli, who, addressing himself chiefly to questions of internal reforms, added that the whole country desired that a close agreement should be maintained between Italy and the powers of Central Europe. This banquet would seem to prove that the Left has succeeded in reconstituting itself on a sufficiently strong basis to make a formidable party in the Chamber; but it now remains to be seen whether past experience has taught the Liberal leaders how to hold together. The first trial of strength was at the election, on November 29, of the Secretaries of the Chamber, which resulted in a Ministerial triumph, for the Government candidates for these and other parliamentary posts were returned by a majority of eighty. Nor have the Left reason to congratulate themselves on the only incident which has since that date attracted public attention to their leaders. On December 6, Signor Nicotera meeting Signor Lovito, Secretary-General of the Interior, in the lobby, said to him, "I will not strike you, but I spit on you," and

thereupon spat in his face. The reasons given by Signor Nicotera for this conduct were that during last election he had been made the object of a scurrilous libel by one Calabritto. He intended to let the matter drop, but had, within a few days, received information that Calabritto had been (presumably for the attack on himself) created a Knight of the Crown of Italy by Signor Depretis, on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior; and further, that the father of Calabritto had been appointed to a Government post of 3,000 lire a year. His first intention, Signor Nicotera declared, had been to insult Signor Baccelli, but chance had placed Signor Lovito in his way. A duel with swords was fought, in the fields behind the Castle of St. Angelo, on the following morning, between Signor Nicotera and the aggrieved Chief Secretary; both were more or less severely wounded, and both were formally censured by the House. An officious statement was also made in the columns of the *Stampa*, to the effect that the "present Cabinet" did not decorate Calabritto. It will, however, be remembered that, strictly speaking, the present Cabinet only came into existence last May. Authority was demanded by the Public Prosecutor to proceed against Signor Nicotera for his assault on a public functionary, and against both Signor Nicotera and Lovito for having engaged in a duel.

On the same day that this application came before the Chamber, it also adopted, by a large majority, the motion to pass to the discussion of Signor Baccelli's University Reform Bill. The motion approved formally of the chief principles of the Bill, which embodied the most important measure of domestic reform taken into consideration since the two Houses reassembled. It provides, by a series of new laws, for giving the Italian Universities a complete autonomy, for leaving secondary education entirely in the hands of the provincial administrations, and reserving to the State full control of primary education. An attempt was made (Dec. 16) to attack Signor Mancini, in reference to the delay in presenting a Bill in connection with the settlement of Assab; but he declared that it would be laid on the table in January, 1884, and that he intended to provide for periodic communication between Assab, Aden, and the mother country. The foreign policy of this Minister, and the persistency with which he has sought the German alliance, received the most flattering encouragement from the visit paid to Rome, on December 17, by the Crown Prince of Germany; but the visit from the Emperor of Austria, which he was as anxious to pay as the King of Italy was to receive, and which Germany greatly desired to see arranged, has remained impossible. The Sovereigns of a Catholic country cannot go to Rome without formally visiting the Pope; the Pope refuses to receive the Emperor, who must needs be the guest of the King of Italy; and the King of Italy cannot receive the Emperor in any other city, since such an act might seem to imply a wavering in the determination to hold Rome as the capital of Italy.

## CHAPTER II.

## GERMANY.

DURING the first half of the year, public attention was almost entirely absorbed in Germany by the question of the relations between the State and the Roman Catholic Church. Towards the end of January, a letter addressed by the German Emperor to the Pope on December 22, 1883, was published at Berlin, suggesting in very conciliatory terms that if the Vatican would agree to the names of the clergy being submitted to the Prussian Government before they enter on their benefices, steps would be taken for modifying the Ecclesiastical Laws in other respects. This at once produced a marked effect on the conduct of the Ultramontane members, both in the German and in the Prussian Parliament: they withdrew certain obstructive motions of which they had given notice, and for a time ceased their bitter opposition to the Government. On January 30, the Pope answered the Emperor's letter, accepting for the Roman Catholic clergy in Prussia the duty of notifying ecclesiastical appointments to the Government before they are carried out. This produced great indignation among the Prussian Ultramontanes, who did not expect what seemed so unconditional a surrender, and they resumed their old policy of uncompromising opposition. In the debate in the Prussian Chamber (Feb. 21) on the estimates of the Ministry of Public Worship, Herr Windthorst declared that the Government did not desire peace with the Vatican, although the Emperor was in favour of it himself, and demanded that the schools should be placed under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. No such demand, however, was contained in the note from Cardinal Jacobini to Dr. Von Schlözer (dated Feb. 19) which followed the Pope's letter; the only conditions laid down in that note being that the new Bill to be introduced by the Government should afford sufficient guarantees for "the free exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction," and "freedom in regard to the training and education of the clergy," and that the notification of ecclesiastical appointments to existing vacancies should only take place upon the Bill being passed by the Prussian Chamber, the introduction of rules with regard to the notification of such appointments being made dependent on further modifications of the Ecclesiastical Laws. At the same time it was evident that neither side was disposed to make concessions without a *quid pro quo*. The Prussian Government, anxious to propitiate a Church to which obedience in spiritual matters is professed by a third of its subjects, and to gain over to its side a corresponding number of deputies of the "Centre" party in Parliament, naturally sought to obtain some guarantee that its efforts in this direction would achieve that object; while the

Vatican skilfully evaded making any pledges, and left Prince Bismarck in the dark as to its intentions. On February 22, Herr von Gossler, the Minister of Public Worship, in a speech made in the House on the subject, seemed inclined altogether to reject Cardinal Jacobini's proposal, and declared the duty of notifying ecclesiastical appointments to the State authorities to be "the gist of the whole present situation." Notwithstanding this, Dr. Von Schlözer, in a note to Cardinal Jacobini, dated May 5, treated this point as one of subsidiary importance. He stated that the Government merely regarded it as a point of honour that the Vatican should sanction the notification of ecclesiastical appointments in Prussia in the same way as it had done in other States; adding that his Government would be prepared to limit such notifications to the appointments of beneficed clergy, vicars, vicars-general, and deans. Cardinal Jacobini, however, adhered to his former proposal; and the result was that a Bill was introduced (June 11) in the Prussian Parliament, which went much further than any of the concessions which had been previously promised. Under this Bill the obligation of notifying appointments was limited to permanent appointments bestowed upon ordained priests, and the faculty of exercising spiritual functions was extended to all the sees in the kingdom; while questions relating to ecclesiastical offices, the appointment of teachers in ecclesiastical training colleges, and the exercise of episcopal rights in vacant sees were transferred from the Ecclesiastical Courts to the Minister of Public Worship, whose interest it is to cultivate the goodwill of the hierarchy. The Bill passed, the Liberals only voting against it. But the Vatican was still not satisfied, and Cardinal Jacobini, in a note dated July 20, simply repeated his former declaration, that the consent of the Holy See to the notification of ecclesiastical appointments, even within the limits laid down by the new law, must depend upon the Church being granted entire liberty as to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the education of the clergy. Matters remained at this stage until December, when the Prussian Government made further concessions to the Holy See, by re-installing the Bishop of Limburg, one of the most strenuous opponents of the Falk Laws, and resuming the payment of the State contributions for the maintenance of Roman Catholic priests and bishoprics in the dioceses of Culm, Ermland, and Hildesheim, which had been suspended during the Kulturkampf. All this showed that in the long struggle between Prussia and the Vatican the latter had triumphed; and the reconciliation was proved to the world by the visit of the German Crown Prince to the Pope, which the indignant Progressists described as a second "journey to Canossa."

In the German Parliament, the principal Bills passed during the first half of the year were, the Budgets for the years 1883-4 and 1884-5; the Working Men's Insurance Bill; the literary and commercial Conventions with France and Italy respectively; and the bill for the reduction of the bounty on exported beetroot sugar. On the

question of the Biennial Budget, which was known to be a favourite project of Prince Bismarck's, the Reichstag had hitherto proved obdurate; but it was urged by an Imperial message at once to vote the Budget for both years, in order to leave more time for dealing with the Workmen's Accidents Insurance Bill, which the Emperor stated that, owing to his advanced age, he was anxious to see carried as quickly as possible. The House was strongly averse to passing a Budget so long before the period to which it relates, but being unwilling to meet the Imperial message with an abrupt refusal, it referred the Bill to the Budget Committee. The Chairman of the Committee, Herr Von Bennigsen, suggested to Prince Bismarck that, in view of the strong opinions which had been expressed in the House and the country on the subject, the consideration of the measure should be postponed to the autumn Session; but the Chancellor, who had now given up all hope of obtaining the support of the National Liberals, and was endeavouring to conciliate the Centre party and the Conservatives by his ecclesiastical policy, declined to accept this suggestion, and at the same time vented bitter reproaches on the party of which Herr von Bennigsen was the head. The result was that the Bill passed; but Herr von Bennigsen resigned his seat, both in the German Reichstag and in the Prussian Landtag, alleging as his reason for doing so, that the increasing strife of parties, and the dissensions among the Liberals themselves, had led him to the conviction that his policy of conciliation had no chance of success. This was a great blow to the National Liberal party. Herr von Bennigsen was one of the founders of the National Verein in the old kingdom of Hanover, and afterwards played a conspicuous part in the Reichstag, first of North Germany and afterwards of United Germany. His great abilities speedily raised him to the front rank among German Liberals, and at the end of 1877 he was invited by Prince Bismarck to enter his Ministry, but declined the offer on finding that no other Liberal was to become his colleague. With him disappeared the last chance of a compromise between the Liberals and the Chancellor; and the National Liberal party, which had now lost nearly all the men who once made it predominant in the Empire, sank into insignificance.

The Working Men's Insurance Bill was in some measure a sop to the Socialist party, as the Church Bill passed this year in the Prussian Chamber was to the Clerical party. The object of the Government was to disarm the Socialist agitation, by showing the poorer classes that the State would actively exert itself on their behalf; but the measure, as passed by the Reichstag, is a very incomplete one, as it excludes agricultural labourers from its sphere of operation, and gives the working men who will be affected by it very little control over the administration of the funds.

The conventions with France and Italy were both passed without much opposition. The former simplified and extended the mutual protection which had been afforded by former con-

ventions to the literary and artistic works of the two countries. No formalities, such as previous registration, are required; and the period to which the protection applies now amounts to thirty years for original productions, and ten years for the rights of translation, of artistic reproduction, and of dramatic or musical representations. As to the Commercial Convention with Italy, this was the first international enactment that reduced several of the duties of the protectionist tariff of 1879. Prince Bismarck, who was originally a free-trader, has, since he allied himself with the Conservatives, become a staunch protectionist; but he has found it necessary, in order to secure for Germany the rights of the most favoured nation, to make some concessions to Italy in direction of free trade.

Some changes in the Prussian Ministry were caused by the resignation, on February 7, of General von Kameke, the Minister for War, and that of Admiral von Stosch, the Minister of Marine, a month later (March 12). The latter is believed to have resigned because the Cabinet had declined to accept his proposal to appropriate 30,000,000 marks for the extension of the fortifications of Kiel; while General Kameke had shown too much inclination to yield to the criticisms of the Liberals on the Military Budget. The new War Minister was Lieutenant-General von Bronsart von Schellendorff, a well-known military writer; and Vice-Admiral von Caprivi was appointed the successor of Admiral von Stosch.

Towards the end of September some alarm was caused by the unexpected convocation of the German Parliament for "an autumn session." The object of the measure was stated to be the ratification by the House of the Commercial Treaty with Spain; but it was feared, in view of the increasing bitterness of the French papers in regard to Germany, that Prince Bismarck would avail himself of the opportunity of the meeting of the House to take official notice of their attacks. The Imperial Speech, delivered at the opening of the German Parliament, however, made no allusion to foreign policy, and the House separated after approving the Treaty.

The winter session of the Prussian Parliament, or Landtag, was opened on November 27. The chief subject dealt with in the Speech from the Throne was the means to be adopted by the Government for exempting small incomes from the income tax. Under the existing law no incomes are exempt that do not amount to less than 420 marks (21*l.*) a year; while under the Government scheme the limit of exemption is to be fixed at 1,200 marks (60*l.*) a year, and the rate of the tax, which at present is 3 per cent. for all incomes, is to be graduated from 1 per cent. up to a maximum of 3 per cent. for incomes ranging from 1,200 to 10,000 marks. The result of carrying out the scheme would be a deficit of 6,267,000 marks; and in order to provide for this deficit it is proposed to levy a tax on interest derived from investments, rising from  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on a yearly interest of 600 marks to 2 per cent. on one of 10,000 marks. The Bills on this subject did not, however,

come on for discussion before the end of the year, and the most interesting debate of December was that on Herr Stern's motion for introducing the ballot in parliamentary and communal elections in Prussia. Herr Stern urged that this measure was necessary in order to prevent the exercise at elections of undue influence by the Government and the large landowners; but Herr von Puttkamer, the Minister of the Interior, energetically protested against this statement, and declared that the Government were so convinced of both the political and the moral disadvantages of the ballot that they were seriously considering the advisability of proposing to the Federal Council the abolition of the ballot at the elections for the German Parliament (Reichstag). Herr von Puttkamer concluded by stating that it was not the Government, but the Progressists, who exerted influence on the elections by poisoning the minds of the electors. This remark called forth a sharp retort from Professor Virchow, the Progressist leader, who said that the ballot "is the chief pillar of the union of North and South, which has recently to a marked extent been shaken," and that care must be taken not to weaken it any further. After two days' debate, the motion was rejected by a large majority, but the National Liberals who voted against it declared that if the Government were to carry out their threat of endeavouring to abolish election by ballot for the German Parliament, the National Liberals would oppose such a measure.

In foreign politics Germany maintained her predominance, though the haughty and uncompromising spirit which marked Prince Bismarck's direction of affairs caused much irritation among her adversaries. A decree issued by the Prussian Government in January, to the effect that the Danish residents of North Schleswig shall leave the country unless they elect to become Prussian subjects when they attain the age of twenty-one, gave rise to an acrimonious controversy between the newspapers of Copenhagen and Berlin, and was sharply commented upon both in the Danish and the Prussian Parliament; but it does not appear to have been made a subject of diplomatic communication. In the same month considerable agitation was caused, both in France and Germany, by a speech delivered at a dinner at Strasburg to the Provincial Council of Alsace-Lorraine by Field Marshal von Manteuffel. Remarking on the systematic opposition offered by the deputies of Alsace-Lorraine in the German Parliament to every measure likely to contribute to the Germanisation of that province, the Field-Marshal said that this attitude on the part of the Alsatian deputies had rendered it impossible to grant to Alsace-Lorraine the full constitutional rights which were enjoyed by the other territories of the Empire. One of the deputies (M. Antoine) had terminated his electoral address with the words "protest and action," and an appeal from Bordeaux called for war in order that Alsace-Lorraine should not remain German. As a soldier, continued the Field-Marshal, the idea of war could only be welcome



to him; but as Civil Governor of Alsace-Lorraine he did not desire war, and he was persuaded that the people of that province also did not desire it. He was averse to exceptional measures, but the agitation which was continually going on outside the country for the separation of Alsace-Lorraine from Germany, was now shown to have connections in the country itself; and Germany could never accord full constitutional rights to Alsace-Lorraine so long as there was any reason to suppose that such rights would be used to endanger German interests. The warning conveyed in this speech was a pretty plain one, yet the anti-German agitation in Alsace-Lorraine continued to increase; French patriotic pamphlets and pictures were largely sold in the shops, and the speeches of M. Antoine and his friends daily grew more violent. At length (August 25) M. Antoine was impeached for high treason, and the agitation then gradually subsided.

Such incidents as the above naturally produced a great deal of irritation in France, and the newspapers of that country expressed increasing hostility to the German nation and its rulers. The two Governments, however, remained on amicable terms. Germany made no opposition to the colonial policy of France, though the French claims to Madagascar were regarded by public opinion in the Fatherland to be quite unjustifiable. During M. Waddington's visit to Berlin, in May, an exchange of pacific assurances took place; but the violence of the attacks on Germany in the French press caused such an outburst of indignation that Prince Bismarck, through his organ, the *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, issued a very significant warning (August 22) to those who were provoking an open breach between the two countries. "France," the article said, "appears to be the only Power which is constantly menacing the peace of Europe; and it must be recognised that such a state of things cannot continue without seriously compromising that peace whose maintenance is the aim of all serious politicians. . . . 'À force de peindre le diable sur les murs, il finit par apparaître en personne.'" This warning, however, produced but little effect, as was shown by the reception given to the King of Spain in Paris in the following month, after he had been created by the Emperor of Germany a colonel in a regiment of Uhlans. The provocation given to Germany by the scandalous scene which took place on this occasion was great, but her Government studiously abstained from taking any notice of it; and when the German Crown Prince paid a return visit to Madrid, he proceeded, in order to avoid any further demonstration which might be dangerous to European peace, by way of Italy. The result of the outrageous conduct of the Paris mob was only still further to isolate France in Europe, and greatly to improve the relations between Germany and Spain, which had been somewhat strained by the obstacles at first raised by the latter to the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the two States.

In the month of April reports of an alliance between Germany,

Austria, and Italy were largely circulated, and it seems certain that, although no treaty was concluded on the subject, a verbal agreement was arrived at, by which Italy bound herself to join Austria and Germany in the event of an attack by France on the latter Power, or by Russia on the former. This agreement was to be of the same duration as the Austro-German alliance, which terminates in 1889, unless it should be prolonged before that date.

The relations of Germany with Russia were somewhat disturbed during the summer by the rivalry between the latter Power and Austria in the East, by the gradual concentration of Russian troops in the Kingdom of Poland, and by certain anti-German speeches attributed to General Gourko, the new Governor-General of that country; but the proof of the continuance of the intimate union between Austria and Germany given in September by the meetings between Prince Bismarck and Count Kalnoky at Salzburg, and between the Emperors of Germany and Austria at Ischl, appears to have effectually tamed the war party at St Petersburg, and at the end of November a meeting took place at Friederichsruhe between Prince Bismarck and M. de Giers, which completely re-established the old friendly understanding between the German and Russian courts. Thus, judging by the diplomatic results of the year, the European situation is everywhere pacific, though the feeling that prevailed at Berlin, as well as in other European capitals, with regard to foreign affairs, was one of anxiety and uneasiness, which might, perhaps, be explained by the saying attributed to Prince Bismarck, that if he had only sensible people to deal with, the peace of Europe would be assured.

### CHAPTER III.

#### EASTERN EUROPE.

##### I. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

THE first noteworthy incident of the year in Austro-Hungarian politics was the debate in the Hungarian Parliament on a petition for the repeal of Jewish Emancipation, presented by the member for the constituency of Tapolcza, on January 23. The debate lasted three days. A statement was made by the Hungarian Premier, M. Tisza, declaring that he could not support a motion which asked for special legislation against the Jews, who had to a considerable extent been assimilated to the Hungarians. At the same time he admitted that though opposed to legislation against any race or creed, he thought new laws were needed on the subject of usury, and of the license to sell spirits. The motion was then rejected by an overwhelming majority. At the beginning of February, public opinion in Galicia and at Vienna was much agitated by the news that M. Kaminski, one of the Galician

members, had resigned his seat, in consequence of an action brought by him against Baron Schwarz, the contractor for the Galician railways, to recover a sum of 625,000 florins, which he alleged had been promised for the services rendered by him in assisting the Baron, by his action in the Reichsrath, to obtain the contract for the above railways. Another Galician member, Dr. Wolski, who had prepared the claim for M. Kaminski, and had presented it to the civil court, resigned shortly afterwards, the Polish Club having unanimously pronounced a severe censure on Messrs. Kaminski and Wolski for their conduct in the matter. An interpellation on the subject, signed by the chairmen of the four clubs of the Right, Prince Liechtenstein, Count Hohenwart, Dr. Rieger, and Count Grocholski, was brought before the Reichsrath on February 8, asking the Government whether it would institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the action brought by M. Kaminski against Baron Schwarz, and what were the reasons which induced the Ministry to give the contract to a single contractor, instead of dividing it among a number of contractors or doing the work itself. The chairman of the Liberal party, on the other hand, suggested that the matter should be inquired into, not by the Government officials, but by a committee of fifteen members appointed by the House. The answer of the Ministry was given by Baron Pino, the Minister of Commerce, on Feb. 10. He said that a most searching investigation was already being made on the subject, and that the reason why Baron Schwarz was given the contract was, that his estimate was much lower than that of the Government. The Premier subsequently said that if a Parliamentary Committee were decided upon, Ministers would give it every assistance; and a division having been taken on the question, it was settled in the affirmative by a very large majority. The Committee was appointed, but it was ultimately decided (May 17) that there was no ground for taking any further steps in the matter.

At the beginning of March great alarm was caused by the discovery of a Socialist society at Vienna, known as the "Poison League." Twenty-nine members of this society, comprising two women, and men who were by occupation joiners, shoemakers, metal workers, and waiters, were brought to trial on March 8, on a charge of having robbed a shoe manufacturer named Merstallinger, of having propagated Socialist doctrines, and of having formed secret clubs in connection with foreign anarchists. A leaden case, containing 1,750 grammes of cyanide of potassium—more than enough, according to the Public Prosecutor, to kill 3,000 people—was found in the possession of one of the prisoners. The two chief members of the society, Engel and Pflieger, pleaded guilty to the charge, and admitted that the robbery of Merstallinger was one of a series committed or planned for the purpose of supplying the revolutionary propaganda with funds. Engel stated that the various clubs belonging to the society were managed from head-

quarters; that each member of a club had a number, and only knew personally those who bore the number before and after his own; and that the head of the society was a man named Hotze, who had gone to America with part of the money that had been stolen from Merstallinger. Another of the prisoners, Penkert, who was described in the indictment as the intellectual leader of the movement, and as being in connection with Most and other foreign anarchists, protested against the statement that the Socialists desire revolution, and said that at the Socialist Congress in London, to which he was sent by the Swiss workmen, no resolutions in favour of adopting illegal means of solving the social problem were adopted. The result of the trial was that all the prisoners were acquitted of the charge of high treason, and that only those who were implicated in the theft from Herr Merstallinger were punished; but other revelations of Socialist conspiracies were made in the course of the year, and Socialism has come to be regarded as the greatest danger of the monarchy.

The conciliation policy of Count Taaffe, and the consequent gradual removal of the German element from the predominance which it formerly enjoyed in the western half of the monarchy, has given rise to a bitter feeling among the Germans of Austria, which found expression in a very violent speech made by Herr Schönerer, the radical deputy, at a Wagner meeting got up by some students of the Vienna University on March 8. In this speech Herr Schönerer is stated to have gone so far as to suggest that a separation from Austria of its German provinces might be a desirable event; and for this a prosecution was instituted against him by the Government. The matter was laid before a Select Committee of the Reichsrath, as under the Austrian law a deputy cannot be brought to trial under such circumstances without the permission of the House. The committee recommended that the permission should be given, and the matter was debated at a secret sitting on March 13. Herr Schönerer then declared that he had been incorrectly reported, and demanded further inquiry. He was supported by Herr Tomaszczuk, another member of the Radical party, and by most of the members of the Left; and the recommendation of the committee was then rejected by a majority of 156 to 107. Another instance of the bitterness of party feeling in Austria occurred during the debate on the middle-class schools on March 11. The Slovenian members, fearing an attack from the Germans, prolonged the discussion by continually bringing up members of their own side, and the consequence was that the House, which was anxious to break up for the Easter holidays, decided to close the debate, although not a single German member had had an opportunity of speaking. On the following day Dr. Sturm, on behalf of the German deputies, protested against this proceeding, declaring that it was "a parliamentary monstrosity," and announced that henceforward his party would not hold themselves bound by any considerations of parliamentary etiquette, but would

unscrupulously make use of all their rights in prolonging or shortening the debates as they might deem fit. Some of the leaders of the Right attempted to bring about a compromise, but without success. When the consideration of the Bill was resumed after the Easter holidays, there were more squabbles between the Radicals and the Ministerial party. One of the deputies compared the policy of Baron Conrad, the Minister of Education and Religion, to the kiss of Judas—a simile which the Baron described as “infamous.” The debate was hottest over Section 48 of the Bill, providing that the director of each school must be of the same religion as the majority of his pupils—which was ultimately accepted after eight hours’ discussion. Herr Schönerer proposed an amendment, to the effect that Jews should not under any circumstances be allowed to officiate as directors of the schools in question; but this intolerant proposal, which was the more remarkable, as its author is one of the leading Austrian Radicals, did not come on for discussion, as the debate was closed before Herr Schönerer could get an opportunity of speaking in favour of his amendment. Another provision of the bill, reducing the period of full compulsory attendance at school from eight years to six, with the proviso that the pupils should continue to attend for half the day during the remaining two years, was passed with but little opposition, it being generally admitted that the existing law, though suitable to the inhabitants of the towns, inflicted a hardship on the rural population by entirely withdrawing children from field work for so long a period as eight years.

While educational questions were stirring party passions in the Reichsrath at Vienna, they were also raised in the Hungarian Parliament with a similar result. The Hungarian Bill relative to middle-class schools, introduced at the beginning of March, dealt a hard blow at the German element in Transylvania, by withdrawing from it the control of its schools and transferring such control to the Magyar officials. One of the Radical members, M. Madarasz, even proposed to shut out the German language altogether from the schools in the Hungarian kingdom, but the necessity of retaining German as the medium of education was universally recognised, and M. Madarasz’s proposal was rejected by a large majority.

Great excitement was produced in the country by a decree, dated May 22, dissolving the Bohemian Diet, and ordering a newly-elected Diet to assemble on July 5. Another step was thus taken to put an end to the predominance of the German element, as under the new system of election the Czechs were sure of a majority. The result was foreshadowed by the elections for the Galician Diet, in which the Poles obtained a complete victory over the Ruthenian candidates (May 30). This was a natural consequence of the growing insignificance of the German Centralist party, which had originated and maintained the so-called Ruthenian agitation when the Centralist policy was at its height under

Count Stadion (the "inventor" of the Ruthenians), and Herr von Schmerling. So artificial an agitation, without any basis in political tradition or feeling, could not last, and the majority of those who had endeavoured to dissociate the Ruthenians from their Polish countrymen by setting up a Ruthenian nationality which had no existence except in the brains of ethnologists, now gave up their fruitless opposition to the national and political union of the Polish and Ruthenian races—a union which, like that of the English and Welsh, had lasted for centuries.

Shortly after the meeting of the Bohemian Diet, in which, as was anticipated, the Czechs had a large majority, two important measures were introduced by their leaders. One, of which Count Clam-Martinitz was the author, demanded that instruction in both German and Czechish should be made obligatory in all the higher schools of Bohemia; and this was passed without much opposition. But the second, brought in by Dr. Rieger, proposed to abolish the special representation possessed by the landowning class, and thereby to secure to the Czechs a permanent majority in the Diet—a proposal which naturally met with violent opposition on the part of the German deputies, two of whom, Drs. Schmeykal and Herbst, even went so far as to suggest that the German districts of Bohemia should be separated from that province altogether, and annexed to Upper Austria. This suggestion, and the deep mistrust of the Czechs expressed by all the German speakers on this occasion, seems to have inspired some alarm into the majority, especially as it showed that a letter addressed by Dr. Rieger to Dr. Schmeykal, on August 1, proposing a reconciliation between the two nationalities, had produced no effect; and Dr. Schmeykal having subsequently declared in the House that if the proposal to alter the electoral law were persevered with the German deputies would withdraw, the motion was dropped. Shortly after, the Diet was closed; and the remainder of the year passed without any further noteworthy dispute between the nationalities of Cisleithania.

Hungary, which had formerly been tolerably free from conflicts of this kind, was this year much agitated by disorders in Croatia. These disorders began in August by the escutcheons with Hungarian and Croatian mottoes, which had been erected on the public offices at Agram, being torn down by the people, who regarded the placing of inscriptions in the Hungarian language on these escutcheons as an insult to the Croatian nationality. This demonstration was approved all over Croatia, and even the Ban, or head of the Croatian administration (Count Peyatchevitch), admitted that the erection of the escutcheons with Hungarian mottoes was unconstitutional. The incident revived several old grievances of the Croatians, one of which is that they have only two deputies in the Upper House at Pesth, which has 731 members in all, and only 44 members in the Lower House, which is composed of 444 members, elected by men paying eight florins (15s.) a year in taxes. Under an agreement made in 1868 the

Croatians were accorded a certain amount of home rule ; although governed by a viceroy (Ban), who is a nominee of the Hungarian Government, they have a separate legislature and officials, who deal with all matters falling within the competence of the Ministries of the Interior, Justice, and Public Worship and Education ; and under these circumstances they consider that they have a right to a larger share of representation in the Hungarian Parliament than other parts of Hungary which have only provincial rights. A further grievance, which, however, is shared by all the populations of Hungary, is the excessive burthen of taxation. The peasants are forced to sell their land in order to pay the arrears of the taxes levied upon them, and the consequence was a series of outrages on the Jews, whom they look upon as the accomplices of the tax-gatherer. One of the most extraordinary of these cases of Jew-baiting in Hungary was the Tisza-Eszlar trial, in which some Jews of that village were accused of having murdered a Christian servant girl named Esther Solymosi as a sacrifice at the celebration of the Passover. This trial lasted from June till August, and ended in the complete acquittal of the accused, although even the magistrates and the police showed a strong bias against them. Another instance of the anti-Semitic feeling in Hungary was the defeat of the Government, on December 11, when a Bill authorising marriages between Jews and Christians was introduced in the Upper House. But the main cause of the disturbances in Croatia was the ambition of the Croatians to become the centre of a South Slavonian Empire. The provinces of Croatia and Slavonia have 1,910,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,800,000 are Slavs ; in Dalmatia, 480,000 out of the 500,000 inhabitants are also Slavs ; and if to this "triune kingdom" were added Bosnia and Herzegovina, a South Slavonic State would be formed with an almost homogeneous population, composed of some 3,500,000 Croatians and Servians, and with distinctly marked frontiers. The dream of the Croatians is that this territory should be attached to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by a personal union only, similar to that which now exists between Austria and Hungary. This scheme is of course opposed both by the Hungarians and the Germans ; but the Federalist tendency, which is daily growing in strength in the western half of the empire, has excited hopes in the Croatians which mere opposition, however powerful, cannot suppress ; and the consequence is that they take every opportunity of jealously guarding their nationality and preparing for the separation which they look upon as being sooner or later inevitable. The incident of the escutcheons ended in a compromise by which they were replaced without any inscriptions at all ; but the separatist feeling which it disclosed became stronger than ever, and riots took place both in Croatia and Dalmatia which had to be suppressed by the troops. The matter was discussed in the Hungarian Parliament on October 10, and the action of the Government, thanks to the

skilful strategy of the Prime Minister, M. Tisza, was approved by a majority of 82; but shortly before Christmas there was an outburst of national fanaticism in the Croatian Diet which might have had serious consequences if the Croatians had been more united. There are, however, five parties in the Diet: the moderate party, under Miskatovitch, which gives a conditional support to Baron Khuen, the successor of Count Peyatchevitch as Ban; the independent party, which demands a federalist reorganisation of the monarchy; the members of the newly-created province of the Military Frontier; the Servian members; and the "Irreconcilables," led by M. Starchevitch, who refuse to recognise the Emperor of Austria as sovereign of Croatia.

The foreign relations of Austria during the year were on the whole satisfactory. The competition between her and Russia for the predominance among the Slavonic nationalities in south-eastern Europe was manifested in a good deal of diplomatic manœuvring and counter-manœuvring, but neither side was disposed to push matters to an extremity, and, outwardly at least, the Austrian and Russian Governments remained throughout the year on "amicable terms"—to borrow the expression used by Count Kalnoky, in his speech to the Austro-Hungarian delegations on October 29. At the same time the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs made the significant statement, that should a war break out at some future period between Austria and Russia, Austria "would not stand alone"—a statement which was probably provoked by a concentration of Russian troops which had shortly before taken place on the Galician frontier. With Italy the "friendly understanding" had developed into an "alliance," and the League of Peace formed by Prince Bismarck now extends from Kiel to Palermo, and from the Rhine to the eastern borders of Hungary. As regards the small Danubian States, Austria remained on good terms with all of them excepting Roumania, whose refusal to accept the decisions of the Danubian Conference gave much dissatisfaction at Vienna. An indiscreet speech, for which the Roumanian Government afterwards apologised, was also made by a Roumanian senator, M. Gradisteanu, who stated at a banquet at Jassy, in June, that the Roumanian crown is incomplete, as it is not yet adorned "with the pearls of Bukovina, Transylvania, and Southern Hungary;" but the visit of King Charles, and of M. Bratiano, his Prime Minister, to the Austrian capital during the autumn, contributed greatly to the restoration of the friendly relations which had previously existed between the Cabinets of Vienna and Bucharest.

## II. RUSSIA.

The year began in Russia with a financial scandal. A Government Commission was appointed to inquire into the administration of the Ministry of the Interior during the last ten years, and the



result was the discovery of defalcations, amounting to 400,000 roubles, in the Post and Telegraph Department, which till last year was under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, M. Makoff. In consequence of these disclosures M. Makoff committed suicide (Feb. 27); and M. Perfeliëff, formerly his chief assistant, also made an attempt on his life, but the wound which he inflicted upon himself was not fatal. As regards the financial condition of the Empire generally, M. Bunge, the Finance Minister, admitted, in the Report presented by him at the beginning of the year, that much remained to be done in order to establish a satisfactory balance between revenue and expenditure, and urged the maintenance of a policy of peace as the only means of attaining this object.

The long delayed ceremony of the coronation of the Emperor Alexander III. took place in May. All the sovereigns and governments of Europe were represented at this magnificent display, which lasted from May 27 (the day of the coronation) till June 2, and the event called forth enthusiastic manifestations of loyalty from all parts of the empire. Considerable disappointment was felt, however, at the absence from the manifesto issued by the Czar of any promise of liberal reforms. Riots took place at St. Petersburg on May 27; and on May 28 M. Tchitcherin, the Mayor of Moscow, delivered a speech at a banquet in honour of the mayors of 150 provincial towns, at which he declared that there was no harmony in the administration, and that the initiative of reform should be given by the representatives of the people. "When Peter the Great," he said, "called Russia a ruined temple, he added that an architect was needed who should gather together and replace the scattered stones, and build up with them an edifice under the roof of which the welfare of the people might be fostered and protected. At that time, perhaps, such an architect was indeed wanted. Russia was then unemancipated and enlaved; but now that Russia is free, the actors have changed their parts. Power is no longer where it was; it now belongs to the people." The only measure of a liberal character which was taken on the occasion of the coronation was one for the emancipation of the members of the religious sects, who were in future, with few exceptions, to be placed on the same footing as those of the orthodox church. They are to be allowed to trade, to hold public offices, and to perform public religious services, in private houses or in buildings reserved for that purpose, so long as the public peace was not disturbed thereby. They were still forbidden, however, to send religious processions into the streets, or to sing their hymns in public, though they were permitted to conduct funerals according to the rites of the sect in the public churchyards.

During the coronation the Nihilists made no sign, though the dismissal from the army of five officers of the 16th Mingrelian Grenadier Regiment on account of their connection with the Nihilist organisation (Feb. 15), and the facts disclosed in the

trial of eighteen Nihilists at St. Petersburg (April 5 to 21), showed that the organisation still had members in the higher ranks of the army, and that its operations were conducted with great ability and daring. At the trial referred to it was proved that one of the accused was in possession of five treasonable letters written by a Nihilist who was at the time a close prisoner in the fortress of Peter and Paul; and the Public Prosecutor remarked that these letters could not have been composed and sent without the direct help of the officials of the prison, and that this and other circumstances proved that the entire garrison of that fortress was tainted with Nihilism. Another of the accused, Bogdanovitch, who was sentenced to death for having taken part in the assassination of Alexander II., confessed to having joined the Nihilists in 1870 as a member of the Red Cross Committee, which was founded for the purpose of helping such members of the society as might be in prison, &c.; and it also appeared that a Nihilist "passport service" had been organised, with the object of forging passports for members of the society, to enable them to travel freely in Russia. These documents, some of which were produced in court, were facsimiles of the passports issued by the various European Governments, even the seals and stamps being imitated so closely that they could only be distinguished with difficulty from the originals.

In the month of September fresh outbreaks against the Jews took place in the government of Ekaterinoslav, but they were speedily suppressed by the troops. The Nihilist paper, *Narodnaya Volya*, which had not appeared for several months, expressed approval of these outrages, and stated that the days of the chief members of the administration, including "Tolstoi the hangman," would soon be numbered. Part of this prediction was carried out by the murder of Colonel Soudaikin, the chief of the secret police, on December 28. This energetic officer had for some time been the most dangerous enemy of the Nihilists. He was the head of the Secret Anti-Nihilist Society, known as O.B.P.T. (*Obtchestvo Boriby Pretiv Terroristov*—Society for Active Resistance against the Terrorists), which was founded at St. Petersburg at the end of 1882, and did good service in discovering some of the principal haunts of the Nihilists, and assisting to capture their leaders. The murder was committed by a man named Degayeff, who was formerly himself a Nihilist, and was employed as a decoy to bring Nihilists to his house, where their meetings were watched by the police; and it was in this house that he shot Colonel Soudaikin and his nephew while they were drinking tea. Almost simultaneously with the murder a Nihilist proclamation was issued, contrasting the peaceful life led by the Czar while he was on his recent visit to Denmark with the incessant anxieties suffered by him in his palace at Gatchina, and declaring that he will never enjoy peace in Russia so long as he does not grant his people a Constitution. This new proof of the vitality of the

Nihilist organisation naturally produced great alarm throughout the Empire, and the year closed with rumours of attempts on the life of the Czar, of captures by the police, and of proposed reforms.

In foreign affairs the prevalent tendency of Russian policy was decidedly pacific. Since the death of Gambetta the idea of an alliance with France seems to have been abandoned; and M. de Giers' visits to Vienna at the beginning of the year, and to Berlin at its close, did much to reassure the Austro-Hungarian and German Governments as to Russia's designs. While the Conference on the Navigation of the Danube was sitting in London, Russia demanded that she should be given the right of regulating the navigation of the Kilia branch of that river; and this demand was acceded to by the Powers, subject to the necessary reservations as to preventing interference with the navigation of the other branches. A question of much greater importance, which it was at one time feared might light up a conflagration in the East, was raised by the dismissal, by Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, of his Russian Ministers. The action of Russia in this matter, however, was most conciliatory, and testified to a sincere desire for peace.

### III. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

The subject which most occupied the attention of Turkish statesmen at the beginning of the year was the disturbed state of Albania and Armenia. In the former province complete anarchy prevailed; the Turkish authorities had lost all control over the people, trade caravans were constantly pillaged, and even the foreign consuls were insulted. The tribe of Malissori, numbering some 60,000 men, made a raid on Scutari, but after some fighting were repulsed by the Turkish troops. On March 21, however, they again entered the town, and shot Stephen Vrbitza, brother of the Montenegrin ex-Minister, alleging that two of their tribe had been murdered by the Montenegrins. This was the origin of a series of engagements on the Montenegrin frontier, in which the Turkish troops mostly sided with the Montenegrins against the Albanians. At length a large force, under Assym Pasha and Hafiz Pasha, was sent into the district at the beginning of June, and after some sanguinary encounters the rising was suppressed. As to Armenia, reports were rife in January of a "Pan-Armenian insurrection," supported by Russia, and of a conspiracy at Erzeroum for the purpose of re-establishing the old Armenian Empire from the Black Sea to the Caspian; but the only foundation for these reports seems to have been the appearance of guerilla bands in Upper Armenia, and the discontent manifested by the Armenians generally at the delay of the Porte in introducing the promised reforms. Thanks to the efforts of the Armenian

Patriarch, Monsignor Narses, the agitation which prevailed in the province was appeased, and some 500 persons arrested on suspicion of having been concerned in the movement were released. A body of Turkish troops, however, was sent into the disturbed districts to keep order.

In February the question of the governorship of the Lebanon gave rise to some delicate negotiations between the Powers. Under the arrangement entered into after the sanguinary contest between the Druses and the Maronites in 1860, the districts inhabited by these tribes were to be administered by a Roman Catholic Governor-General, appointed with the consent of the Powers every ten years. Rustem Pasha had held this appointment since April 22, 1873, and it was therefore necessary to consider whether at the expiration of his term of service he should be re-appointed, or whether the post should be given to some other candidate. As an administrator, Rustem Pasha had shown great ability; the area of cultivation in the province was trebled, its powers of production had increased by two-fifths, and the total of the imposts levied upon the population amounted on an average to only about two shillings a head. The province had become, in a word, a pattern of sound administration; and accordingly England, by a circular addressed on January 31 to the British representatives at the chief European capitals, recommended that "in the interests of order and good government" the appointment of Rustem Pasha should be renewed. Russia, Germany, and Italy made no objection to this proposal; but France opposed it, on the ground that Rustem had rendered himself unpopular among the Maronite Christians, upon whom France had always relied as the agents of her influence in Syria. The Porte accordingly suggested another candidate, Prenk Bib Doda, a young man twenty-four years of age, and chief of the Albanian Mirdites. This candidate was supported by France, but England objected that "one so young and inexperienced, and ignorant of the local languages" could hardly be fitted for the post. Ultimately a Roman Catholic Albanian, named Wassa Effendi, Lieut.-Governor of the Vilayet of Adrianople, which had the reputation of being one of the best governed provinces in the empire, was selected for the appointment (May 8), and he arrived at Beyrout to take up his duties on June 7.

Another question of Eastern politics which occupied the attention of the Powers during the first half of the year was that of the navigation of the Danube. The duration of the European Commission, formed under Article XVI. of the Treaty of Paris, for clearing the mouths of that river from the impediments to its navigation, had, by a Treaty concluded between the Powers in London on March 13, 1871, been prolonged until April 24, 1883, and it was provided by the same Treaty that the conditions of the re-assembling of a "Riverain Commission" for the control of the navigation, under Article XVII. of the Treaty of Paris above referred to, should be fixed by a previous understanding between the

Riverain Powers, subject to the approval of the co-signatories of the Treaty. Further stipulations in regard to the European Commission were made in 1878 by the Treaty of Berlin. Article LIII. of that Treaty provides that Roumania should be represented on the European Commission, and that the powers of the Commission should be extended as far as Galatz; Article LIV., that one year before the expiration of the term assigned for the duration of the Commission, the Powers should come to an understanding as to the prolongation of its powers; and Article LV., that regulations for the navigation and river police of the part of the river between the Iron Gates and Galatz should be drawn up by the Commission, assisted by delegates of the Riverain States. The latter provision was duly carried out, and the question then arose by whom the regulations should be enforced. It was proposed that this duty should be entrusted to a Mixed Commission, in which Austria, in virtue of the great commercial interests she has at stake, should be represented as well as the Riparian States; and it was further proposed that the Austrian member of this Mixed Commission should be the President, and that he should have a casting vote in case of an equal division of opinion. The Riparian States, and especially Roumania, having strongly objected to this proposal, M. Barrère, the French member of the European Commission, laid before it a plan for compromising the difficulty. He suggested that Austria, Roumania, Servia and Bulgaria should each have a representative on the Mixed Commission, and that each of the members of the European Commission should serve on it successively for six months at a time, in the alphabetical order of the countries they represented; Austria presiding, but without a casting vote. Roumania, however, objected to the presence of any Austrian member whatever on the Mixed Commission; notwithstanding which the plan was agreed to by the other commissioners and delegates, although Bulgaria made reservations to the effect that the Austrian and Rounanian members of the European Commission should be debarred from serving on the Mixed Commission, as those countries would already be represented there by permanent members. Austria, on the other hand, stated that her consent to a prolongation of the powers of the European commission after April 24, 1883, must be conditional on arrangements satisfactory to her being made as to the Mixed Commission; while Russia indicated that her consent to such prolongation would depend on concessions being made to her with regard to the Kilia branch of the Danube, over which the European Commission had hitherto not exercised its right of control.

Under these circumstances England proposed to the Powers that a Conference should assemble in London to consider the following questions:—(1) The prolongation of the powers of the European Commission; (2) the confirmation of the regulations for the Mixed Commission; and (3) the extension of the powers of the European Commission to Ibraila. The Conference held its

first meeting on February 8. The majority of the plenipotentiaries decided to admit representatives from Roumania and Serbia to the Conference, but with a consultative voice only, and to accept representations from the Bulgarian representative only through the Turkish Ambassador. Serbia accepted this decision, but Roumania and Bulgaria protested, and took no part in the Conference, though its protocols were communicated to their representatives. After sitting nearly a month, the Conference arrived at the following decisions, which were embodied in a Treaty signed on March 10:—

1. That the duration of the European Commission should be prolonged for a period of twenty-one years, and that on the expiration of this term the Commission should continue to exercise its functions for terms of three years, unless, one year before the expiration of any such term, notice should be given by one of the contracting Powers of a wish to propose modifications in the constitution or powers of the Commission.

2. That the regulations as to the Mixed Commission should be adopted, with the expression of a hope that Roumania and Bulgaria would also adopt them, in view of the unanimous vote of the Powers on the subject, and of concessions which Austria offered to make as regards the appointment of sub-inspectors by the Riverain States, and the abandonment of the double representation of Austria and Roumania on the Mixed Commission.

3. That the powers of the European Commission should be extended to Ibraila.

4. That with regard to those portions of the Kilia branch of the Danube of which both banks belong to either Russia or Roumania, or which divide the territories of those States, any works to be undertaken should be carried out by either Russia or Roumania, provided that the plans are communicated to the European Commission, with the sole object of establishing that the proposed works would not interfere in any way with the navigation of the other branches of the river.

A period of six months was assigned for the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty, during which time it was hoped that the adherence of all the Riverain Powers would be received. This, however, was not the case; Roumania persisted in her objection to the presidency of Austria in the Mixed Commission; and although her King, and M. Bratiano, her Prime Minister, paid a visit to Vienna in the autumn, thereby giving a proof of their desire to maintain friendly relations with the Austro-Hungarian Government, the difficulty remained unsettled at the end of the year.

Of the other small States of Eastern Europe, Bulgaria and Serbia occupied the most attention. In January the strong anti-Russian feeling which had for some time been manifested in Eastern Roumelia, spread to Bulgaria. The local prefects, who were mostly Russians, disregarded the existing laws, and carried on the administration according to their fancy, thereby creating

much discontent among the native population. The result was that the Radical Cabinet resigned, and was succeeded by one composed mainly of members of the Conservative party. The Radicals now began to agitate, not only against the Government, but against the Sovereign himself, and they issued a seditious proclamation declaring that "the Battenberg prince must be expelled from the country on the day of the Czar's coronation." At the beginning of March the quarrels between the Radicals and Conservatives again culminated in a Cabinet crisis. The Conservative Cabinet resigned; and a new Ministry was formed (March 16), the leading members of which were the Russian Generals Soboleff and Kaulbars, the former as Prime Minister and the latter as Minister for War. This result of the crisis caused general indignation in Bulgaria. Both parties now perceived that they had been duped by the Russians, who, since the time of Prince Doukoff-Korsakoff, the first Russian commissioner, had skilfully sown dissensions between them in order to gain power for themselves. The two Russian generals, together with the Pan Slavist agitator, M. Jonin, who had been appointed the Russian diplomatic agent at Sofia, had become practically the rulers of the country, and the Conservative leader, M. Natchievitch, joined the Radicals under M. Zankoff, to put an end to Russian supremacy and prepare a new Constitution in place of the one which had been suspended in 1881. A compact was signed with this object in August, and laid before Prince Charles, who received it favourably; but the Russian generals promptly interposed, and Prince Charles, fearing a military revolution, yielded to their objections. At the beginning of September, however, finding that the officers of the army had refused to join in any action against him, he dismissed Generals Soboleff and Kaulbars, appointed M. Zankoff Prime Minister, and convoked the Sobranje or National Assembly, which resolved that in future the War Minister should be a purely administrative official, responsible to the Chamber, and that the real commander of the army should be the Prince. The new coalition Cabinet was hailed with great rejoicings in all parts of Bulgaria, and the dismissal of the Russian generals produced universal satisfaction. This step was followed on October 26 by a decree for the dismissal of the Russian officers in the Bulgarian army, and the appointment of Colonel Kotelnikoff, with the consent of the Russian Government, as Minister for War. The order dismissing the Russian officers in the Bulgarian army, however, was revoked in November, an arrangement having been entered into on the subject between the Bulgarian Ministry and Colonel Kaulbars, who was sent from St. Petersburg on a mission to Sofia for this purpose. Under this arrangement all the Russian officers in the Bulgarian service are to be under the direct orders of the Prince, and to be subject in all respects to the Bulgarian laws. As to the question of framing a new Constitution, the Sobranje decided in December in favour of the creation of an "Upper

House," as in other constitutional countries; but no other alteration is to be made in the Constitution of Tirnovo until it has had a three years' trial.

In Serbia things were pretty quiet during the first half of the year, except that the old ecclesiastical conflicts were revived by the appointment of the Anti-Russian archimandrite Marazovitch to be Metropolitan of Belgrade, on April 2. This appointment was due to the Ministry of M. Pirotchanatz, which was strongly under the influence of Austria; but when the elections took place for the Skouptchina in August, the Radicals obtained a large majority both over the Ministerialist, or philo-Austrian party, and the Liberal, or philo-Russian party, under M. Ristitch. Notwithstanding this the Government remained in office, and managed to carry some of its measures by using the right granted to it by the Constitution of nominating 45 members of its own party to the Chamber. The Radical feeling in the country, however, daily grew stronger, and at the end of September the Pirotchanatz Ministry resigned, and was succeeded by a Liberal Cabinet formed by M. Kristitch, who was Minister of the Interior in the Ristitch Ministry, and had in that capacity obtained a high reputation for administrative ability. The new Premier, a man of "blood and iron," began his period of office by closing the Skouptchina. His next step, in view of the attempts of the Radical party to stir up an insurrection, was to order the disarmament of the militia, and at the same time the laws relating to the liberty of the press and of public meeting were suspended, and the disturbed districts placed in a state of siege. Finally, on the night of November 6, the Radical leaders at Belgrade were dragged out of their beds and taken to prison. Outbreaks of the peasantry took place in various parts of the country, and even two towns, Alexinatz and Kujacevatz, were occupied by the insurgents, but the insurrection was speedily suppressed by the troops, and before the end of November quiet was reestablished, though the high-handed measures of the Government left much latent discontent.

Although "the cockpit of Europe" has this year afforded several opportunities for conflicts among the European powers, the general tendency of events has been not only to avoid such conflicts, but gradually to emancipate the smaller States on the Danube from foreign control. At the beginning of the year the Turkish Government seemed inclined to approach Russia; but the result of the *pourparlers* which took place in October between Mukhtar Pasha and the Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna was that Turkey, if not actually admitted into the Austro-German alliance, was brought into close relations with it, and Lord Dufferin's renewed representations in favour of reforms being granted to Armenia consequently remained without any practical effect, especially as the view held on the Continent on this subject was that to grant any rights of self-government to Armenia would be



to prepare the way for the subjection of that province to Russia. Roumania, too, notwithstanding her dispute with Austria as to the Danubian commission, formally proclaimed her adherence to the policy of Germany, through the speech of her Prime Minister, M. Bratiano, in the Roumanian Chamber in November. M. Bratiano quoted on this occasion the following words, spoken to him by Prince Bismarck at his late visit to Berlin: "If you wish for peace, join us; if you want war, you must go to someone else"; and he thus concluded his speech amid the loud applause of the House: "We are for peace, and anyone wishing to provoke a war will find us an enemy." In Bulgaria, as has been shown above, the influence of Russia, which had until this year been paramount, has almost disappeared, thanks to the independent attitude assumed by Prince Alexander since his visits in the summer to Berlin and Vienna, and to the coalition against the Russian Generals of the Bulgarian Liberals and Conservatives. As has frequently been the case, Russian policy once more failed through the over-zeal of its agents. The attempt of General Kaulbars and M. Jonin to force Prince Alexander to abdicate his powers by means of a military revolution, was probably not authorised by the Russian Government, though it would doubtless have been approved had it been successful. As it turned out, Bulgaria has asserted her independence, and Russia, being unwilling to provoke a war, has been obliged to accept a situation which could not fail to be somewhat humiliating to her. The visits of the Prince of Bulgaria in April, and of the Prince of Montenegro in August, to Constantinople, were said to have been prompted by Russia, who doubtless would have been glad to promote a coalition of the Slavonic States with their Ottoman neighbour against Austria. Another move in this direction was made on August 12, when the Servian pretender, Prince Peter Karageorgievitch, who was exiled from Servia for his participation in the murder of the late Servian Prince Michael, was married to the Princess Zorka of Montenegro; and this gave rise to a repetition of the rumours of a Balkan Federation under the Prince of Montenegro, which had prevailed during the preceding year. The party of Prince Karageorgievitch, however, possesses but little influence in Servia, and the present King of that country would certainly not join a federation under the Prince of Montenegro. Prince Karageorgievitch is a *protégé* of Russia, but Russia has now little influence among the Balkan States except in Montenegro itself, and the Servian pretender will probably have to be content with the position of brother-in-law to the prince who rules at Cetinye.

## CHAPTER IV.

## MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

- I. BELGIUM. II. NETHERLANDS. III. SWITZERLAND. IV. SPAIN.  
V. PORTUGAL. VI. DENMARK. VII. SWEDEN. VIII. NORWAY.

## I. BELGIUM.

THE most important event of the year was the adoption by the Legislative Chambers of a Bill presented by the Government relative to a considerable extension of the right of vote. There had, hitherto, been three classes of electors in Belgium, all of whom possessed a rating qualification, which was fixed at a minimum of 10 francs for communal, 20 francs for provincial rates, or 42 francs of direct taxation. The principle of this electoral reform was the addition of educational capacity to the former rating qualification. The new law was naturally only applicable to the lower classes of electors. Ministers of State, members of both legislative chambers, of provincial and communal councils, professors and holders of diplomas delivered by the Universities or other State recognised establishments of public instruction, commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Army and Navy, magistrates, members of the clergy receiving as such a salary from the state, &c., in short, nineteen classes of citizens whose educational attainments were otherwise patent, were exempted from the operation of the new law. For such, however, as did not belong to any of the "privileged" classes, a carefully elaborated system of examination was laid down—and the successful candidates acquired thereby the right of voting in all communal and provincial elections. This examination comprised all the subjects recognised as obligatory by Art. 5 of the law of 1879, *i.e.* reading and writing, in the mother tongue, either French or Flemish, a knowledge of arithmetic and of the legal standard of weights and measures, the outlines of geography, national history, and of *la morale*. In order to insure impartiality, each jury appointed to examine the candidates was to be composed of three members, all belonging to districts outside that in which the examination was held; one member was to be chosen from the officials of State schools, one from those connected with private (clerical) schools, whilst the third, who was the *ex officio* chairman, was to be wholly disconnected with any teaching body.

The total number of the new electors called into existence under the new law has not yet been as fully ascertained; but up to the close of the year some 50,000 had qualified themselves, involving an increase of 44 per cent. of the previously existing number of provincial and communal electors.

With strange inconsistency, just at the time when the Government was urging forward its scheme of electoral reform, the members of the Extreme Left intervened with another more radical and entailing the revision of certain articles of the Constitution, and having for its object the adoption of universal suffrage. Already in 1881 the Radicals had brought this question before the Chamber, at the time that the law on the local governing bodies (*Députations Permanentes*) had been under discussion, and their attitude on that occasion had very nearly brought about a ministerial crisis. It was therefore to the regret of the moderates that the same proposition—entailing the same risks as previously for the Liberal party, should have been brought forward just when the Government was partially entering into the views of the advanced party by the suppression of the rating qualification. The debates which ensued were animated and frequently violent, but the resolution was finally rejected by 116 against 10, the Right voting on this occasion with the Left. The significance of this vote was that it clearly showed that public opinion in Belgium was opposed to any revision of the Constitution, in the direction of universal suffrage.

In the course of the Session, a Bill brought forward but finally rejected after lengthy debates, proposed the suppression of a considerable number of clerical charges (*vicariats*) which had lapsed in consequence of the excommunications issued on the occasion of the Education Act of 1879, the suppression of the *traitements des chanoines*, and the sensible diminution of the salaries of the Bishops, who, in 1879, and subsequently had taken the lead in open revolt against the laws. The legislature of the year was marked by a further inroad on special class-privileges. Hitherto, the seminarists and students at the normal schools had been exempted from military service. The suppression of this favour, long demanded by the Liberals, was at length voted by the Chambers, in spite of the violent opposition of the members of the Right, who maintained that the real, but unavowed object of the measure was to raise obstacles to the recruitment of the parochial clergy. This argument was, however, destroyed by the Minister of Justice, M. Bara, who showed that more than 40 per cent. of the seminarists never undertook cures, but became Jesuits, Dominicans, or professors in Catholic schools. On the other hand, it was notorious that large numbers of young men only entered the seminaries in order to avoid the military service.

In spite of the Act passed in 1882, on the *Députations Permanentes*, the Government found itself forced to revise the law relating to the pecuniary liability of communal and provincial bodies. The main object of the measure had been to ensure the complete execution of the law on primary teaching; but in several Catholic communes, hostile to the law of 1879, the legal prescriptions had been ignored, and the official teachers remained unpaid, and the *Députations Permanentes* had ratified these illegal pro-

ceedings. In the face of such organised hostility, the Government found itself powerless, and forced on various occasions to appeal to the Chambers to vote important sums of money for the teachers' salaries. Prior to the law of 1879, the Government had the right to inscribe in the communal and provincial budgets the sums required by the law for the expenses of public instruction; but had not the power to force the communal or provincial councils to pay the sums thus apportioned, the *Députations Permanentes* or the Communal Councils taking alone the right of issue *mandats de paiement* (warrants) for all expenses referring either to the province or to the commune. The new law put an end to this situation, by giving the Government the right of issuing warrants in the event of refusal by the *Députations Permanentes*.

The year's budget, as presented by the Minister of Finance, disclosed a deficit of about 25,000,000 francs, to cover which new taxes had to be imposed. To cover one-half of this deficiency, the Government proposed taxes on securities of various sorts (*valeurs mobilières*), on Stock Exchange transactions, as well as on coffee, alcohol, and tobacco. The tax on coffee was rejected by a large majority, but all the other taxes, after certain modifications by the Chambers, were voted, after stormy debates, in the course of which the extreme Left more than once united with the Right against the Government, thereby threatening to bring about a Ministerial crisis, and creating considerable anxiety throughout the country.

In military, and even in civilian circles, some excitement was occasioned by the summary dismissal of Lieut.-General Brialmont. The Ministry, against the tone of public opinion, were forced to this step by the remonstrances of the Austrian Foreign Office. General Brialmont, at the solicitation of the Roumanian Government, had undertaken to advise upon certain strategic works which the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet regarded as necessary to the Habsburg monarchy. General Brialmont having gone to Roumania without the necessary authorisation from the Minister of War, was therefore suspended temporarily from the Belgian service. But his reinstatement was not long postponed, for the Belgian army could scarcely dispense with the services of an officer who as military engineer occupies one of the foremost places in Europe.

The coolness between Belgium and Holland, which had naturally grown out of the events of 1850 and the proclamation of Belgian independence, has for years been dying away, and evidence that cordial relations might be restored grew stronger year by year. The journey of King William III. to Belgium, and the return visit of Leopold II. to Holland in the course of the year, gave official recognition to this change of feeling. The interviews between the two monarchs were of the most cordial nature; and the hearty receptions mutually accorded by the people showed that this renewal of friendly intercourse was endorsed by popular sentiment.

Three years previously, in 1880, Belgium, out of regard for Holland, had suppressed the September fêtes, commemorative of the founding of Belgian independence, and from that moment more friendly relations between the two royal families were established. It is anticipated that the establishment of Customs union between the two countries will be one of the earliest fruits of the existing good understanding; public opinion in Holland being very favourable to this measure, whilst in Belgium it is supported by both political parties with equal warmth.

## II. THE NETHERLANDS.

The dissensions in the Liberal party had, it may be remembered, made the accession to office of Baron Van Lynden's coalition Ministry the only solution of the political dead-lock. An arrangement of this nature could at the best be only temporary. As early as January, during the discussion of the budget for 1883, a violent altercation arose between the Minister of the Interior, M. Tynacker-Hordyck, and a member of the Liberal majority in the First Chamber of the States-General, out of certain expressions used by the Minister relative to the limits of lay-teaching. M. Tynacker-Hordyck had openly declared himself hostile to the principle, and added that he considered the suppression of all teaching given by the State would mark a distinct advance towards his ideal. A Liberal member, M. Pycké, immediately took up these words, and vehemently upbraided the Minister for his violation of the understanding on which the Administration held office. In reply, M. Tynacker-Hordyck hastened to declare that he had only expressed a purely personal opinion, and that the Government had not the slightest intention of modifying in any way the organisation of public teaching, as it had been settled by the law of 1878.

Immediate peril was averted, but the danger soon re-appeared under another form; and this time the result was the resignation of the Minister of the Colonies, M. de Brauw. Consequent upon a vote of censure in the Second Chamber of the States-General, the Minister was charged with having granted a fresh concession of the silver mines of Billiton on very questionable conditions. When the debate came on, the majority of the Ministers ostentatiously absented themselves, instead of trying to defend their colleague. M. de Brauw thereupon resigned, and his portfolio was handed over to M. Talmaan Kip, the Minister of War. A month later, the Ministers collectively tendered their resignation on a question of electoral reform. In the previous year, the Government had brought forward a bill extending the right of voting by a considerable lowering of the franchise. This proposal was on the point of being discussed when the Government demanded its adjournment, on the ground that a revision of electoral legislation based on a reduction of the franchise should be postponed until

after the reform of the laws relating to taxation. The adjournment demanded was, indeed, voted by 66 against 12, on account of fresh dissensions amongst the Liberals, but throughout the country the dissatisfaction was so great, and the difficulties of governing without the help of a stable majority were so obvious, that the Ministers decided to tender their resignation, which the King accepted.

As on a previous occasion and under similar circumstances, instead of calling the Liberals to power, the King charged M. Heemskerk, one of the leaders of the Conservative party, to form an administration. M. Heemskerk refused to accept this task, deeming it impossible that a Conservative cabinet would be accepted by the Second Chamber as then composed. The King thereupon resorted to the Liberals, but neither M. Van Rees, the President of the Second Chamber, nor M. Gleichmann, the former Minister of Finances, was able to unite the various groups of the Liberal party, and both finally had to relinquish the task. After these various failures, the King once more had recourse to M. Heemskerk. The group of which he was the recognised leader in the Chamber did not number as many members as there were vacant ministerial posts; and, at the same time, M. Heemskerk could not altogether rely on the other members of the Conservative party. His solution of the difficulty was one to which foreign statesmen often are obliged to resort. He chose his colleagues altogether outside the Chambers; most of these being men of small political importance, but of recognised administrative ability. The new Cabinet was thus composed:—M. Heemskerk, President of the Council and Minister of the Interior; M. Vander Does de Willebois, Foreign Affairs; M. Dutour van Bellingham, Justice; Vice-Admiral Geerling, Marine; M. Grobbée, Finances; General Weitzel, War; M. Vandenberg, Waterstaad; and M. van Bleeman-Waanders, Colonies. These ministers did not all belong to the Conservative party, some being moderate Liberals, and two being Catholics. The anti-Liberals were nevertheless in a majority in the new Cabinet; and almost their first act was to abandon the project of extension of the franchise, which circumstances had forced upon M. van Lynden. In order, however, to attenuate the anti-Liberal character of this policy, the Cabinet announced the nomination of a special Commission to study the question of the revision of the constitution, on the ground that some report of this nature was logically necessary previous to any alteration of the existing electoral system.

All the political parties were represented on this Commission, and it was ultimately constituted to include, in addition to the military members, 7 Liberals, 3 ultra-Protestants, 2 Catholics, and 2 Conservatives. The task assigned to the Commission comprised three questions of primary importance: the representative system, compulsory military service in the place of conscription, and primary instruction. Another point, relating to the order of succession to the throne, was by general consent kept in the back-

ground, and was only to be examined with the King's consent, and at his invitation.

The elections for the renewal of half the members of the Second Chamber of the States-General took place soon after the constitution of the new Ministry. The provincial elections, which had taken place a few weeks earlier, had shown unfavourably to the Liberals, although they actually lost no seats. The general elections had almost similar results, the Liberals losing only two seats in the Second Chamber. Nominally they continued to dispose of a majority of six votes, but the want of discipline and union in the party renders it powerless to take office with any hope of stability. The triennial renewal of part of the members of the First Chamber showed results similar to those remarked in the Second Chamber. The Liberals retained a majority, but the activity of the Conservatives was rewarded by their sensible progress in public opinion.

The want of union amongst the various factions of the Liberal party has not only been marked by hesitancy in their policy, but has caused all the moderate and undecided members of that party to separate from M. Kaffeyne and to rally to the ultra-Protestants.

The new Cabinet met with a rebuff soon after the opening of the new parliamentary session. The ministry hastened to lay before the States-General various schemes for increasing the revenue, and amongst others a proposal to re-establish Customs duties on the importation of cereals. This was summarily rejected by the financial commission of the Second Chamber, as being contrary to the principles of Free Trade. Soon afterwards, the budget for the Indies, disclosing a deficit of 15 million florins, was rejected by 43 against 35, and the consequence of this vote was the resignation of the Minister of the Colonies, and of the Governor-General of the East Indies, M. Jacob. The chapter of the Budget relating to the Colonies was changed into a provisional credit for six months, and the Minister of War took over M. van Bloemen-Waanders' duties as Colonial Minister. The situation at Atchin continued unchanged, and, as the King said in his speech at the opening of the Session, continued to impose serious duties on the army and navy.

The first result of the legislation of the previous year dealing with the Temperance question was the reduction of the Customs duties on alcoholic liquors for 1882 by not less than 602,863 florins as compared with the receipts of the preceding year, pointing to a diminished consumption of more than a million litres of wine and spirits.

The International Exhibition organised at Amsterdam succeeded beyond all hopes, and revealed the riches and power of Holland, as well as its cordial relations with the Foreign Powers; but it was especially useful as showing some of the practical results of the Dutch system of managing her colonies.

## III. SWITZERLAND.

Public interest in Switzerland during the course of the year gathered more round religious and social questions than round purely political topics. The nomination of Bishop Mermillod to the episcopal see of Lausanne and Geneva was the cause of protracted discussion between the Federal Council and the Vatican. It will be remembered that in 1876 Pius IX., contrary to the provisions of the Concordat, by which the relations between the State and the Catholic Church in Switzerland are regulated, had endeavoured to separate the joint diocese of Lausanne, Fribourg and Geneva, on behalf of *Msg. Mermillod* (at that time only the *curé* in the latter-named capital), whom he wished to appoint *Vicar-Apostolic* at Geneva. The National Council of Geneva refused to admit this separation of the former diocese, and to recognize *M. Mermillod's* new title. The Concordat with Rome was thereupon repudiated, and *Msg. Mermillod*, having brought himself within the realm of the civil law, was exiled; and the State of Geneva, by a law passed in October 1876, officially joined the Old Catholicism, with *Msg. Herzog* as bishop. In the course of the present year, the Catholic bishop of Lausanne died, and the Vatican decided to appoint the *Abbé Savoy* to the vacant see. The Federal Council protested that they could not admit such a nomination, which would imply a recognition of the separation of the former diocese. The Pope, consequently, in the hopes of settling the difficulty, appointed the exiled prelate, *Msg. Mermillod*, to the reunited see of Lausanne-Fribourg-Geneva.

Meanwhile, the Federal Council had cancelled the decree of exile pronounced against *Msg. Mermillod*, thereby allowing him again to inhabit Switzerland, but no allusion was made to the Papal decision or to his appointment to the joint bishopric. The Geneva Council, however, did not long conceal its intentions—it refused to ratify the nomination of *Msg. Mermillod* as Bishop of Geneva,—adding, that the only prelate who had right of episcopal jurisdiction and administration in the Canton was *Msg. Herzog*, the State-recognised bishop. *Msg. Mermillod*, thus prevented from acting as the regular bishop, could not do so as a dissident, inasmuch as by Article 50 of the Federal Constitution no new bishopric can be created on Swiss territory without the consent of the Confederation, a mark of confidence which, after his open rebellion against the Cantonal law, *Msg. Mermillod* was not likely to obtain.

In the course of this protracted discussion, *Leo XIII.* had formally annulled the decree of his predecessor relative to the partition of the Lausanne-Fribourg-Geneva diocese, and, on his side, *Msg. Mermillod* had announced to the Federal Council that he gave up the functions as *Vicar-Apostolic*, which had been conferred upon him by *Pius IX.* The causes of his exile having



thus been removed, the Federal Council could not longer oppose his return to Switzerland, but the condition was imposed that he should perform no act of episcopal jurisdiction; a proviso which left entire liberty of action to the Geneva Cantonal Council. The president of this assembly declared, amidst loud applause, that the Government would not hesitate to apply the existing laws, and even propose new ones, if any fresh attempt at usurpation were made. An address approving the conduct of the Cantonal Council was immediately signed by several thousands of citizens of the Canton, and a later date, when the elections took place in November, all the outgoing Radical members were re-elected to the Council with only one exception.

A further question bearing on the relations of Church and State was about the same time the object of considerable discussion. A resolution was submitted to the National Council to the effect that no new bishopric should be created on Swiss territory, even after a popular *placet*, unless the new bishop could prove to the Federal Council, before his installation, that the Pope had by dispensation relieved him of the episcopal oath of obedience, which ran: "I promise to pursue and to fight (*combattre*) with all my energies, all heretics, schismatics," &c. The object of this proviso was, that such an oath was manifestly in opposition to Article 50 of the Swiss constitution, by which freedom of faith is guaranteed. After lengthy and animated debates, the proposition was, however, finally rejected.

In commercial legislation during the year, the Federal Council, at the instigation of the Protectionists, was induced to accept the General Tariff (*tarif de combat*), in the place of the former tariff (*tarif d'usage* as it was called), which was far more favourable to importation. At first, the Federal Council was opposed to any reactionary measures; but finally, the pressure brought to bear by the individual cantons upon their representatives was too great for the Free Traders to resist. The application, however, of the new tariff was indefinitely postponed, and was regarded chiefly as a weapon placed at the disposal of the Federal Council for use, when the discussion of the future commercial treaties with foreign countries came forward, and in view of any recurrence of the severe commercial and agricultural crisis which hung over the country.

Another financial question, although only of local interest, created much excitement. Some twenty years back a number of railroads had been projected and completed in various parts of Switzerland; the central Government having granted concessions, and the cantons and towns advanced considerable *emprunts*, sums raised by local loans, expecting to more than cover and extinguish their debts by the enhanced value of land and the increased commercial advantages created by the new means of communication. The town of Winterthur took the lead in promoting a railroad directly uniting the Lake of Geneva and the Lake of Constance. The expenses were enormous, but were met by a loan, guaranteed by

the four large towns most directly interested in the success of the enterprise, Winterthur in the Canton of Zurich, and three towns of the Canton of Aargau. The railroad, however, failed to fulfil the anticipations of its promoters, and the bondholders insisted on being paid the sums due to them. The line being insolvent, appeal was made to the guarantors. Winterthur at once faced its quota of the liabilities; but the other towns refusing to pay their share, Winterthur also refused to continue the payment. That town was thereupon declared bankrupt by the Zurich Law Court, on the petition of certain creditors, and the bailiffs (*agents du fisc*) even began to make an inventory of the goods of the town, previous to selling them by auction. The Federal Council, at this juncture, interfered in these proceedings, and voted a sum of 2,400,000 francs to help the three Argovian towns in their financial difficulty. The Argovians, however, refused this aid, saying that bankruptcy was their only means of settling the question. The Federal Council, in order to maintain the credit of the country, refused to permit this, and passed a special law requiring the Argovian towns to return to legal measures. This law having been declared urgent, was, by exception, not submitted to popular verdict.

The Canton of Berne was the only one in all Switzerland whose constitution, dating from 1846, had never been revised or even modified. It was, consequently, no longer on a level with the actual social conditions. The democratic party, therefore, set itself to get up petitions, claiming the revision of the constitution, and very rapidly obtained the 8,000 signatures requisite to endorse a demand of this nature. The National Council thereupon submitted the question to a popular vote, asking, first, whether revision was or was not necessary; and secondly, the first point being admitted, whether the revision should be by the National Council, or by an *Assemblée constituante*, elected *ad hoc*. By 27,000 against 12,000 the people decided that there was need for a revision, and that this work should be performed by a "Constituante." The elections which took place in August for the nomination of this Assembly were marked by the complete defeat of the Conservatives, whose leaders were almost all rejected; more than two-third of the members of the Constituante (102) belonging to the Liberal party, as against 75 Conservatives. This vote was regarded by the Liberal party throughout the Confederation as of more than mere local importance, on account of the large influence exercised by the Canton of Berne over the rest of the Cantons.

Towards the close of the year it was represented to the Federal Council that notwithstanding the treaty of 1815, by which a portion of Haute Savoie was declared neutral, French troops had encamped on that territory, and had, moreover, commenced certain strategic works. After a prolonged interchange of notes between the Swiss and the French Governments, the affair was settled; but the general opinion prevailed that the Federal Council should

without delay bring the question of the neutrality of Haute Savoie before the Signatory Powers of the Treaty of Vienna, and claim the authorisation for Switzerland to occupy the territory in question in case of war, in spite of its subsequent annexation to France.

Some measures had to be taken against the Salvation Army, which had begun to display its activity in Geneva. After the expulsion of several of its principal members, the whole army was finally expelled from the Swiss territory according to Art. 52 of the Federal Constitution, forbidding the establishment of any foreign religious order or association, and refusing to any member of these associations the right of preaching their doctrines without the assent of the National Council. At the close of the year M. Welti was appointed successor to M. Ruchonnet as President of the Swiss Confederation.

#### IV. SPAIN.

Almost simultaneously with the commencement of the year a ministerial crisis was brought about by Señor Camacho's (Minister of Finance) proposal for the sale of Crown forests to the amount of forty million of pesetas, in order to balance the Treasury accounts. This was opposed (in the Council) by his colleague of Public Works, Señor Albareda. Conciliation being found impossible, and the Ministers threatening to withdraw, followed by their respective partisans, Señor Sagasta, with the assent of the Cabinet, sought the King on January 7, and tendered its resignation. Señor Sagasta was at once charged with the task of forming a new Cabinet, which was proved to be composed of Constitutionals and Centralists as follows: Señores Sagasta, President; Pelayo Cuesta, Finance; Pio Gullon, Home Office; Romero Giron, Justice; General Martinez Campos, War; Marquis de la Vega de Armijo, Foreign Affairs; Rear-Admiral Rodriguez Arias, Navy; the poet Nunez de Arce, Colonies; and Señor Gamazo, Public Works. On January 20, the new Cabinet presented themselves to the Cortes. They professed the compatibility of prudent reforms with the monarchy of Don Alphonso XII., declared it would be the conciliation of all parties, and their endeavour to bring over the Republicans to monarchy. Among other declarations, Señor Sagasta said that the Budget would be balanced without the sale of Crown forests, but that in other respects the late Minister Camacho's financial scheme was approved by the present administration.

A few days later the Government gained a first success by the election of Marquis de Sardeal as first Vice-President of the Congress, Señor Sagasta and the Marquis having made up their quarrel, which had caused the latter to refuse a seat in the Cabinet which had been offered to him. Without delay the Ministry then

submitted to the Cortes a number of measures in support of their programme.

In the Senate Señor Corradi's motion for abolishing the oath was withdrawn on Señor Sagasta's declaration that it was indifferent to the Government whether Senators took the oath or made an affirmation. This course displeased the Liberals, who censured the democratic Minister of Justice, Romero Giron, for accepting that issue, but a few days later (February 4), a Bill for abolishing the oath was brought in and summarily rejected in the Congress by 162 votes against 14. The prominent part taken by the Ministers in opposing this measure, gave occasion to the Republican Deputy, Gonzalez Serrano, to exclaim in the House:—"It is not right that because Sagasta and his colleagues perjured their oath to Dona Isabel de Bourbon, they should insist on obliging us to swear." Subsequently another Bill, introduced by the Government in the same House, leaving it to the option of each deputy to swear or to promise allegiance to the King, was passed on April 7, after some debate, by a majority of 164 against 47. In spite of this Señor Montero Rios, one of the leaders of the Left, on taking his seat as Deputy decided to take the oath, as more agreeable to Government, this being the interpretation generally given to his conduct.

Señor Romero Giron further disappointed the Liberals in the Congress by giving to understand (January 27) that he was not in favour of civil marriage, which was heartily greeted by the Conservatives. It may be that all his colleagues were not of the same mind; for either it was owing to the exertions of the Papal Nuncio (who had several conferences with the Government), or else to a misgiving that they could not depend upon a majority to pass the clause of the Civil Code Bill sanctioning civil marriage; the fact is that, towards the end of February, the Cabinet decided not to push that Bill forward to a debate during the Session.

The weakness of the majority, however, was in the Senate, as shown by the vote taken on the Ebro Canal Bill (March 5), which was rejected by 31 against 29; and (March 16) by the election of three Conservatives out of seven members of the Committee on the French Indemnity. Notwithstanding these two defeats, otherwise of little consequence, the Cabinet did not think it prudent to fill up the vacancies in the Senate and thereby strengthen their majority, because the candidates were so numerous that it was feared the dissatisfaction of those not nominated would hasten on a ministerial crisis.

The Budget (March 12) showed ordinary receipts over 32,000,000*l.*; ordinary outlay something less, leaving a surplus of 28,000*l.* odd (736,488 pesetas); extraordinary receipts under 1,500,000*l.*; extraordinary outlay 1,200,000*l.*, leaving a net surplus of nearly 300,000*l.* (6,603,654 pesetas). A conflict arose between the Committee of Ways and Means; and the Minister of War, who refused to curtail certain expenses of his department, brought on

another crisis at the end of April; but this was for the moment smoothed over; another, between the same Committee and the Ministers of Finance and Public Works (May 10), who insisted on a credit of 85 million of pesetas based, or partly based, on the sale of Crown forests, Camacho's scheme which had brought about the fall of the late Cabinet, and abandoned by their successors. On this occasion it was, however, Señor Moret, the President of the Committee, who resigned, much to the disgust of Ministers, but the matter was settled a few days later by the withdrawal of the demand for the credit.

The Bill for abolishing the 10 per cent. war tax on railway passengers' tickets met with strenuous opposition in the Senate; but Government having marshalled all their strength in that House, it was voted July 9, and passed the Congress July 20, all amendments being rejected.

A new press law was also voted during this Session, which, although not very liberal, was regarded as an improvement on the Canovas-law which it replaced.

A Treaty of Commerce having been concluded at Berlin (July 12) between Spain and the German Empire, it was submitted to the Cortes in the same month; and having passed both Houses, was duly ratified (Aug. 12). The benefits conceded to Spain by this Treaty consisted principally in a diminution of the duties on wine, cork, fruit, and chocolate; but the reduction on wine, the staple article of Spain, was trifling; whilst the concessions made to Germany, especially on sugar, were considerable. It therefore gave rise to much discontent, not only on the part of the Colonies and the wine-growers, but among politicians, who regarded it as based rather on political motives than upon commercial interests. Nor was this feeling confined to Spaniards alone, for it gave umbrage to the French, who saw in the compact the bias of Marquis de la Vega de Armijo's Foreign Policy, which was to strengthen the ties with Germany. The Foreign Minister was credited with the object not merely of lifting Spain up to a first-class Power, but for raising other dormant questions, in which France would not be the only foreign power concerned.

Shortly before the close of the Session (July 26), General Quesada, Commander-in Chief of the Northern Army, had discovered a conspiracy, fomented by Ruiz Zorilla and other Republicans, which led to the imprisonment of some officers and sergeants of the Savoy Regiment. The Ministers (several of them in *villegiatura*), were further taken by surprise when, a fortnight later, public peace was suddenly disturbed by military *pronunciamientos*. The first outbreak was at Badajoz (August 5), before daybreak. The General Commanding, many officers, the Civil Governor, and other functionaries, were seized in their beds, and imprisoned; but the movement went no further. The soldiers, their leader (a Lieutenant-Colonel), and his officers, with a few civilians, in all about one thousand men, crossed the frontier next day,

taking refuge in Portugal, where they gave up their arms, and were interned by the Government. A few days later, insurrections took place among the military at St. Domingos (Logroño) and at La Seo de Urgel, but the whole force of the rebels did not exceed 400 men, and after a little fighting a part fled into France, whilst the remainder laid down their arms, and four sergeants were shot by sentence of a court-martial (August 12). Meanwhile there were some revolts among the workmen at Hostafranc and Sans (suburbs of Barcelona), as well as at Tarragona and Lerida, but they were speedily put down by the troops, and quiet restored everywhere by the 15th of the month. The insurrection had been planned for the 13th, by Ruiz Zorilla (who, in November, was summoned *pro forma* to the court-martial sitting at Logroño), and other agitators, but failed completely, finding no support among the masses, and was condemned by all the prominent leaders of the Left and other parties (Generals Serrano, Lopez Dominguez, Becerra, Castelar, &c.), showing that the nation had no desire to return to the expedient of military pronunciamientos in order to redress political evils. The rallying cry was "*Republic! Down with taxes!*" Martial-law was temporarily proclaimed, 140 officers were cashiered, many persons imprisoned, and Zorilla's expulsion from France demanded (August 12). The King started on a tour through Valencia and other provinces, reaching Corunna for the opening of the new railway. In the beginning of September, despite the adverse opinion of a large portion of the Press, His Majesty carried out his long-contemplated visit to the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, Munich, and Brussels. He was unaccompanied by the Queen, who had recently returned from a visit to her relatives in Vienna. The Emperor of Germany having invested the King with the Colonelcy of the Uhlan Regiment, garrisoned at Strasburg, the French took umbrage, and on his arrival at Paris the mob received the Spanish Sovereign with insults (September 29). Notwithstanding the apology given the next day by the President of the Republic, Don Alfonso shortened his visit, and left at once for Madrid. The event gave rise to a discussion between the two Governments, and hastened the downfall of the Sagasta Cabinet, of which, for other reasons also, the speedy dissolution was considered imminent. The Foreign Minister, Vega de Armijo, against the advice of the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, insisted on France giving a more explicit apology than the one already tendered; and not meeting with sufficient support, he resolved to withdraw. Sagasta's attempts to save his Cabinet having failed, they resigned (October 10). The King thereupon charged Señor Posada Herrera to form a Ministry, which was thus constituted: Señor Posada Herrera, *Presidency*; Señor Ruiz Gomez, *Foreign Affairs*; Señor Linares Rivas, *Justice*; Señor Gallostra, *Finance*; Señor Moret, *Home*; General Lopez Dominguez, *War*; Marquis de Sardoal, *Public Works*; Señor Suares Inclau, *Colonies*; Admiral Valcarcel, *Navy*. Of these the Ministers of Justice,

Home, and War belonged to the Dynastic Left, whilst the others represented the Majority, the *Constitucionales*.

The form of the French apology question was at last settled, November 14, by a declaration which appeared in the *Madrid Official Gazette*, as previously agreed to by the Paris Cabinet. In this account was given of what had transpired at the Embassy, on M. Grévy's visit to the King, and the apology there made by him. The Ambassador, Duke de Fernan Nuñez, was soon afterwards replaced at Paris by Marshal Serrano.

The Emperor of Germany, pleading age, charged his son, the Crown Prince, to return the King's visit in his name. His Imperial Highness arrived from Genoa at Gras, near Valencia, November 22, and thence went direct to Madrid. His stay at the Capital lasted a fortnight, and on his going back thence, December 7, to Barcelona, he stopped to visit Grenada, Cordova, and other towns, and reached Genoa December 16. For two hundred years there had been no interchange of royal visits between the German and Spanish Courts; and, except the Conservatives and the Fusionists, all other parties, including the one in power, gave, through their newspapers, but a cold welcome to the German Prince. After his departure, the German alliance became again a source of suspicion, and the existence of a secret treaty was even mooted, but this was categorically denied by the Government organs.

The great political struggles of the year, however, were determined by the attitude of the Dynastic Left at the beginning of the year. The Ministerialists had professed themselves ready for reforms, provided the Constitution of 1876 were regarded as their basis; but the Dynastic Left, or rather a portion of this party, although no longer insisting on the Constitution of 1869 in its integrity, maintained, nevertheless, that it should be taken as the starting point of such reforms. Immediately after the first Ministerial changes, January 8, an attempt was made to dissolve the Dynastic Left with a view of forming a new party, to be called "Liberal," composed of the elements of the old Dynastics, and of part of the Constitutionals, with Señor Sagasta as its leader in the room of General Serrano. The basis of this understanding was that the whole of Title I. of the Constitution of 1869 would be engrafted on to the Constitution of 1876; but this proposition, although sanctioned by Señor Sagasta, came to no practical issue, and dissensions soon showed themselves in the party which, without formal dissolution, split up into two diverging elements—the one represented by General Serrano, who took his stand upon the Constitution of 1869 pure and simple; and the other headed by Señor Martos, the Republican, who advocated alliance with the Constitutionals, and the formation of a New Party ultimately. When it was resolved, February 12, to assume a hostile attitude towards the Cabinet, on the proposition of Montero Rios—Serrano's mouthpiece—the influence of Martos prevailed, giving a more moderate character to that decision, and

a few weeks later Rear-Admiral Beranger, one of the leading men of the Left, separated from the party with a group of his friends. Despite the resolve taken in the meeting of February 12—subsequently confirmed—the opposition manifested by the Left in the Cortes became weak and hesitating, ending at length in complete inaction. The dispiriting influence was due to the growing conviction that they had no chance of being called to power were the Ministry to fall. A return of the Conservatives would in that case be inevitable, and such an event would indefinitely postpone the attainment of their avowed object—constitutional reform. Shortly before the closing of the Cortes (July), however, a more energetic attitude was assumed, and the Government was violently assailed by the principal orators of the Liberal party, as well as by Señor Martos, although not strictly a member of the party. The attack was founded on the plea that Señor Sagasta was not in earnest in his promises to urge forward the question of Reform. An additional incentive to Señor Martos' newly-awakened zeal may have also been found in the suggestion thrown out by some of the party that he should be nominated its President, in the place of Serrano. The latter, it must be added, had expressed his concurrence in the project. But Martos refused; and at a dinner given in his honour at the Retiro, when he was expected to make a distinct profession of monarchism, and formally join the party, he would not go in his programme beyond "the alliance of Democracy with Monarchy." But he promised to help the Left with all his might to attain that object. This disappointment was further confirmed when, a little later, Señor Martos avoided another meeting, where he knew the leadership was to be pressed upon him. It thus became evident that he would make no open, formal declaration in favour of Monarchy without the previous assurance that the Democratic party would be called to power. Señor Sagasta's views, in conformity with those of part of the Left, to form an alliance between the latter and the Constitutionals, were therefore again put forward with renewed energy—General Serrano and his adherents favouring conciliation, whilst the Centralists threatened the Cabinet (mostly composed of this party) should they give way to the conditions exacted by the Left. The conferences held by the leading men on both sides led to no result. To complete the brief summary of a very complicated state of things (previous to the fall of the Sagasta Cabinet), Señor Castelar and his friends, the Possibilistas, gave their moral support to the Left, whilst the Progressist-Republicans, in whose camp dissensions also were not wanting (Salmeron and Zorilla representing a split in the Extreme-Radical party), likewise advocated, moreover, as the basis of a Republican form of government, the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1869, which General Serrano professed to be compatible with the Monarchy. Moreover, after the military revolts had been subdued, Señor Zorilla declared from Geneva, in September, through his organ, "El Porvenir," of Madrid, that if the above-



mentioned Constitution were accepted he would cease all revolutionary action, and would confine himself to a struggle within the law for the realisation of his ideal republic. To meet these and similar aspirations, the two main points of the programme of Señor Posada Herrera's Cabinet were Universal Suffrage and Constitutional Reforms, both of which were denounced by Señor Sagasta and his friends. For six weeks strenuous efforts were made to conciliate these opposing views, as the new Administration felt their weakness if abandoned by the supporters of the late Ministry. But it was only on the eve of the opening of the Cortes (December 15) that a sort of understanding was come to, Sagasta maintaining that the royal prerogatives must be respected, and no return attempted to the elective principles of 1870, whilst Posada Herrera declared that the modifications contemplated were not of a Radical nature; and Sagasta's candidature to the Presidency of the Congress was upheld by the Government, whilst General Serrano was appointed President of the Senate.

The Speech from the Throne, the next day, after alluding to the royal visits, the affair with France, and kindred subjects, announced the Bill on Universal Suffrage; and gave it to be understood that, if voted, a dissolution of the Chamber would be the consequence, in order that, after the new elections, further constitutional reforms might be submitted to the Cortes.

Thereupon fresh dissension arose. Señor Sagasta, who had been elected President of the Deputies by 222 votes, out of a total of 266 (including 38 blank papers thrown in by the Ministerialists), on taking his seat, made a most Conservative speech; whilst General Serrano's address to the Senate was ultra-liberal.

Upon this, each side accused the other of not having fulfilled their share of the tacit understanding, and every effort to conciliate rival interests was fruitless. The draft reply to the Speech from the Throne, approved by the Cabinet, was drawn up so as to elicit a decided expression of opinion on the part of the Chambers. The Sagastistas refused to adopt this policy, and drew up a counter-draft, to which they adhered, and at the close of the year no conciliation seemed probable, so that it would only be left to the Ministry to threaten a dissolution in the event of their Address not being voted. If, on the other hand, Señor Sagasta's counter-project were carried by a large majority, the question would arise whether the King would grant a dissolution.

Meanwhile, "El Globo" published (November 1) Señor Castelar's manifesto, calling for the Constitution of 1869, and non-hereditary monarchy, but discountenancing all violent means, and giving his support to the new Cabinet for the reforms promised.

The chief administrative acts of the Posada Herrera Cabinet had been certain army reforms, by which the realm was divided into 140 military "zones." Staff appointments were in future to be held for no more than three years, obliging many officers to resign; and petty officers and soldiers, abroad, who had been

engaged in the revolts of August were amnestied, provided they gave in their submission to the Consuls within two months.

After many years' suspension of ordinary diplomatic intercourse between Spain and Chili, a Treaty of Peace was signed at Santiago, June 12.

The long-pending commercial treaty with England (of which the principal points were recapitulated last year, page 271) was concluded.

The affair with Morocco relating to the ceded territory of Santa Cruz de Marpequena (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1882, p. 271) was also finally settled, after some difficulties; and in October Spain took possession of the land near the mouth of the Yfusi river, south of Mogodor, as the most eligible spot for the erection of a fort, factories, and fisheries, to check competition of other European countries on the North African coast.

In the middle of February the discovery was made of a dangerous association, called *La Mano negra*, which at first was thought to have political bearings and to be connected with the Socialists of the *International*, but proved to be merely an agrarian movement, bent on robbery and extortion—terrorism, and even assassination, being the means employed. Andalusia was the theatre of its action, Cadiz being the central seat of the association, whose adherents were already numbered by thousands. Many persons were imprisoned; their trials commenced in May, and lasted for several weeks. Some were condemned to death, and a large number to penal servitude, but the proceedings elicited no details of political importance.

By a Ministerial measure, gazetted February 5, the metrical decimal system was rendered compulsory throughout Spain.

## V. PORTUGAL.

The Speech from the Throne on the opening of the Cortes (January 2) announced, among other things, the much-talked of Reform Bill, which had been for some weeks the theme of newspaper conjecture; and that the negotiations pending with England relative to the Zaire question and territories of Cabinda and Molembo were progressing favourably, giving hopes that a formal treaty would shortly be signed.

A debate on the Address in reply to the King's Speech was raised in the Chamber of Deputies by the Progressistas, who maintained that a Reform Bill would be of no avail unless accompanied by another measure repealing the existing laws respecting elections; and at length the Government promised to bring in a measure dealing with the subject. These contemplated reforms were, it is true, but little in keeping with the views expressed in public by the principal leader of the Regeneradores, Señor Fontes (Prime Minister), who had distinctly said, on more than one

occasion, that they were needless, and should not be attempted without due care and deliberation; whilst, on the other hand, the platform of the Progressistas was radical and immediate reform. When, therefore, it transpired that the Government were preparing a Reform Bill, the Progressista organs were scarcely able to conceal their vexation. It was asserted that the party in power had suddenly adopted their adversaries' programme, not from real conviction, but from the desire to retain office, and by thus cutting away the ground from under the Radicals to lessen their chances of a speedy return to power. In their meetings, however, and later on in Parliament, the Radicals, making a virtue of necessity, declared they would give their support to any changes which accorded with their opinions. But it soon became apparent that another influence had been at work in the sudden change in the policy of the Government—their alliance, or *entente cordiale*, with the Constituintes, suspected for some time past, in view of the appointment of some of the partisans of the latter to administrative posts. This understanding soon showed itself in the "benevolent attitude" of the Constituintes in Parliament, and in the support given by their newspapers to the Reform Bill. This group (for its limited number scarcely entitles it to the name of "party") was formed a few years back, for the express purpose of promoting the substitution of the Constitution in vigour for the democratic Charter of 1838, with an elective Senate and Council of State. Having made no headway, and hopeless of attaining their aims, the leading men, Deputies Dias Ferreira and Pinheiro Chagas, the Peer Manuel Vaz Preto, and others, appear to have thought it best to close with the proposition of the Government to reform the existing Constitution. Thus, the Avilistas having disappeared from the scene with the death of their leader in 1881, and the Constituintes having severed themselves from the Opposition, the latter was now represented only by the Progressistas.

But on the question of reform the Cabinet was not united. Señor Mello Gouvea, Minister of the Navy, was opposed to at least one of the proposed changes, the abolishment of hereditary peerage, and consequently resigned (January 31), being replaced by Señor Barbosa du Bocage. Thereupon the Reform Bill was brought in. Its provisions in substance were: the abolition of the hereditary principle in the Upper House; the limitation of the number of Peers; the substitution of the elective principle for Crown nomination, on the ground that the Peers were to represent the country and not the King; the shortening of the duration of Parliament from four to three years; the exclusion of the "imperative mandate"; the recognition of the right of the Chamber of Deputies to verify and confirm the election of its own members emphasized; the curtailment of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by Peers and Deputies; in joint committees relating to taxation and recruiting, the Deputies to have the casting vote; ministerial responsibility to be made absolute; the dissolution

of the Chamber of Deputies before three months' session to be illegal; the new Chamber to be convoked within three months of a dissolution; to curtail the Crown's power to remit penalties incurred by Ministers of State, without the consent of the Chamber of Deputies; to declare that before Pontifical documents could be recognised the consent of Parliament was needed; to recognise the King's right to leave the realm without permission of the Cortes; and to establish the right of public meeting subject to regulations.

A few days later, the Elections Bill was submitted. Its main feature was a redistribution of the electoral circles, which by it were fixed at 42 (including the Colonies), returning a total of 154 Deputies; and its chief aim was an attempt to insure the representation of minorities in 12 out of the 42 circles, with the view of remedying one of the crying evils of Portuguese elections, the sudden shifting of the majority, under official pressure or other transient influences.

Both Bills, having been referred to Committees, were alike disapproved of by the Progressistas, with the exception of a few of the clauses of the Reform Bill, and were violently assailed in their newspapers.

Although the Reform and Elections Committees met a few times, it was clear, before three months had elapsed, that the Cabinet were not anxious to press the Bills forward in face of the hostility of the House of Peers. That body indicated pretty clearly that it was in no humour to consent to some of the reforms, especially to that abolishing hereditary peerage. The chances of the Bill were thus rendered more than doubtful in the Upper House, unless a new batch of Peers were created. Only a policy of delay therefore remained for the Ministry, and by dint of repeated adjournments the Session was got through without any further reference to the Reform question. Similar tactics were again adopted when the House met anew in the autumn, and up to the close of the year neither of the Committees had reported on either of the Reform Bills.

In the financial position of the country, as laid before the Cortes by Señor Fontes (February 26), the ordinary deficit figured at 1,900 contos, and the extraordinary at 3,300 contos (nearly 1,200,000*l.*) He had promised, in the previous Session, to "kill the deficit," as he put it; nevertheless, according to Treasury accounts the floating debt had swollen to a little over 2,500,000*l.* sterling; and in August it exceeded 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

Several Bills of purely local or administrative interest (railroads, lighthouses, Cape de Verde tariff, primary education, Penitentiary Board, the Oporto artificial port at Leixoens, and others of minor consequence) passed both Houses, but except the Budget, which was duly voted, no political measure of any importance came before the Cortes in the course of the Session.

In May the King and Queen left for Madrid, to return the visit paid them the previous year by the Spanish sovereigns; and the

same day (May 21), the Crown Prince having taken the oath as Regent, the Cortes suspended their sittings during His Majesty's absence; but it was not until some days later that they reassembled (June 4), previous to their formal prorogation to the close of the year.

Immediately after the King's return, the Queen and the Crown Prince started on a visit to the King and Queen of Italy. For some time confidential *pourparlers* had been going on between the Portuguese Embassy at the Vatican and the Pontifical Government, as to whether the Queen and Crown Prince would be received by the Pope; but the answer was a *non possumus*, and the Ambassador, Marquis de Thomar, returned home on a temporary leave of absence, to avoid being placed in a false position during the stay at Rome of the Royal party. When, later, the facts became known, and the Lisbon newspapers complained of the slight offered to the Queen and her son by the Vatican, the excuse suggested was that the Queen had accepted the hospitality of the Quirinal, although this was not regarded as an obstacle when, a few months later, the Crown Prince of Germany, the guest of King Humbert, was received by his Holiness. It was afterwards explained, in a letter emanating from the Curia, that a distinction was made between Catholic and Protestant princes, the former only being received by the Pope when their visit to Rome was made exclusively to him. The Crown Prince of Portugal, on leaving Rome with his suite, paid a series of visits to different Courts of Europe.

The promise, or hope, held out in the Crown speech, of a speedy settlement of the African question with England, ended in disappointment; and what transpired in the British Parliament showed that the difficulties in the way of a treaty had rather increased than diminished, whilst Brazza's expedition, under the auspices of the French Government, had contributed to complicate matters. Portugal's standpoint was the *formal* recognition of her sovereignty on the West Coast up to south latitude  $5^{\circ} 12'$ , which had long been tacitly allowed; whilst England, besides aiming at strengthening the guarantees for the repression of slave-trade, wished to secure free traffic and navigation in the Congo waters. But, apart from some remarks injurious to Portugal, made by private members in the British Parliament, what excited the anger of the public, and gave rise to interpellations in the Cortes, and violent articles in the press, was the assertion made in Parliament by the British Under-Secretary of State, that the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs had undertaken that no ships of war should be sent to the Zaire pending the negotiations. After some angry debates, met by denial and explanations on the part of Ministers in the Cortes, it turned out that some sort of a promise had been made as to a *squadron*, but nothing affecting ships to be sent singly, to replace those already there. Nevertheless, in October the Portuguese occupied Chiloango, and the territory of Landana, up to the river Luisa Loango, a few miles south of the French station of Ponta

Negra, to serve as boundary-line of their possessions. In communicating this fact to the Foreign Consuls, by a circular despatch dated October 11, the Governor-General of Angola adds: that Portuguese authority was established at Kacongo and Massabi, and that the line of 5° 12' south latitude would be strictly maintained till further orders from the Home Government.

Negotiations for a commercial treaty with Spain had been entrusted to the Portuguese Minister at Madrid, Señor Joam de Andrade Corvo, who failed to bring the negotiations to a successful issue. His position there was also rendered untenable by the publication of a book respecting Portuguese Colonies, in which he spoke with undiplomatic freedom of the Spaniards. This led to his transfer to Paris, whilst Señor Mendes Leal was appointed to replace him at Madrid, and the treaty was ultimately concluded by the end of the year.

The attacks which had been made in the previous year upon the Papal Nuncio were renewed in connection with the resignation of the Archbishop of Braga and nomination of Bishops to new and vacant Sees. The Minister of Justice's "triumph," as his friends called it, in this question, not to say conflict, was reduced to little more than obtaining the Pope's acceptance of the Archbishop's resignation; but the price paid was considered heavy, inasmuch as the new Bishops were rather the nominees of the Nuncio than of the Ministers; and some of these nominations were highly disapproved by public opinion, especially the choice of the person to succeed the Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon, who had died in February. The Nuncio, Monsignor Masella, however, satisfied with the result of his mission, soon after gave in his resignation, and returned to Rome.

These, and similar topics of more local interest, were greedily seized upon by the Progressista newspapers, in their war against the Government. Nor was the King spared: from the month of June forward, articles appeared daily the burthen of which was His Majesty's *moral* responsibility for all the abuses, mishaps, and humiliations to which the country was subjected. The language employed in these articles was larded with threats, and even insulting epithets. Proceedings, therefore, were commenced against one or two of the boldest newspapers, but after a time were abandoned. That the King was deeply wounded by the tone of these articles is certain, for there was even a talk of abdication towards the end of the year; but, if ever contemplated, the idea did not take root.

Only one Ministerial crisis marked the course of the year, caused by a disagreement in the Cabinet about the approaching municipal elections. The two dissenting Ministers—Interior and Justice—having insisted on withdrawing, their colleagues determined to resign in a body; and Señor Fontes, the Prime Minister, was charged by the King to reconstruct another Administration, which he accomplished without delay (October 22), the portfolios

being thus distributed:—Señor Fontes, Presidency and War; Señor Barjona de Freitas, Interior; Señor Hintz Ribeiro, Finance; Señor Lopo Vaz, Justice; Señor Barbosa du Bocage, Foreign Affairs; Señor Pinheiro Chagas, Navy; Señor Antonio Augusto de Aguiar, Public Works; the two last named were *Constituintes*, and the remainder *Regeneradores*.

The municipal elections, the cause of the crisis, resulted (November 6) in the return of almost all the Ministerial candidates. In the eighteen circles into which Lisbon is divided, the Opposition triumphed in only one; whilst at Oporto, out of 7,500 electors, 1,500 were Republicans.

## VI. DENMARK.

Few countries in Europe make a more unsatisfactory show of legislative work than Denmark, where another year has added its quota to the political deadlock. It is now ten years since the Folksthing (the Lower House), in its well-known address to the King, for the first time gave a clear and definite expression to the growing desire for Parliamentary Government; and although the Liberal and Radical parties have steadily increased since, and used all possible tactics to promote their cause, no practical result has as yet rewarded their labours. The Conservative Ministry of Estrup is still in power, and seems to have lost no favour with the King, who, on his part, gives no sign of yielding to the popular demand for a Liberal Ministry.

At the beginning of the Session of 1882–83, which was opened in October, a promise was given that the Budget should be pressed forward at an early date, but it had only reached its first stage, and been referred to the Budget Committee, when the year (1882) closed. The Folksthing had for some time looked upon the Budget as an effectual weapon, by which it eventually would compel the Estrup Ministry to resign; but that body has learnt, by the experience of the past year, that, in Danish politics, the Government had a mode of ignoring the direct or indirect refusal of grants by the Folksthing. This year, therefore, the tactics of the Lower House were confined to delaying the Budget as a whole, after having subjected it to numerous reductions in detail, and it did not reach the Landsthing (the Upper House) till the middle of March, where, after a month's further discussion and delay, it was finally passed (April 13). This was in reality the practical outcome of the whole of the Session of 1882–83; all other Bills were rejected or shelved by the Folksthing, and among these several important questions, which had been neglected during the past years of inaction. The Government Bill for Improving the National Defences, which had been duly passed by the Upper House and sent to the Folksthing before the close of 1882, was referred to a Committee, where it remained a couple of months, and, on

coming again before the Lower House for second reading, was thrown out by 68 against 27. The House declared at the same time that it could not come to any agreement with the present Government on this important question. Another Bill, for the revision of the customs, which had also passed the Upper House, met with no better fate in the Folksting, by whom it was sent back, with amendments which the Landsting could not accept. The Government thereupon, recognising the hopelessness to arrive at any agreement, withdrew their measure.

While the majority of the Folksting thus opposed all Government proposals, they themselves were not lacking in initiative. They brought in several Bills, which, although duly passed by their own body, met with no favour in the Upper House. Thus Bishop Monrad's Bill, dealing with local taxation, was thrown out by the Landsting, which declared that, although the local taxation no doubt in many respects required reform, the Government was not in possession of the necessary information on the subject, and, taking into consideration the way the Lower House had treated the Government measures, the Landsting could not give any support to the Bishop's Bill. Of the fifty Government Bills which had been submitted to the Rigsdag forty-two were buried in the committees of the Folksting, where it was generally assumed they would remain indefinitely.

Towards the end of the Session the leaders of the Left in the Folksting moved an address to the King, in which they openly declared that it would not promote any measure of the present Government, and, laying the whole blame of the protracted deadlock in public affairs upon the Ministry, expressed the hope that his Majesty would take steps to bring about a more cordial co-operation between the powers of the State. The address was passed (April 15) by 72 against 20. The following day the Upper House replied by its own address to the King, in which the blame of the political situation was thrown upon the Folksting, which had so far obstinately refused to promote any measure of the Government. This motion was carried by 40 against 10; and on April 18 deputations from both Houses were received in audience by the King to deliver the respective addresses. In his answer to the address of the Folksting the King expressed his regret that the labours of the Rigsdag had of late been so little fruitful to the country, and that the Folksting, in the words of the address, had omitted to promote any of the Government measures laid before it, some of which had even been accepted and passed by the Landsting. He hoped, however, that the conviction would gain ground that legislation could only be carried on beneficially to the country when all parties strove to promote agreement and harmony between the Government and the two Houses of the Legislature. The King replied in similar terms to the address of the Landsting, and on the same day the Session of 1882-83 closed.

By the Radical party the King's reply was declared to be evasive,



and promising little hope of a solution in accordance with their wishes. They therefore determined to address themselves during the recess to the people, and public meetings were convened throughout the country. Of these the most important was held (May 20) at Herthadalen, where a resolution was carried in support of the address of the Folksting, and calling upon the King to dismiss his Ministry; and a deputation of twelve men was chosen to present the resolution to the King. The delegates were received without hesitation (May 2); but in his reply the King informed them that only the lawfully elected representatives of the peoples—*i.e.* the two Houses of the Rigsdag—had a right to speak in the name of the people; and that resolutions carried by other assemblies than these had no significance to him as valid expressions of the wishes of the country. He further said, that as he himself had always respected the right of the people to partake in the administration of the State through their chosen representatives, he also claimed that his right to choose his own Ministers should be respected. The King's peremptory reply, which was naturally interpreted as a refusal to receive any further deputations, did not, however, deter the Radical party from holding meetings in support of their policy in the Folksting.

The Government party had, in the meantime, decided to follow the example set by the Radicals, and held numerous meetings during the recess. An organised opposition was often met with at these meetings, and the police authorities were several times called in to preserve order. The Conservatives seemed to be satisfied with the result of their meetings, by which they at least gave the country proof of the renewed life and energy of their party, and they also had the satisfaction of assuring themselves that they were not entirely without support in the provinces and among the agricultural classes. The result of this strategy was ere long manifest. Shortly before the Rigsdag reassembled a new series of meetings were arranged by the Radical party, but some of them were enlivened by the presence of Conservative speakers, who not only urged their views, but on one occasion actually succeeded in obtaining a majority.

On October 1 the Rigsdag reassembled, and the Government presented at once the Budget and a number of new and old Bills for the consideration of the two Houses. In the Folksting Mr. Berg, the leader of the Radical party, was elected President, instead of Mr. Krabbe; but Mr. Berg reserved himself the right to take part in the debates of the assembly and to sit on any important committee for which he might be elected. Mr. Berg availed himself of this privilege as soon as the Budget was introduced, Count Holstein-Ledreborg presiding during the time the Budget was under discussion (October 9-17), when it was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Berg, the President—contrary to all parliamentary usage—was elected a member. The tactics of the opposition in the new Session had undergone some slight change, though not in

the direction of conciliation. Formerly Government Bills were allowed to pass the second reading, and were then sent to their respective committees, whence they were seldom reported back; but now the Bills were on their first reading at once relegated to the committees, with the express purpose of being buried for the remainder of the Session. The only exception was in the case of the Bill introduced by the Government for the establishment of an Aged Workmen's Provident Association, which was discussed at great length on its introduction (October 27), and only reached a first reading (Nov. 12) after a debate of five days, at which point it was left when the House adjourned for the Christmas holidays. Before the recess, the Government again laid the Bill for the Improvement of the National Defences before the Folksting. An address in favour of this Bill, with 106,119 signatures (the largest number ever obtained in support of a petition to the Crown), was presented to the King in December. But no clue as to the action of the majority in the Folksting was given before the close of the year. In one respect, however, the Ministry had gained both credit and approval. The financial accounts for the year ending March 1883 showed a larger surplus than originally estimated, viz. nearly 3,000,000 kroner (160,000*l.*), and the Budget for the year 1883-84 promised a further surplus of nearly 2,000,000 kroner. The distinctive feature of the political struggle in Denmark had been that the strength of the Radical party lay in the provinces, while the Ministerial party and the Conservatives found their principal support in the capital. During the year, however, the Radicals set themselves to "conquer Copenhagen," in the words of the Conservative press. Several associations united to promote the dismissal of the Estrup Ministry, and in one month this "Union of Liberal Electors" received 4,000 members. The Conservative leaders meanwhile were not idle, and pushed on the movement set on foot in the previous year for the formation of Conservative associations in the provinces.

Towards the end of the year a rupture took place between the leaders of the Radical party and some of the prominent members of the "Literary Left," who, in 1882, had joined the Radical ranks, and who since that time had exercised considerable influence on the bearings of the politics of the party, especially through the columns of their chief organ, the *Morgenbladet*. Mr. Berg and some of his nearest friends found that the ideas of the "Europeans," as the members of the "Literary Left" were called, on some of the burning questions of the day were too advanced for the majority of the Radical party, and consequently Messrs. Brandes and Hörup, both members of the Folksting, retired from the editorship of the paper, with the supposed intention of establishing their own organ of the press.

The Schleswig question was again brought before the world, by an edict issued by the Prussian Government, requiring all Danish subjects over twenty years of age to register their names on the

Prussian rolls of their respective rating districts, or to leave the country within a stated time. Prussia had allowed those who claimed to be of Danish nationality to remain in Schleswig in their quality as foreign subjects. Latterly, however, the number of Danes in North Schleswig had increased so rapidly, by an apparently organised immigration from Denmark, that the Prussian Government thought itself compelled to put a stop summarily to this system of encroachment. In vain the Danish Government made representation to Prussia, and the Danish press complained of violation of treaties and brutal abuse of power. The German official press replied that these accusations would not have been made if Prussia from the beginning had paid stricter regard to international treaties, and had been actuated by less friendly feelings towards Denmark.

During the summer and the autumn the Royal Family entertained the representatives of the various Royal visitors connected with it by marriage, including the Prince and Princess of Wales, the King and Queen of Greece, the Russian Emperor and Empress, the Duke of Cambridge, the Crown Prince of Portugal, &c. The subsequent and unexpected arrival of Mr. Gladstone in the course of the yachting trip gave rise to absurd rumours, which are referred to elsewhere.

#### VII. SWEDEN.

Since the Posse Ministry came into power, in 1880, Sweden has anxiously been expecting the solution of the great questions of reform which the new Ministry promised to the country. The most important of these measures were delayed by the Parliamentary Committees to which they had been referred, and when the previous Session closed none of the promised reforms had come on for discussion in the Riksdag. It will be remembered that Count Posse took office as the representative of the great "Landtmanna" party in the Second Chamber (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1880, page 241), and that his Ministry to a great extent would have to depend on the support it received from this party. The Posse Ministry discovered, however, very soon, that it could not fully rely upon this support in the settlement of the great questions by which Count Posse was prepared to stand or fall. The proposed reforms touched the social, the military, and the economical affairs of the country; and the various elements of which the "Landtmanna" party was composed were by no means harmonious in their views upon these questions. This party, strictly speaking, is not a political party, but rather a class-party, representing various prejudices and interests. It would therefore seem as if Count Posse—the champion of Parliamentaryism in Sweden—had introduced his system of Government before assuring himself that he had the necessary elements to carry it out.

It was therefore generally expected that during the Session the Posse Ministry and modern Swedish Parliamentaryism would be put on their trial when the Government measures were brought on for settlement in the Riksdag. It was felt, moreover, that the events of the Session would show whether the "Landtmanna" party, by the attitude it assumed, would support or overthrow a Ministry which was generally supposed to be "going its errands."

On the Reorganisation of the Army, the Parliamentary Committee to which it was referred was divided into two parties, the majority supporting the Government proposals, whilst the minority—members of the "Landtmanna" party—strongly opposed them. The Bill proposed to abolish an old institution of the country, the "indelta" army, and to replace it by a "stamtrupp" (main, or regular army), by the enlistment of 25,000 paid men. This regular army was in time of peace to be kept complete in number, partly by a fixed yearly enrolment of 5,500 men, and partly by re-enlistment of "stam" soldiers at the expiration of their time of service.

The country, moreover, was to be divided into recruiting districts, each district being liable to guarantee, and furnish, at the expense of the parish municipality, the contingent imposed upon it. The general liability to military service imposed by the Bill included all men between twenty-one and forty years of age. The number of days for drill was fixed at ninety days for the infantry—seventy days the first, and twenty days the second year; while the cavalry, artillery, engineers, and the contingent for the naval service were to complete their instruction in one year. Such were the principal features of the Bill, with the ultimate fate of which so much was bound up. When the Bill came before the Second Chamber, the "Landtmanna" party proposed considerable amendments and reductions, and they finally succeeded in carrying their points by a large majority; but the Bill, on leaving the Second Chamber in its altered form, had become far less acceptable both to the First Chamber and the Government. After an important debate, which lasted six days, the First Chamber threw out the Bill as amended by 70 against 63, leaving no hope of any compromise between the Houses, and proved also the death-blow to the régime which had begun under such promising auspices. On May 25 Count Posse and his colleagues resigned their portfolios. As the leader of the "Landtmanna" party had failed so conspicuously, it was not likely that any other prominent person of this party would be called upon to form a Ministry. Nor could the King look to any of the majority in the First Chamber, as no Ministry selected from their midst would meet with favour in the eyes of the majority in the Second Chamber. The King at last prevailed upon Mr. Thyselius, a member of the First Chamber and a former Minister, to accept the Premiership; and the other members of the Posse Ministry were reinstalled in

their departments, with the exception of Mr. Hederstjerna, Minister of the Interior, who was succeeded by Mr. Krusenstjerna.

Whether the policy inaugurated by Count Posse is likely to be revived in the immediate future depends to a great extent upon the "Landtmanna" party, and the part it is destined to play in Swedish politics. Count Posse, the original founder and leader of the party, accepted the post of President in the "Kammarrät" (Court of Audit), which was offered to him after his resignation, and apparently retired from active political life; and he was shortly afterwards followed by two other prominent men of the party—Messrs. Key and Hedlund; so that the prospects of a renewal of Count Posse's policy, and of the once famous "Landtmanna" party, is scarcely to be looked for.

A Bill for a reduction of the land-tax, called "Grundskatterna," in connection with the reorganisation of the army, and a proposal for further changes in the taxation system of the country, by which land used for agricultural purposes would be placed on an equal footing with other landed property, was also mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, but was, of course, abandoned with the fall of the Posse Ministry. Before the Riksdag separated, several Bills of less importance were passed, and among these a Bill for the establishment of Post-office Savings Banks, on the principles adopted by similar institutions abroad. Five million kroner (280,000*l.*) were voted as a fund for granting loans for the drainage and cultivation of marshy districts. A grant of 838,000 kroner towards an ironclad, which is to cost nearly 3,000,000 kroner when completed, took many by surprise. Count Posse had in vain asked the Riksdag for a similar grant, but when the matter, after Count Posse's fall, came before a joint meeting of the Riksdag, this and a few other grants for the national defences were carried, in spite of the opposition of the "Landtmanna" party.

The Budget estimates for 1883-84 placed the revenue at 81,441,000 kroner (4,500,000*l.*), and the expenditure at 79,741,000 kroner (4,400,000*l.*), thus giving a surplus of 1,700,000 kroner, or nearly 100,000*l.*

The Riksdag agreed to postpone for another year the settlement of the affairs of the two State Theatres, which had been for many years under consideration; but a new commercial treaty with Spain, effected by the Government, was formally ratified.

The Church Convocation, which is held every fifth year, met this year, and gave its sanction to the Government Bill for the Promotion of Clergymen, which the Riksdag had passed. This Convocation, which was instituted in order to reconcile the clergy to the loss of influence in consequence of the abolition of the House of Clergy, in 1866, has the right of vetoing any measure passed by the Riksdag which may appear injurious to the Church. The Convocation further sanctioned the new translation of the New Testament that had been prepared by the Bible Committee; and before separating petitioned the King to increase the number of

its members from 60 to 86, half of the increased number to be laymen.

A great movement among the workmen of the country was inaugurated this year by the formation of a so-called "Workmen's Ring" at Stockholm, with branches all over the country. Unlike most organisations of its kind, it has no political or religious programme, its great object being to promote temperance and the formation of workmen's savings banks, and to provide the working classes with the means of life at moderate prices.

A Fisheries Exhibition was held at Lysekil, and an Agricultural Meeting at Örebro, both of which were honoured by the presence of the King.

The harvest was good, and the produce greater than any of the preceding ten years. The timber trade improved slightly, but the iron trade was depressed. Shipping and general commerce compared favourably with preceding years.

#### VIII. NORWAY.

An important and decisive stage in the Constitutional struggle which has been going on in this country for some time (and has already been fully described) reached its climax this year in the impeachment of the whole of the Norwegian Ministry by the newly-elected Storthing.

Last year reference was made to the *coup d'état* which the leading Ministerial organ had urged upon the King, just before the close of the year. This was followed in January by a pamphlet, "The Norwegian Conflict," published in Stockholm, in which the author, a Swede, likewise recommended the Executive to put an end to the struggle by forcible means. A *coup d'état* could only mean the dissolution of the Storthing at the point of the bayonet, but this, according to Art. 85 of the Constitution, would be an act of high treason. Any publication, therefore, suggesting such a course could not but be considered treasonable and dangerous, and the Government was obliged to prohibit the sale of the book in Norway. At the same time the Conservative press of the country did not hesitate, though in more guarded language, to point to this solution as the most desirable and effective, if the Storthing persisted in its demands. With a view to destroy the influence of the Liberal party among the people, they proclaimed that the politics of the majority of the Storthing would be the ruin of the country, and that "Radicalism would be the downfall of Christianity." In January also there appeared the first of a series of political tracts—"An Appeal to the Friends of Christianity" to take up arms against the spread of Radicalism in the land; but the narrow and bigoted tone of this and the following numbers only served to increase the bitter feeling between parties, and could not but be obnoxious to the upright and honest peasantry, whose Christianity was above suspicion.

The results of the General Elections in the autumn of 1882 had, it will be remembered, shown further gains for the Liberal party, and when the Storting assembled this year, on the 1st of February, the parties stood as follows:—83 Liberals against 31 Conservatives. The former, constituting themselves into a “Liberal Union,” elected an Executive Committee of fifteen members, with Mr. Johan Sverdrup, President of the Storting, as their chairman. The professed object of their Union was to strengthen and consolidate the Liberal party within the Storting, and to decide, from time to time, upon the measures most likely to prove effective in carrying out the policy of the party. The Conservatives naturally viewed with distrust so formidable an organisation within the legislative assembly, and vigorously denounced it as unconstitutional.

The first duty of the Storting was to decide on the validity of the elections, and on this occasion the return for Christiania was the subject of much debate; at length, the members for the capital were provisionally allowed to take their seats, although the validity of their return was not fully recognised until later on in the Session.

The Storting was formally opened (February 17) by the King in person, with a Speech which had been looked forward to with considerable interest, at home and abroad, which, however, disappointed general expectation. It contained no allusion to the political situation of the country, and, with the exception of a proposed extension of the franchise, made no mention of any projected measure of importance. It had always been customary after the formal opening for the Storting in a body to wait upon the King at the palace, in order to pay its respects to him; but this year the members had agreed, the day before the opening, to send a deputation of twelve of their body to wait upon the King; and this created a precedent which is likely to be followed in future.

The ordinary formalities attendant on the first assembly of a parliament having been transacted, and the various committees appointed, the Storting forthwith addressed its attention to the great question of the day, the impeachment of the Ministry, who, in the face of the expression of the will of the people at the last election, showed no sign of yielding or of resigning offices. In reply, the Storting decided to resort to the last constitutional means in its power, to obtain the dismissal of the Ministry.

A Committee of the Storting, the “Protokol Komite,” is charged with the duty of investigating and reporting upon the minutes of the meetings and the conduct of the Government; and any breach of duty, or any proposal contrary to public interest and the welfare of the country, must, after due deliberation, be duly reported to the “Odelsting” (the Lower Chamber), which, according to the Constitution, has to institute the impeachment of a Minister or Ministry. Early in March the majority of this

Committee came to the decision that there were grounds for censuring the Ministry, and with little delay the report was laid before the Odelsting (March 31), and the general debate was fixed to take place within the week (April 6). Up to the eleventh hour, however, efforts were made to effect a compromise; but the negotiations naturally broke down when it appeared that the Liberals insisted upon the resignation of the Ministry as a primary condition to any concession on their part.

The debate, therefore, on the motion for the impeachment proceeded in the Odelsting, and extended over eighteen sittings (April 6–23), when the report of the Protokol Komite was agreed to by 53 against 32, and the impeachment of the Ministry before the Rigsret—the Supreme Court of the Realm—was thus definitely settled. The charges brought against the Ministers were, that they had acted contrary to the interests of the country in advising the King to refuse his sanction (1) to the constitutional amendment admitting the Ministers to seats in the Storthing; (2) to a Bill involving the question of supply; and (3) to a Bill conferring upon the Storthing the right to appoint two additional members on the Directorate of the State Railways. It was also decided that the eleven Ministers should be tried separately, and that the trial of Mr. Selmer, the Prime Minister, being taken as a test case, the other cases would give rise to merely formal pleading. The constitution of the body before whom this great State trial was to take place requires some explanation. The jurisdiction of the Rigsret is limited to the trial of offences against the State, and against its decisions there is no appeal, the King himself having no power to exercise his prerogative in favour of persons tried before this Court, except where a capital sentence has been pronounced. The Rigsret is composed of the members of the Lagthing, numbering 29 members, together with the 9 judges of the High Court of Justice. The accused has the right of challenging one-third of the total number of his judges, and by this means on the present occasion the number actually sitting in the present Rigsret was reduced to 26, the impeached Minister exercising his privilege, and by this means excluding 12 of the most prominent members of the Lagthing, and retaining all the Judges of the High Court of Justice, to whom less partisan, if not more Conservative, sentiments would naturally be ascribed. The Odelsting next elected a committee of five of their body to act as prosecutors, Mr. Sverdrup, the President of the Storthing, being one of the number, whilst Mr. Walter Scott Dahl and two more professional advocates were appointed counsel for the prosecution. The accused Minister was also represented by three counsel, of whom Mr. Johan Bergh was the principal. The sittings of the Court began on May 18, and, after some lengthy preliminary proceedings and inquiries, Mr. Selmer, the Prime Minister, was finally summoned to appear before the Court on its reassembling (August 7), when the question of the competency of the greater part of the members of the Lagthing to



act as judges was raised by the counsel for the defence, and occupied considerable time. The accused Minister set up a plea that these members of the Lagthing having voted for the well-known resolution of June 9, 1880, had already expressed a prejudicial opinion in this case, and ought therefore to be disqualified as judges. It might have, however, been equally well objected to that other members of the Court, including the Judges of the High Court of Justice—of whom some had been members of a former Storthing, and others who in speech or in writing had already expressed their opinions—were prejudiced in the matter. But inasmuch as the Rigsret is a political court, composed for the most part of the parliamentary representatives of the people, it is clear that they brought into the Court those fixed political convictions to which they were pledged to their constituents, and had already in many instances given expression in their votes. No less than 28 sittings were occupied in the discussion of this preliminary objection, but at length (September 18) the Court rejected the plea set up by the Minister's counsel. A fortnight later (October 4) the actual trial commenced. The case for the prosecution was stated at great length, the speech of the leading counsel extending over 16 days. In conclusion he urged that the Prime Minister should be found guilty of high misdemeanour, and that the Court should sentence him to deprivation of office, should declare him unworthy to fill any office under the Crown in future, and should condemn the accused to pay costs of the trial.

The counsel for the Minister in his speech for the defence had only replied to the first article of the impeachment, when the Court rose (December 19) for the Christmas holidays; but its result was anticipated by most Liberals. Nevertheless, the interest aroused by the trial throughout, and the sense that an important constitutional conflict was going on, has stirred up such a living interest in political matters that it is more than probable that for all parties beneficial effects will result from the State trials. Meanwhile, as might be expected, party feeling ran high, and expressed itself in strong language. Since the moment the Odelsting had decided on impeaching the Ministry, the Conservative press lost no opportunity in denouncing the Liberal party for the "unfair and unjust means which they had adopted, in prosecuting the Ministry;" and they especially found fault with the Liberals for having in one Storthing decided to impeach the Ministry, and then waited till after a fresh general election had assured a larger majority in the Rigsret before carrying their resolution into effect. But this delay might, on the other hand, have operated equally in favour of the Conservatives, seeing that the whole policy of the Opposition was submitted to the electors and obtained from them a cordial approval.

Numerous meetings were held throughout the year, but especially after the closing of the Storthing (June 23), in all parts of the country, by both parties. Resolutions in support of the Storthing

were passed at the Liberal, and in support of the Ministry at the Conservative, meetings. Numerous addresses, expressing sympathy with the accused Ministers, were signed, and for some time the columns of the leading Ministerial organ were filled with the signatures of these addresses. But the Liberals followed suit, and their addresses to the President of the Storting, expressing confidence in the representatives of the people, soon outnumbered those of their opponents.

The increased interest in politics was further shown in the numerous Liberal and Conservative Associations which were also formed this year in all parts of the country; and toward the close of the year it was decided to form a National Liberal League, with its centre at Christiania, to which deputies from the various Liberal Associations were summoned to meet in the capital after Christmas. The programme of the League was national and local self-government; and its basis, the monarchy, the constitution, and union with Sweden. Apart from the impeachment question, the Storting had had before it few measures of public interest. The discussion on the Budget, which showed a revenue of 2,293,000*l.* and an expenditure of 2,280,000*l.*, passed without alteration.

Amongst the measures of the Session may be enumerated, (1) a Bill for the better protection of the property and privileges of the Norwegian and Swedish Lapps in the North of Norway; (2) Bill for the restitution of civil rights to persons who, having been convicted and sentenced for any crime, desired to become respectable members of the community again, and were able to give proofs of having lived a blameless life for five years after the expiration of the sentence; (3) Bill for extending the civil rights of Dissenters. This, however, did not become law, as it was agreed to postpone it for a year, in order to enable the Government to obtain further information on the subject. The Government again asked the Storting for an increase in the appanage of the Crown Prince; but this was rejected for the third time, by 80 against 32.

Outside the Parliamentary struggle, and the questions bearing thereon, few events occurred of sufficient general interest to call for remark.

A "Workmen's Ring," similar to the one established this year in Sweden, was also formed at Christiania, and hopes were entertained by its projectors that in all the principal towns branches would in course of time be established.

A National Industrial Exhibition was held during this summer at Christiania, which testified most encouragingly to the great progress made in the various industries of the country.

The emigration to America, which for many years had been assuming alarming dimensions, showed a distinct diminution, although the cod-fisheries, one of the most important industries of the country, had been an almost complete failure; on the other hand, however, the timber and other trades showed greater activity, and the general condition of the country was fairly prosperous.

## CHAPTER V.

## AMERICA.

UNITED STATES.—CANADA.—MEXICO.—WEST INDIES.—BRAZIL.—CHILI  
AND PERU.

## UNITED STATES.

IN his annual Message to Congress, at the opening of the Session 1882-83, President Arthur took occasion to renew his former recommendation that the Tariff Laws needed revision, and expressed the hope that the Tariff Commission's labours (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1882, pp. 289, 290) might facilitate the action of Congress. Bills introduced on this subject in both branches of the Legislature led to the most exciting and obstinate debates of the Session. Ultimately, the Republican party, by a resort to the novel expedient of changing the rules of the House of Representatives, so as to force the Bill through, succeeded in doing so, within a few hours of the day when the Forty-seventh Congress ceased to exist. On the 4th of March that Congress came to an end; and on the evening of the 3rd the Bill passed both Houses, and immediately afterwards received the President's signature. It was the most important law of the Session, and became fully operative on July 1 following. The subject was one which had monopolised the principal share of public attention for a long time. The country had grown restive under the enormous annual surplus which the systems of taxes were yielding, and various proposals had from time to time been made as to the methods of reducing it. The difficulty in which the United States Government had found itself was a very peculiar one. The successive increase of revenue over expenditure was reducing the National Debt so rapidly that practical inconveniences were already being experienced, and greater were apprehended. In the financial year 1883, for example, besides 45 millions of dollars applied under the provisions of the law to the Sinking Fund, there was a further surplus of 39 millions of dollars. In the financial year yet to come, it was estimated that there would be a surplus of 60 millions. The President had more than once directed the attention of Congress to the inconvenience of this rapid reduction of the National Debt, and the excessive taxation by which that reduction was maintained. The Tariff Law was confessedly framed to mitigate the evil, though it must be admitted it does so in a way that has not commended itself to the practical good sense of a large and increasingly influential section of the Democratic party, and it cannot in any sense be considered a settlement of the question of Protection *versus* Free Trade. By the repeal of the

inland taxes which the new law enacts, and the rearrangement of the customs duties—for it can hardly be called a tariff reduction, having been framed entirely in the Protectionist interest—the revenues of the next fiscal year (1884) are expected to be reduced about 75 millions of dollars. This decreased income, with increased expenditures on account of pensions, and for some other purposes, will, it has been estimated, reduce the surplus available for the above-stated year for debt reduction to within 50 millions of dollars.

While the new law in its general structure closely resembles the old one, there are many important differences between the two Acts, a few of which are of a general nature, but most of which affect the classification of articles or the rates of duty imposed upon them. The most comprehensive commentary on the new law will be found in the work of Mr. Charles F. Williams, Chief Clerk to the late Tariff Commission (*"The Tariff Laws of the United States, with Explanatory Notes,"* &c., Boston, 1883), and to this we would refer the reader for detailed information in regard to the several changes in the rates of duties upon imports which it embodies. All that we can here do is, to give a brief synopsis of the more important sections of the Act, so far as they seem to affect British manufactures. The old law contained a provision for the protection of American manufacturers of watches, watch-cases, watch-movements, or parts of the same, by prohibiting the importation by anybody else of such articles of foreign manufacture which should "copy or simulate" the name or trade mark of any domestic manufacturer. In the new law the same provision is found, but the application of the principle is widened so as to include all other articles of foreign manufacture. What was known as the "similitude" section of the old law provided that non-enumerated articles—that is to say, those not set down in any of the numerous schedules of the Act—should pay the same rates of duty that were imposed upon enumerated articles which they most nearly resembled, either in material, quality, texture, or use; that if any non-enumerated article should equally resemble two or more enumerated articles, it should pay the same rate as was chargeable on the article which it resembled paying the highest rate of duty; that all articles manufactured from two or more materials should pay the highest rate of duty at which any of their component parts were chargeable. By the new law it is provided, that such articles shall pay the same rate of duty which is assessed upon the component part of chief value which each may contain. The new law also contains an additional clause as follows:—"If two or more rates of duty should be applicable to any imported article, it shall be classified for duty under the highest of such rates." This applies to enumerated as well as to non-enumerated articles. The new law also contains this clause:—"Provided, that non-enumerated articles similar in material and quality and texture, and the use to which they may be applied, to articles on

the free list, and in the manufacture of which no dutiable materials shall be used, shall be free."

The classifications of articles for duty by the new law are much more comprehensive, and at the same time more definite, than by the old one, from which also they widely differ in many respects, making it often extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, to institute comparisons of rates. Under the new law, the number of unenumerated and unclassified articles has been greatly reduced. The number of paragraphs into which the "Dutiable List" was divided by the old law was 534; in the new law it is only 495, but the paragraphs, as a rule, are far more comprehensive. The number of paragraphs in the "Free List" of the old law was 357; in the new law the number is only 326, although the list has been actually increased by the addition of 50 articles which were dutiable under the old law. Mr. Saurin, Secretary of the British Legation at Washington, in some remarks appended to the Board of Trade Return ("United States Tariff": Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, April 2, 1883), is unable to form a definite opinion of the probable effect of the Act on British trade. On the whole, he thought it probable that it would be slight. In the lower-priced woollen and cotton products, British imports might be stimulated, while in decorated china and earthenware they might be checked. But, as far as he could judge, the effect would not go much beyond this. Altogether, a study of the new Tariff from an English point of view suggests the conviction that the object of the Conference Committee of both Houses (to which the Bill was referred in the closing hours of the last Session of the Forty-seventh Congress) was to maintain Protection while reducing the revenue raised by customs duties, and that it effected this by making the smallest possible reductions in import duties, and lowering very largely the duties on articles of American production. It is authoritatively stated that only the extreme pressure of time incident to a night-session of the above-mentioned Committee, at the last, prevented the Bill proposed by the Tariff Commission (see *ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1882, p. 290), for the establishment of a Customs Court, from becoming law. This important adjunct of the Tariff Law has, it is hoped, only been postponed for the further consideration of the Legislature. It is one of the reforms most urgently needed in connection with the present Protective system of the United States of America.

In the early part of the Session (January 9), which lasted only three months (December 4, 1882 to March 4, 1883), the Senate passed the Presidential Succession Bill, which provides that in case of the death, resignation, or inability of the President or Vice-President, the Cabinet officers in succession, beginning with the Secretary of State, shall succeed him. In case Congress is not in session, or is not to meet within thirty days, the Acting-President shall call Congress together. Among other measures of legislation which passed into law was one dealing with the Japanese Indem-

nity Fund which had been held in the Federal Treasury for so many years. This was ordered to be returned to Japan, though all interest was cut off. The President was also instructed upon July 1 to give Her Majesty's Government the necessary two years' notice for terminating the fishery provisions of the Treaty of Washington. This was unanimously done, both Houses acceding to the strong sentiment on the subject current in the New England States, where the fisheries are, it is stated, seriously hampered by the free competition of the British maritime provinces. This, like the Tariff, was a Protectionist movement. Other than these Acts, little legislation was matured in the last sittings of the Forty-seventh Congress. During the two years it existed there were no fewer than 10,670 Bills introduced, 8,018 in the House and 2,652 in the Senate. Besides the Supply Bills, only 163 of them had passed in the Session ended March 4, 1883. The Supply Bills passed during the Winter Session (1882-83) of the Legislature voted an aggregate of 229,327,511 dollars, exclusive of interest on the public debt, while the aggregate of the supplies voted in the previous Session was 219,367,983 dollars.

The state of parties in the United States in the summer of 1883 showed the Democrats to be in the ascendant. They had the advantage of controlling the House by a considerable majority, and also the administrations of such important Northern States as New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Jersey, California, Massachusetts, and Kansas, and almost the entire South. The elections of the preceding autumn achieved almost a political revolution, turning over all those States from their original Republican allegiance, and some of these by large majorities. Hence the Democrats secured many advantages in patronage and power which gave abundant promise of success for their party in the great final issue, the Presidential Election of 1884. Those advantages were, perhaps, slightly curtailed by the results of the 1883 State elections. The Democratic majorities for New Jersey are 5,000, for Maryland 12,000, and for Virginia 12,000. The Democrats also carried Mississippi, and elected the majority of the Legislature for Virginia, thus securing the return of one of their party as United States' Senator in the place of Mr. Mason. The Republican majorities were: For Massachusetts, 10,000; for Nebraska, 10,000; for Minnesota, 15,000; and for Pennsylvania, 17,000. The Republican candidate for the post of State Secretary of New York had a majority of about 13,000. The Republicans had a majority in the New York Legislature; but the regular democracy carried New York county. The elections for members of the Legislature of Connecticut also showed Republican gains. The Government of President Arthur, however, at the close of the year, still found itself face to face with a hostile majority in the House of Representatives, if not in the Senate also. The Republican party was in the hands of comparatively new men almost everywhere; but

these were bent on making every possible exertion to heal the dissensions which had led to its defeat, and to re-form its lines for the election to take place in the autumn of 1884. Of its old coterie of leaders, Sherman of Ohio was almost the only one who, towards the close of 1883, was still actively posturing as a Presidential candidate in the Republican interest. The Democrats had already many possible candidates. General Hancock, who was so nearly elected in 1880, was being prominently mentioned. Mr. Tilden, of New York, who was kept out of the office in 1876, was also reported to be assiduously working for the nomination, though his advanced age of sixty-nine years was used as an argument against him. Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, Hendricks and M'Donald, of Indiana, and General Butler, of Massachusetts, were named as candidates. General M'Clellan, who carried the standard and lost, in 1864, had supporters. The Democrats were almost as much at sea as the Republicans as to who would be their candidate; but most of the indications seemed to suggest Mr. Tilden. It was generally admitted that the Free Trade question would be the one most prominently forward in the contest for the Presidency, if indeed the election should not altogether depend on it. The Democrats on this important issue were, however, not united. The Western wing, who are Free-Traders, made no secret of their demand for the organization of the House on that basis, and the adoption of an undeniably Free-Trade platform. On the other hand, the Democratic leaders, who are accustomed to the political ways of the Atlantic seaboard, deprecated any outspoken anti-Protectionism on the platform, and wished, if possible, to lull that cry at the Conventions. They knew that it would drive off large numbers of Democratic Protectionists in New York, New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana, and lose them the so-called "pivotal" States. Mr. Tilden especially deprecated a too-outspoken Free-Trade sentiment on the part of his supporters; and it appeared not improbable that a sonorous two-faced resolution might receive the general assent of the Democratic party, as the "tariff-plank" on which it decided to take its stand before the Conventions in the summer of 1884. Such was the political outlook in the United States of America in the latter part of 1883.

Indeed the first week in Congress demonstrated that the Democratic majority was disposed to adopt a Conservative and cautious Tariff policy. The Protectionists made violent efforts to alarm industrial interests by representing Mr. Carlisle (Speaker of the House of Representatives) and his followers as extreme Free Traders, whose purpose it was to sweep away the Tariff at a blow; but this was unsuccessful. Mr. Carlisle and his supporters, in point of fact, favoured no such course. They advocated a gradual approach to Free Trade, without violent changes. While it was impossible to foretell whether they would accomplish anything during the Session, or how much popular strength they

might be able to command, there was no doubt whatever that the sentiment in favour of tariff reduction was gaining volume daily, and that it was destined to grow slowly but steadily until Free Trade was reached. The Protectionists were content to admit that their system could be retained only a few years longer.

During the year, an important question arose touching the deportation to the United States, from the British islands, of persons unable to gain a living there, and who threatened to become equally a burden in America. Those few who were beyond doubt proved to be paupers were sent back to Great Britain, and President Arthur's Government insisted upon greater precautions being taken to prevent such undesirable visitors from being sent into the country without a guarantee of their support by their relatives. This matter was the subject of an official correspondence between the two countries, and also of a paragraph in the President's last annual Message (1883-84), but the complaints of Irish paupers in large numbers being landed in Boston and New York were not conclusively proved to have been well founded in fact. Indeed the "Boston Daily Advertiser," a journal of the highest position and repute in the New England States, satisfactorily disposed of some of the allegations, so far, at least, as they had reference to Boston, one of the chief American ports of Irish immigration. That journal, in its issue of May 11, 1883, remarked as follows: "The much-expected 'emptying of the almshouses of Great Britain upon our shores' does not appear to have begun yet, and neither statute law nor diplomacy has been needed to be applied to assisted immigrants. The steamship *Phœnician*, of the Allan Line, reached its dock at this port yesterday, bringing 821 steerage passengers, of whom 415 had been 'assisted.' . . . These passengers came principally from the West of Ireland, being taken on board at ports where the agents of this line of steamers have contracted to do so. The customary strict inspection was made by the State superintendent, or his deputy, of alien passengers. None were found to be objectionable on the score of being likely to become subjects of public charity, and they appeared to be a physically sound and healthy lot of people, quite up to the average of immigrants coming hither without assistance." After giving a long and interesting description of the process of inspection, and illustrating this process by various instances which show the searching character of the inspection, the writer went on to say: "So far as can be ascertained, *no person of the five different arrivals of assisted passengers reaching this port since April 3 has become a burden to the State*, though all have paid the head-money of half-a-dollar." The "Springfield Republican," another of the leading papers of Massachusetts, in discussing the question remarked, "As a matter of fact, the assisted emigrants are no worse in character than have been arriving for years." Such are the statements, which contrast strongly with the complaints laid before the Executive at Washington, to the effect that "the



emigrants [from Ireland, assisted by the authorities in England] are pronounced paupers, and their chance of being anything else is very slight."

Among the many matters touched upon in the President's Message, transmitted to both Houses of Congress December 4, 1883, few can be considered of sufficient general interest to call for detailed notice in this review of American politics of the past year. The earlier part of that document is occupied, according to usage, with questions of foreign policy, but most of these are of secondary importance. The relations of the United States with Spain were still complicated by "commercial difficulties" in Cuba and Puerto Rico; but as to these, the Spanish Government was considering measures for removing the restrictions burdening the trade of the United States at those places. "The just protests of the American Government against the proceedings of the Cuban authorities concerning trade had been without result. Certain claims which the Spanish-American Claims Commission held to be beyond its province had been presented to Spain in diplomatic form; and as the action of the colonial authorities which originated these claims was admittedly illegal, full reparation should not be delayed." The Manila Court having found the proceedings in the case of the *Masonic* unauthorised, the President hoped the Spanish Government would make speedy reparation.

Mention is made of the very interesting and important fact that the proposed negotiation with Switzerland of a treaty for the settlement by arbitration of questions between the two countries had been assented to by the American Government, thus setting an example which, in the interests of humanity at large, and for the cause of civilization generally, it is to be hoped may be followed by other Powers.

Mexican affairs, which have always been an important element in the foreign policy of the United States, are thus referred to: "Close and lasting relations with Mexico are needed, owing to the influx into that country of our people and capital. In the absence of conventional engagements, owing to the termination of the Treaty of 1848, the rights of our citizens in Mexico now depend upon the domestic statutes of that State. There have been instances of harshness in the enforcement of the laws against our vessels and citizens in Mexico, but the treaty now before the Senate will effect a better understanding."

With regard to the recent war in South America (see *ANNUAL REGISTER* for 1882, pp. 292, 293) the President declared that when the will of the Peruvian people had been manifested, the United States Government would not hesitate to recognize the Government which they had approved. The Government considered that until the establishment of the treaty concerning the Venezuelan awards, Venezuela must continue the payments provided in the Convention of 1866. The President expressed the belief that the dispute

regarding the unpaid obligations of Venezuela to France would be arranged, adding, "France has proposed a basis which I approve, but, as it involves the recasting of the quotas of the foreign debt, I have deemed it advisable to submit the proposal to the Cabinets of Berlin, Copenhagen, The Hague, London, and Madrid." The Message points out that the interests of the American people are being cared for by his Government in China and Japan, in Persia, Siam, and Corea, in Hawaii and Liberia, and on the Congo. Concerning the questions with China touching the rights of American and other foreign manufacturers under existing treaties, that with the United States, it is remarked, is silent; but under the "most favoured nation" clause the United States have like privileges with others. The President doubted the expediency of leading in a movement to constrain China to admit an interpretation which the United States had only an indirect treaty right to exact. The transference to China of American capital for the employment in that country of Chinese labour would inaugurate a competition for the control of markets now supplied by home industries. The President expressed the belief that China would co-operate with the United States in securing the faithful observance of the law restricting Chinese immigration (see ANNUAL REGISTER for 1882, pp. 288), which had been violated by the Chinese officials at Canton, and added that the Indemnity Fund, amounting to 300,000 dollars, should be returned.

In his annual report, duly presented to Congress (December 4, 1883), the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Folger, suggested that the "trade dollar" so-called should be called in and melted, and declared that he was not in favour of anything but Government bonds as security for the National Bank circulation. While he regarded the plan of low-rate bonds running for a length of time, to take the place of those called in, as feasible, the Secretary recommended the removal of the tax on circulation. He further favoured the plan of allowing a bank circulation amounting to 90 per cent. of the market value of the deposited bonds. Concerning the surplus, the Secretary thought well to hold it, and apply it to the purposes of Government. If there was to be legislation on the tariff question during the Session, an improvement might be made in the provision regarding the third class or carpet wools, either by fixing one rate of duty for them regardless of their value, or by drawing a broader contrast between the higher and lower classes. Changes in the modes of business have, the Report points out, made undervaluations more frequent and more difficult of prevention. Mr. Folger suggested corrective legislation in this respect. After reviewing the tariff question, the Treasurer said that on the whole he did not recommend an immediate revision of the existing Tariff Act. He adhered, however, to the conviction that ultimately the most just and expedient method of relieving taxation, and limiting the State revenues to the needs economical of the Government, must be found in a reduction of the duties upon

imports. At present he saw no public desire for the repeal of the internal revenue taxes.

The first Session of the Forty-eighth Congress promised to be an interesting one, from the presence in the minds of both political parties therein assembled, and of the public outside, of thoughts of the approaching Presidential struggle. The chief motive of political action was the creation in the public mind of favourable impressions respecting those who were to take part in it. The balance between the two sides was so close, and the chances of a Democratic success for 1884 were considered so favourable, that all other political interests were merged in the question, whether Mr. Arthur's successor would belong to the Republican party, or whether, for the first time since the war, a Democratic President would be elected by the people.

#### CANADA.

The only matter of political moment that we have to chronicle in regard to the Dominion of Canada for the year last past is the appointment of Lord Lansdowne as Governor-General, in place of the Marquis of Lorne, who had completed his five years' term of office. On the whole, the administration of Lord Lorne justified the choice, in that particular instance, made by Lord Beaconsfield. It was one unchequered by the slightest disturbance of those friendly feelings of regard which have ever been entertained by Canadians towards the mother country. And probably this feeling of loyalty was heightened by the more personal one awakened by the residence of the Queen's daughter with her husband, during his period of office. In a graceful little speech delivered on the occasion of his landing in Liverpool (November 5, 1883) from Canada, the Marquis of Lorne spoke of its peaceful development since the Dominion was constituted. "Where the political machinery works so smoothly," said his Lordship, "and so much without friction, it is natural that so much is not written in the newspapers of England regarding the politics of Canada, as in regard to some other countries which are less fortunate, and that have a more disturbed history. Almost the only questions that disturb the Canadian mind are questions as to how much of their vast country can be apportioned to one province or another when new provinces are being formed; or, if perhaps a large revenue is now being raised, there may be some question as to the disposal of the revenue in one form or another to the advantage of particular provinces. This year and last year, and the year before," said Lord Lorne, "we have had almost an *embarras de richesse*." With so cheerful an account of the political situation in Canada, from the lips of its late Governor-General, we need hardly record those purely local affairs which have from time to time, during 1883, engaged the attention of its legislature.

Lord Lansdowne, the new Governor-General, arrived in Quebec October 22nd, and at eight on the morning of the following day landed at the Queen's wharf, where he was met by the Mayor and many distinguished citizens. Lord Lansdowne and the party entered the carriages, and were escorted to the Government Buildings by a detachment of the Queen's Canadian Hussars. The route was thronged by crowds of people, who cheered heartily.

The new Governor-General was conducted to the library, where the oath was administered by the Chief Justice. Then the Marquis of Lorne surrendered the throne, and as Lord Lansdowne assumed possession a salute of seventeen guns from the neighbouring citadel was fired. His Lordship then drove to the Music Hall, where the Mayor read an address of welcome, saying that the success of Lord Dufferin's and the Marquis of Lorne's Administrations would, undoubtedly, make the task of their successor a difficult one. Lord Lansdowne, responding, expressed high regard for his two distinguished predecessors, and said he desired to work hand in hand with those so kindly receiving him, for the best interests of the country. The speech, delivered in both English and French, made a very favourable impression.

At the close, the Governor-General took the train to Ottawa. There was no unusual occurrence of any kind, and few feared there would be. The sensational despatches which had been sent to England grossly exaggerated the situation.

#### MEXICO.

The foreign relations of Mexico with other countries present under normal circumstances very little material of importance to record. Entirely removed as she is from the sphere of European politics, and overshadowed by her powerful neighbour on the north, her intercourse with the old world is necessarily restricted to the field of commerce, and even this intercourse is maintained under considerable disadvantages in the case of several of the principal Powers, owing to their having no treaty rights.

On the fall of Maximilian, in 1867, President Juarez declared in Congress that those nations which had recognised the Empire had by so doing broken off their relations with the Republic, and that the treaties formerly entered into with them had in consequence ceased to exist. As was only to have been expected, few of the European Powers cared to submit to so arbitrary an interpretation of international law for the privilege of maintaining their relations with Mexico, and for some time the American Minister was the only representative of the diplomatic corps in that capital.

Germany was the first to send an envoy, in 1869, it being easier for the North German Confederation to admit the lapse of treaties made with Prussia than it would have been if her political status

had remained unchanged. Since then Italy, Spain, Belgium, and France have renewed relations under various circumstances and with different objects. Italy had never taken much interest in the intervention; Spain had to provide against the possibility of Mexico's affording assistance to the Cuban insurgents; Belgium was anxious to find a new market for her manufactures; and France under a Republican Government was only too eager to disavow the policy of her late Emperor. England was the only country which had hitherto held aloof and declined to defer to the Mexican pretensions; but there was little doubt that this attitude could not be indefinitely prolonged, and the re-establishment of friendly relations without prejudice to the dignity or interests of either country was only a matter of time.

The transactions of the Mexican Foreign Office during the current year, which has been one of unusual activity in this department, will be more readily understood if arranged according to the different countries than if treated chronologically.

The unofficial visit to Mexico of a member of her Majesty's Consular Service in the early part of the year, with the object of reporting on the commerce of the country, excited a good deal of remark, coinciding as it did with the date of the signing of the American Reciprocity Treaty. In the capital it was looked upon as a proof of a renewed interest in Mexican affairs on the part of England, an idea which seemed to be borne out by the fact that negotiations were actually in progress at the time for a settlement of the English debt. No one therefore was surprised when it was announced, on May 29, that Special Envoys had been that day appointed by both countries to make arrangements for the renewal of diplomatic relations. The nominations by both Governments met with general approval. The English Envoy was Sir Spenser St. John, her Majesty's Minister to Peru, a diplomatist of long experience in Spanish America, whose important services to the cause of humanity in persuading the victorious Chilians to relinquish their long-cherished idea of pillaging Lima had lately been recognised by the Government. On the Mexican side, the selection was Señor Ignacio Mariscal, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, a man of the highest character for ability and probity, and an excellent linguist, who had always encouraged the idea of coming to a friendly understanding with England, and to whom was mainly due the *rapprochement* which had made the present situation possible. Sir Spenser St. John arrived in Mexico about the middle of July, and Señor Mariscal in London a few weeks later; but, beyond the news of their having presented their respective credentials, nothing transpired about the result of their negotiations.

The Commercial Treaty with Germany, which had been signed December 5, 1882, was duly ratified on July 26, and is now in force. Germany gained the most favoured nation treatment, but in exchange practically gave up her right to interfere diplomatically on behalf of her subjects, except in certain cases and under

certain conditions. For the present, at any rate, she will gain little by the treaty, as no nation has any special advantages conceded to it, and consequently the most favoured nation treatment conveys no benefits with it, while it is thought by many that the interests of her subjects may be prejudiced by the restrictions imposed on the action of her diplomatic agents.

The long outstanding boundary question between Mexico and Guatemala has at last been definitely settled. The history is as follows: When the Spanish Colonial rule came to an end in 1823, the provinces of Chiapas and Soconusco, which had formerly belonged to the captain-generalcy of Guatemala, declared their wish to join the Mexican Confederation, but, as they comprised some of the most fertile lands in either republic, the Guatemalan Government always refused to recognise their secession. The constantly recurring disputes about their ownership culminated in 1882. Mexico collected 5,000 troops near the frontier, and it is generally believed that, but for the good offices of the United States Government, the question would have led to war between the two countries. Guatemala, however, saw the necessity of yielding, and on September 27, 1882, a treaty was signed by which she formally gave up all claim to the disputed territory, the ratifications of which were exchanged on May 1, 1883.

The Commercial Treaty with Italy, which, having been made originally for a term of ten years, should have lapsed in 1882, was again prolonged for another year, and remains in force up to June 30, 1884.

The ratifications of the Extradition Treaty with Spain for ordinary criminals, which was signed on November 16 of the previous year, were exchanged in Mexico on March 3, 1883.

Early in July there was published in the official journal a correspondence which had passed the month before between the Spanish Minister and the Mexican Foreign Office on the subject of the Spanish Convention Debt. The Spanish Minister stated that, as his Government had never acquiesced in the nullification of the Convention of 1853, he could not pass over in silence the proposal which had just received the assent of Congress to merge these bonds with those of the Internal Debt; to which the Mexican Foreign Secretary replied in a very lengthy despatch, that as Spain had made war upon Mexico by taking part in the Intervention of 1861, she herself had broken the convention, and had thereby forfeited all right of diplomatic interference in regard to the claims on which it was founded. The defiant and uncourteous tone of the Mexican communication excited much comment, as it appeared to be entirely unprovoked and uncalled for, and it was generally thought that Spain would resent it by withdrawing her Minister or claiming the withdrawal of the offensive part of the despatch. The revolutionary movement at Badajoz, however, and the rumours of a renewal of insurrection in Cuba, occurring just then, no doubt influenced the Spanish Government in not taking

the same notice of it as they otherwise might have done, and the matter was allowed to drop.

The Reciprocity Treaty between Mexico and the United States, which attracted so much attention, was signed at Washington on January 20, 1883, by General Grant and Mr. Trescott on behalf of the American, and Señor Romero and General Cañedo of the Mexican, Government.

The most important clauses in it are those which provide for the free admission into the United States of Mexican hemp, sugar, tobacco, and tropical fruits, and the reciprocal freedom from duties in Mexico of American petroleum, tools for artisans, and carts and carriages. There are, of course, many other articles on both sides to which the same exemption is accorded, but in few if any cases is the trade in them of any extent, or such as could be developed in a short time. The period for which the treaty is to be in force is six years, but it may be denounced by either side on six months' notice.

The ratifications had not been exchanged at the close of the year, and it is probable that there will be a show of opposition in both countries when the matter is submitted to the respective Senates: in Mexico, from the anti-American party, who view with the utmost jealousy the prospect of a close alliance with their neighbours; and, in the United States, from the sugar-planters, who look upon the measure as a blow aimed at the protective system under which alone they can hope to compete with foreign sugar. Moreover, the clause in the German Treaty which gives to that country the same advantages accorded to any other takes away the possibility of the monopoly which was undoubtedly aimed at by the framers of the American Treaty.

By a special agreement, signed in Mexico on June 28, the convention allowing the troops of both countries to cross the frontier in pursuit of hostile Indians was extended for another year, which will expire in August 1884.

The work of the International Boundary Commission appointed to mark out the North Mexican frontier commenced in July, when the officers met at Paso del Norte to make the preliminary surveys.

As regards internal politics, it may be said of Mexico, as of most of the other Spanish-American Republics, that they present few features of general interest in times of peace. Endowed with institutions which in theory at least are perfect, and with soil and climate so propitious that the pressure of hunger can never, as in the old world, be a motive of discontent, the only real grievances arise from maladministration on the part of the authorities, and these, when they become too pressing, are met by armed resistance. It is, however, a mistake to assume that because revolutions are frequent in these countries, the masses must be therefore turbulent and disorderly: on the contrary, it is probable that if they were not interfered with, it would be hard to find a peasantry more peaceably inclined than that of Mexico. Docile and laborious, they

submit to a serfdom to which there is no parallel in England or France, and to taxes of the most vexatious and troublesome nature; if impressed into the army, they serve faithfully and well, and only claim that their pay be given them with regularity; if involved in legal disputes, they are accustomed to see their richer opponents get the better of them; while, in the election of representatives, they vote as they are told by their superiors. But, unfortunately, this very docility lays them especially open to the pernicious influence of the class of political adventurers which has ever been the curse of these countries. At the call of some local magnate they will flock to his standard, and, in a quarrel and for a cause of the merits of which they are absolutely ignorant, they will suffer the extremities of danger and hardship, thankful only if they return with life to their homes and families.

Happily, in the last few years these revolutions have been of less frequent occurrence—indeed since 1877 any disturbances that have taken place have been of purely local importance. The final overthrow of the Church party on the restoration of the Republic in 1867 removed one of the great disturbing elements, and the only political question of any gravity that has arisen since then was that of the re-election of President, which brought about the revolution of Tuxtepec and the defeat of Lerdo de Tejada. The confidence thus inspired has worked in the interests of law and order in more ways than one. Not only has it encouraged the investment of capital, both native and foreign, especially in the country districts, which were always the first to suffer in times of revolution, and thus given fresh pledges of tranquillity, but also it has enabled the Government, in view of its increased revenues, to find lucrative appointments for those unruly spirits whose agitation was most to be feared, and thus to make it better worth their while to remain well disposed.

The maintenance of peace, therefore, is so intimately connected with the financial prosperity of Mexico, that by far the most important political events must be considered those which relate to the development of trade and the inauguration of useful public works, and it is for these that the history of the last few years is especially remarkable. When General Diaz came into power in 1877, he wisely turned his attention to developing the resources of his country, and, foreseeing that special inducements would be required to attract foreign capital, he offered large money subventions for the building of railways, which more than anything else were needed to stimulate production. The measure proved a success, and capital flowed in, not indeed in such quantities as had been anticipated by its most ardent supporters, but yet sufficient for the construction of two great trunk lines, which are destined to prove a most important factor in the political, no less than in the commercial, future of Mexico. Had the Government stopped here, or had it exercised only the smallest degree of moderation in the granting of concessions, the country would have been greatly



benefited without the drain upon it being too heavy. Unfortunately the reverse has been the case. The liberality of the Treasury, and the facility with which schemes for public works of all kinds were entertained, naturally brought hosts of projectors into the field, who rarely failed to secure large subsidies for the enterprises they proposed. The aggregate of the obligations thus assumed by the Government in the past five years has been enormous. In one year only (1880) the subventions granted for railways alone amounted to over \$64,000,000, and when to these are added those for colonisation schemes, port improvements, and the number of minor undertakings for which Government aid was solicited and obtained, some idea may be formed of the extent to which it is committed. Of course it must be borne in mind that the capital necessary for the great majority of these schemes never has and never will be obtained, and consequently the concessions will lapse; but there are far too many small railways actually being built with the money derived from their subsidies which, while they are of little or no use to the country at large, are proving to be a severe drain on the resources of the Treasury.

The raids of the Apaches and other savage Indians were the subject of much apprehension in the Northern States of the Republic in the early part of the year, from the frequency of their repetition and the unusual audacity which characterised them. The public excitement culminated in April on the murder of a party of respectable Mexicans near the town of Ures, in Sonora; and extraordinary vigour was shown in the military operations undertaken against them. In the latter part of May General Crook, of the United States Army, who was acting in concert with the Mexican troops on the American side of the frontier, surprised an Apache stronghold and carried off a large number of prisoners, which had the effect of checking the incursions; and since then overtures of peace have been made by the principal Indian chiefs.

The candidature for the Presidency, which will become vacant on December 1, 1884, has already begun to excite a good deal of attention. It is generally believed that General Diaz, while President, entered into some kind of arrangement with General Gonzalez by which he undertook to support the latter's election, in consideration of a reciprocal assistance on the expiration of his term of office. However this may be, up to the present time no other candidate has been seriously suggested, and the prevailing opinion seems to be that the election of General Diaz would be acceptable to the great majority of Mexicans, and would ensure to the country a further four years of the peace and quiet which are so much needed to consolidate its dawning prosperity.

General Don Porfirio Diaz, the most prominent man in Mexico to-day, was born in the State of Oaxaca in 1831. The record of his services as a military man in the many campaigns in which he has served sufficiently proves the energy and decision of his character, while his bloodless entry into the capital on the fall of

Maximilian, when hundreds of his political enemies were at his mercy, shows a moderation in the moment of triumph which is unfortunately not always to be found associated with bravery among the Spanish-American races. His claims to statesmanship of no mean order are well grounded. When he assumed the Presidency in 1876, having just defeated his rival Lerdo, he found the country distracted, the Treasury empty, and commerce and industry at their lowest ebb. When he left it, the revenue had increased from \$17,000,000 to \$24,000,000; the country was peaceable, and public confidence in the Government was stronger than it had been for years; and, finally, he had inaugurated a policy of encouraging the investment of foreign capital which, however much it has been exaggerated and overdone by his successor, has already proved, and will hereafter prove yet more, of incalculable benefit to Mexico. Lastly, it would be unjust to omit to mention that, probably alone of all the Presidents of Mexico, he left the Treasury unburdened with debt, and with a large balance of cash in hand. He is a Liberal in politics, but it is thought by many that if he becomes President he will not be disinclined to relax a little the severity of the restrictions on the authority of the Church.

The ill-advised issue in large quantities of the new nickel coinage has created such widespread discontent that it has come to be an important political difficulty. The scarcity of small change, and the inconveniences to commerce arising from it, led the Congress to authorise in December 1881 an issue of nickel coins of one, two, and five cents each, to the extent of \$4,000,000. The coins were made in the United States, and were sent to Mexico to be stamped, and the first were put into circulation in January of the present year. Whether it was that the amounts coined were too large, or that the mistrust of anything but silver or gold which is so peculiar a trait of the Mexican character was so deep-rooted, the new currency was very unwillingly accepted. Moreover, the relative size of the coins, which were badly designed, made it easy to melt down the one and two-cent pieces, and recast them into five-cent pieces, leaving a handsome profit; and suspicions that this was practised on a large scale, and that ready-made coins were smuggled into the country, intensified the public distrust. To enable them to put large amounts in circulation the Government was therefore obliged to get merchants to take them at a discount, varying from 5 to 25 per cent.; but this proved a very short-sighted policy, as the sums thus disposed were invariably sent down to Vera Cruz in payment of Customs duties, and thus came back upon their hands in the course of a very few weeks. As was only to have been expected, the small retail dealers and the lower classes generally have been the principal sufferers, as they have been obliged to receive these coins at their full value, but have not always been able to get the large shopkeepers to take them in payment of their accounts without reduction; indeed,

notices may be seen posted up in the town announcing the sale of nickel at various rates of discount. Under these circumstances, and in view of threatened *émeutes* in different parts of the country, the Government has been forced to give the matter its serious attention, and a Bill has been submitted to Congress to provide for the withdrawal of the obnoxious coinage.

The labours of the legislative bodies in Mexico are not, as a general rule, of a very arduous nature; nevertheless, the Congress must be credited with having transacted some business of real importance in this year's session.

The inter-state duties, known as *alcabalas*, have long been one of the principal hindrances to the development of trade. Although formally abolished by the 124th Article of the Constitution of 1857, they have under various disguises been maintained in force up to the present day, and merchants trading with distant parts of the Republic have to submit to the vexation of having their goods examined at each frontier and duty levied upon them. On May 17, 1882, a Bill was passed through Congress providing that the imposition of *alcabalas* should cease on December 1, 1884; but as it was found that most of the States were dependent in great measure for their revenues on this method of taxation, it was decided to summon delegates from each State to give their opinion on the subject. The Commission met in October 1883, and gave as their opinion that it would be impracticable to absolutely forbid the levying of internal duties on foreign goods; but that such duties should only be collected once, and then in the place of their final destination; moreover, that no goods in transit should be liable to search, nor should their owners be required to produce any fiscal document to entitle them to such exemption.

The new Postal Code which had been in course of study by the Special Committee appointed for that purpose by the law of April 20, 1882, was settled, and will come into force in January 1884. Among other reforms which were urgently needed may be cited the reduction of rates and the charging of uniform postage for all distances, the free sale of stamps, the establishment of a money-order system, and the improvement of the postal service generally, and especially with the view to a daily service with the United States.

On June 14, 1883, the law was passed authorising the Executive to arrange for the conversion of the National Debt, internal as well as external. The most important clauses are the second, third, and fifth, which read as follows:—"Article 2. All the debt to be consolidated into new securities which will enjoy an interest of 3 per cent. per annum. Article 3. Whatever be the origin of the credits and the nationality of the holders, all the debt shall preserve its quality of Mexican, so that it cannot be given an international character, nor can there be assigned to it any special revenue in payment of its interest. Article 5. The

credits emanating from the Governments which were in power from December 17, 1857, to December 24, 1860, and from June 1, 1863, to June 21, 1867, cannot be recognised, and will consequently not enter into the conversion."

Besides these measures may be mentioned the authorisation granted to the Executive in June to contract a loan abroad to the extent of \$20,000,000, and the appointment of Special Committees to revise the Codes of Commerce and of Mining.

The revenue of Mexico for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1883, amounted to \$33,500,000, being larger than at any previous period of the history of the country. The only data as yet published on the subject, which were given by the President in his speech at the reassembling of Congress on September 16, set down the receipts from the import duties at \$18,000,000, and those from other sources at \$15,500,000. The President called attention to the fact that the increase in the Customs receipts was due to exceptional causes—in other words, to the inflation of trade consequent on the extraordinary activity in railway construction, and, therefore, could not be expected to last. The increase in the other branches of the revenue, however, is of real importance, as showing a development of the taxable property throughout the Republic, and is on that account likely to be maintained.

There is no doubt that with proper management Mexico ought now to be in a sound condition financially. The administration of the Government, including the expenses of the army, costs at the outside \$22,000,000, and the balance, with judicious handling, should be sufficient for all reasonable expenses in regard to public works, as well as for the service of the public debt. Unfortunately, however, the excessive subventions granted by the Government, before alluded to, have proved so heavy a drain upon the Treasury that, in spite of its unusually large revenue, it has been obliged to have recourse throughout the present year to all the devices to raise money with which it was familiar in former days, with the natural result of bringing about a highly unsatisfactory state of things.

The history of the Mexican funded debt, the prospective settlement of which by the Government has given rise to so much speculation on European Stock Exchanges, dates so far back and is so imperfectly known that a short account of it can scarcely fail to be of interest at the present juncture. In 1824 the Mexican Government authorised the issue in London of bonds to the amount of 3,200,000*l.*, bearing 5 per cent. interest, secured on the general revenue of the country, the whole of which was taken up by the house of B. A. Goldschmidt & Co., at 58. The following year the Government had again recourse to the London market, and this time succeeded in placing a similar amount of bonds (3,200,000*l.*), at 6 per cent., with the house of Barclay, Herring, & Co., at 86½. It would be tedious to follow up the

details of the different reductions of interest and capitalisations of arrears which form the history of the debt for the next twenty-five years, and it suffices to say that in 1851 it was finally converted into the stock which is known as the Mexican 1851 Debt, amounting to 10,241,650*l.*, and bearing 3 per cent. interest. From that date till 1864, interest was paid very irregularly, so much so that when Maximilian, wishing to raise a new loan, was obliged to come to a settlement with the English bondholders, it was found that the arrears amounted to 2,918,870*l.* As the Treasury could not pay this amount, it was decided to fund it into a 3 per cent. stock, adding 40 per cent. to the total as an extra inducement to the creditors to accept the arrangement. This is known to-day as the 1864 stock, and amounts nominally to 4,864,800*l.*, although actually the bondholders in the numerous settlements that have been proposed have never attempted to press their claim to the 40 per cent., or, for the matter of that, to the interest on the remainder. The total amount owing to-day by the Mexican Government on account of this debt is:—

Capital of the 1851 Debt . . . . .	£10,241,650
Arrears of interest up to 1864, known as the 1864 Debt . . . . .	2,918,870
Arrears of interest from July 1, 1866, to July 1, 1883 . . . . .	5,223,241
Total . . . . .	£18,383,761

Negotiations for the settlement of this debt, which had been in progress in a more or less desultory way for several years past, came to a head at last in April, when Mr. Rivas, the private secretary of the President, left for England with powers to come to an arrangement with the bondholders' committee. The proposal made by him, to convert the whole debt with its arrears of interest into a new 3 per cent. debt, amounting to 15,300,000*l.*, and to issue at the same time 4,700,000*l.*, so as to bring the total up to 20,000,000*l.*, was accepted by the bondholders, and the stock rose in consequence to over 32, higher than it had been since the Empire. Some time, however, elapsed without anything further being done, and at last it transpired that the proposed arrangement was beyond the authority granted to the Executive by Congress. After some attempts to patch it up, the negotiations were finally broken off in November, and for the present at least the matter remains in abeyance. As the terms offered to the bondholders involved a yearly payment on the part of Mexico which it was manifestly impossible for her to make with regularity without having recourse to raising a fresh loan to enable her to do so, it is probable that the interests of the bonâ fide holders of the stock will not really be prejudiced by the collapse of the scheme, in view of the fact that the Mexicans are now fully alive to the importance, if not the necessity, of settling their debt. It is to be hoped that the next settlement proposed will be in strict accordance with the capacities of the Mexican Treasury, without which it will infallibly prove to be as illusory as the last.

In spite of all its efforts the Government has been as yet unable to float the new loan authorised by Congress in June. At first it was confidently stated that a firm in London was going to take it up; then that the Franco-Egyptian Bank had entered into negotiations about it; and, finally, in October it was announced in most of the papers that some capitalists in Boston had offered to subscribe the necessary amount. The probable truth is that all the firms to which the business was submitted required some positive security which the Government either could not or would not give. In the case of the American proposition it is rumoured that the conditions demanded were that the United States Government should guarantee the loan—a proceeding which no Mexican administration, in view of the tone of public opinion, could ever consent to. It is more than likely now that, until the question of the English debt is satisfactorily arranged, no money will be able to be raised by the Mexican Government either in Europe or the United States. The same remark applies equally to the loan of \$2,000,000 which the municipality of Mexico was authorised in July to make in order to provide funds for the city improvements.

The new Mortgage Bank was formally opened on March 22, with a capital of \$4,000,000, most of which was subscribed in Mexico. By the terms of its concession it is authorised to issue bonds to the extent of ten times its paid-up capital, and it is hoped that it will prove of great benefit to the agricultural interests by the facilities it will afford to planters to raise money to purchase machinery, and thus increase the productiveness of their properties.

Besides this two other institutions of credit have received concessions, one called the Mercantile, Agricultural, and Mortgage Bank, and the other the Employés' Bank.

The rapid construction of railways has been the principal feature of the year in this country. Although it is almost impossible to learn with absolute certainty the amount of line laid at any given time by the different railway companies, yet it will scarcely be beyond the mark to say that at the end of 1883 there were 5,000 kilometers completed throughout the Republic. According to the figures given by the President in his speech in Congress in September, the amount then finished was over 4,750 kilometers.

Of the great trunk lines which will connect Mexico with the United States, the Central is the most advanced, having built over 1,500 kilometers, and will probably be finished in April or May 1884. The National line built over 1,000 kilometers, but it is said that the works are, for the present, suspended for want of funds. The other lines in course of construction are for the most part of only local importance, and do not merit special mention.

The federal telegraph system has been extended nearly 1,000

kilometers in the past year, and now exceeds 18,000 kilometers, irrespective of the State lines and private enterprises.

The Mexican Transatlantic Navigation Company have launched their first steamer, the *Tamaulipas*, and expect that she will be ready to make her first trip in the early part of next year. The ports where the steamers of this line, which will be the first ocean-going vessels under the Mexican flag, are to touch are Liverpool, Havre, Santander, Havana, Progreso, and Vera Cruz.

The most important concessions granted by the Ministry of Public Works during the past year include one for the improvement of the harbour of Vera Cruz, two or three immigration schemes, and one for the drainage of the Valley of Mexico, which latter, however, was subsequently cancelled.

In conclusion, it may be said that the year 1883 has been a fairly prosperous one for Mexico. Trade has flourished, in spite of the crisis which at one time was threatened by the over-stocking of the market at the beginning of the year. Capital is being invested all over the country in mines, farms, factories, and every species of industry; and, best of all, the attention of the people, no longer distracted by the excitement of constant revolutions, is now being turned to the advantages to be derived from honest labour. The only dark feature to be found in the picture is the terribly disordered condition of the national finances, which is entirely due to mismanagement and reckless extravagance, and which can only be remedied by a radical change of system, especially in regard to the granting of subventions.

#### PANAMA.

The construction of the Canal has been going on steadily, and the date fixed by M. de Lesseps for its completion is 1886. Prior to the spring of 1883 the engineers had been chiefly occupied with preliminary labours, the importation of plant, and the erection of machinery, but since then operations have been pushed on more rapidly. The length of the Canal will be about 45 miles, and this is now divided into twelve sections, in which there are employed daily 30 steam excavators, 40 locomotives, and 800 tip-waggons. There were upwards of 10,000 men engaged on the work in October, and this number was soon to be increased to 15,000. The largest cutting is between Obispo and Paraiso, and two-thirds of this have already been excavated.

#### WEST INDIES.

*Jamaica.*—The Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the public revenues and expenditure, debts and liabilities, of the various West Indian islands reached Jamaica early in the year. The

moment was not a favourable one. The fire which had (December 1882) ravaged Kingston had destroyed, amongst other public buildings, the Savings Bank. Depositors were unable to withdraw the sums due to them, at a moment when many were in need of ready money to start them afresh in business. Taxes, moreover, were pressing heavily upon land, food, and other necessities of life to such an extent that the negroes found it more profitable to squat on small holdings sufficient to supply their immediate needs, than to work for wages and purchase food on which the taxation represented one-third of the total revenue of Jamaica. The Commissioners were of opinion that the public debt was not out of proportion to the resources of the island, but they recommend a reduction of establishments to the amount of 27,000*l.* They consider that a more efficient Civil Service could be obtained by giving more work and responsibility, also better pay. They propose that the District Courts be abolished, that the Supreme Courts go on circuit four times a year, and that those cases which are not brought before the Circuit Courts be tried by stipendiary magistrates, or by the ordinary Petty Session Courts. With regard to taxation, they say that imported foods are not the staple food of the labouring population; and although the import duties are high, it would be most unwise to repeal them wholly or at once. It is, however, proposed that the duties on flour and tea be reduced by one-half, and that the *ad valorem* rate should be lowered from 12½ to 10 per cent. The abolition of the export duties is also proposed. In the absence of available labour for the chief industries of the island, the adoption of immigration on an extended scale is urged as necessary. Amongst various minor recommendations are the reduction of the Governor's salary from 7,000*l.* to 5,000*l.*, and the Chief Justice's from 2,500*l.* to 2,000*l.* The land-tax is to be levied without any direct reference to the use of the land, according to the following scale—viz. for every acre up to 100 acres, 1*s.*; beyond 100 and up to 500, 6*d.*; beyond 500, 1½*d.* The "still" duty is proposed at 4*l.* per 100 gallons. Licences on the retailing of spirits are to be increased. A stamp duty on powers of attorney to be raised from 4*l.* to 20*l.* The discontinuance of subsidies for steam communication is also recommended. It will be seen from these proposals that no violent measures, nor any sudden transfer of control over public affairs, are contemplated. Lord Derby, as Secretary of State, in endorsing the recommendations, declared that a moderate step in advance was preferable, and proposed that the Council should consist of the same number as at present, but that the unofficial members should be elected, not nominated. When six of the elected members were agreed upon any question of expenditure—with a few exceptions—the vote of the official members should not, as a rule, be recorded against that of the unofficial members. The elective principle was thus conceded, and the elected members, when acting together, can control expendi-



ture. A Royal Commission is to be appointed by the Governor to determine what "franchise, or combination of franchise," shall constitute the new electoral body. Sir H. W. Norman, the new Governor, on his arrival at Kingston (December 21), received a hearty welcome, and, in his reply to an address, although unable then to give a detailed account of the new form of government, assured his hearers that the representatives of the colony would possess substantial power and substantial responsibility in the government of the island.

*Hayti.*—Early in the year an insurrection broke out in this island, and a portion of the town of Miragoane was seized by the rebels. They in turn were attacked by the Government troops, but the latter were defeated with a loss of 85 killed and 350 wounded. The place was subsequently bombarded, but again the regular troops were repulsed with the loss of two vessels and many men. The rebels then seized Jacmel, and held nearly the whole of the western coast; they nevertheless were still hard pressed at Miragoane, of which the capitulation on more than one occasion seemed inevitable. Recourse was had to every expedient in order to secure the restoration of a show of order. An amnesty was even offered to the rebels, many of whom accepted it; but a few months later (August 3) there were renewed symptoms of disorder. A severe battle was fought before Jacmel, when some hundreds of lives were lost on both sides, the rebels claiming a substantial victory, and shortly afterwards (September 13) an attempt was made to assassinate the President. Almost simultaneously a misunderstanding arose out of the attack on the steamship *Alps*, which, by order of the British Consul, was taking refugees from Port-au-Prince to Jeremie, and was fired upon by the Government fort. Several shells struck the ship, and a serious complaint from her commander, supported by the Consul, was made against the authorities. Her Majesty's ship *Dido* was sent to investigate the matter. An apology was at once made to the British Government, and an indemnity of 600*l.* paid to the company to which the *Alps* belonged. At the end of September a riot broke out at Port-au-Prince among the men of colour. They attacked the foreign merchants and pillaged the town, committing frightful excesses. In consequence of such prolonged anarchy, it was not surprising that at the close of the year the rumour gained ground that the Government was making advances to France for a protectorate over the island. The Directors of the National Bank had protested against the emission of paper money by the Government, as being a gross violation of their contract, and had sent a copy of the protest to the French Government, claiming their protection. A French squadron was momentarily expected at Port-au-Prince to support French claims and check the threatened excesses of President Salamon. The news, however, of the death of the rebel leader Bazelais, followed by the capitulation of the towns of Jeremie and Miragoane, revived the spirits of the Government

party, and French interference was deprecated as warmly as a few months before it had been demanded.

*Cuba.*—The uneventful course of the year 1883 was in strange contrast with so many of its predecessors, for only on one occasion was the tranquillity of the island seriously threatened. In September the insurgent Cuban chief Aguerro issued a proclamation in the island calling upon the inhabitants to revolt, and threatening those who refused with death or destruction of their property. The Spanish troops, however, succeeded in dispersing his band of insurgents, and most of the latter were killed, but Aguerro and his lieutenant escaped. When the Cuban Budget was presented to the Cortes at Madrid, provision was made for \$494,860, the remainder of the indemnity awarded by the Spanish-American Commission at Washington to American citizens who had suffered losses during the Cuban insurrection. A Royal decree, issued in November, abolishing punishment by stocks and fetters in the case of the Cuban slaves, was regarded as the withdrawal of the last Government support to an institution which society had long condemned and reprobated.

#### SOUTH AMERICA, BRAZIL, ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, ETC.

*Brazil.*—Throughout the year the slavery question has been prominently before the public, especially as the moment for the legislative intervention of the Government approached. There were at the beginning of 1883 about 1,100,000 slaves in Brazil, valued at 70*l.* each, and the problem offered for solution was how to effect their emancipation and at the same time to steer clear of anarchy and national bankruptcy. With a free population of 9,000,000, and an almost boundless extent of territory, it was impossible to relinquish altogether the services of slaves who represented not only a money value of 77,000,000*l.*, but were also almost the only available cultivators of the soil. For example, the coffee-trees, from which its chief wealth is derived and which are alone worth 36,000,000*l.*, would suffer severely from defective care, whilst five years' neglect would wholly destroy their value. The free population could not of itself efficiently carry on the labours of the coffee plantations, and it was estimated that not more than 150,000 out of the 500,000 slaves now employed in those plantations would continue to work after gaining their freedom. It is therefore essential that, to be effective, the emancipation must be gradual, and that the nation must learn to take upon itself the labour hitherto performed by slaves. The idea which met with most favour was that the Government should undertake some scheme for liberating the slaves by part payment of their value, and that England, which is pecuniarily interested in Brazil to the extent of many millions sterling, should be applied to for

a further loan to aid the Government. Moreover, the emancipation movement was at length bearing its fruit, and in some parts of the Empire—notably in the province of Ceara—slavery may be said to have ceased to exist. Owners and sympathising persons, liberally interpreting the requirements of the Free Birth Law, have given freedom to over 30,000 slaves since the Abolition Act of 1871, whilst during the same period 11,000 more have been freed by the Emancipation Fund. This pace, however, does not satisfy the abolitionists, and the agitation increases for a more prompt abolition of slavery. Immigration—the possible alternative for slavery—has consequently occupied the attention of the Government, and, profiting by the experience learnt in its first unfortunate attempts at artificial colonisation, it is now giving the best help possible to immigrants who will come and settle in the country. A plan for the importation of Chinese coolies into Brazil fell through, on the alleged ground that the agent introducing them refused to enter into any contract for their forced labour. Labour, other than agricultural, has not, however, been deficient. Railway works have been pushed forward, works of public utility advanced, and the riches of the interior have consequently been made more accessible. In the domain of science, a series of investigations into the origin of yellow fever, carried on at Rio by Dr. Domingos Freire, President of the Central Board of Public Hygiene, resulted in the important discovery that the blood of the patient contains a parasite, which appears as a minute point, and, in one form or another, continues in existence after death. The practical test of the belief in this discovery was shown by the fact that, in Rio alone, over 100 persons voluntarily subjected themselves to preventive inoculation against yellow fever under the impulsion, of which the origin is due to the Emperor. In the Budgets of the twenty-one provinces into which the Empire is divided, no less than 16 per cent. of the total revenue is devoted to the work of public education. The National Museum at Rio, established in 1817, has been entirely reorganised by the Emperor, who frequently attends the lectures there, and a systematic course of study is carried on which embraces the physical sciences, mechanical arts, and agriculture.

*Argentine Republic.*—One undoubted source of the revival of commercial prosperity in this country is the able and energetic guidance of affairs by President Roca, who has, during the last few years, proved himself a most popular, patriotic, and successful ruler, and he has especially devoted his attention to the construction of railways into the interior, in order to develop the more fully the resources of the country. At the close of the year the great extension works of the Tucuman Railway were being pushed on, 2,000 men being employed; the Southern Railway in the province of Buenos Ayres and that at Bahia Blanca were being carried on energetically. The harvests of corn, wheat, and maize have of late been so abundant that ere long the export of cereals

from this Republic will, it is prophesied, eclipse the wool trade. About 100,000 immigrants landed during the year, the majority of whom, being farmers and labourers, were at once settled on the wheat lands on easy terms, and by their labour 30 per cent. was, during the year, added to the average under wheat cultivation. The soil is so fertile, the land so easily cleared, and the mineral resources so inexhaustible, that the Argentine Republic would seem to offer exceptional attractions to emigrants from Europe. Its present population is only 3,000,000, out of whom 400,000 are foreigners, and, as settled government and honest finance are more and more appreciated, it is probable the Argentine Republic will every year attract more law-abiding citizens. The improved credit of the Republic, moreover, enabled it to do away (October 1) with the paper dollar note of Buenos Ayres—an important change which operated favourably on the exchanges with foreign countries. To meet the difficulties arising from a small coin circulation, Congress further passed a law (October 31) for the supply of small paper change in cents instead of copper coins, the issue to be for 6,000,000 of national dollars, guaranteed by the national Government, and also sanctioned a loan of \$32,000,000 for public works. Almost the only international "incident" arose from the violation of the Chilean territory by a body of Argentine troops in pursuit of Indian marauders. The Chilians called upon the Argentines to give up the captured Indians and retire, whereupon the Argentines opened fire upon the messenger. The Chilians then advanced, and a fight followed, in which several were killed and wounded on both sides. After the fight the Argentines retired across the frontier, beyond which the Chilians abstained from following them.

*Venezuela.*—In common with other South and Central American States, this country, early in the year, was very unfavourably affected by the depreciation in the value of coffee, its wealth depending almost entirely on the export of this article. The development of railway communication with the interior, so greatly needed by the coffee-growers, is likely to be met by the construction of a line from the port of San Felix on the Orinoco to the gold districts of Guayana, whilst the line from Guaira to Carácas, already nearly completed by the Venezuela Government, will open up other districts. A new tariff was framed early in 1883 expressly for the purpose of stimulating the production of home manufactures and agricultural products.

*Ecuador.*—This Republic was in a state of revolution for the first six months of 1883. In January all the central provinces were in arms against Dictator Veintemilla, and the province of Esmeraldos was in open revolt, with the result that the revolutionists were successful and captured Quito, the capital. A triumvirate was appointed, composed of Señores Carbo, Montalvo, and Alfaro, the latter being selected Dictator. Later on he succeeded in taking Guayaquil, and the townspeople received his troops with enthusiasm. In July Señor Pedro Carbo was, by the spontaneous

action of the people, proclaimed Chief of the Government at Guayaquil, with full and independent powers, and he maintained himself in power up to the close of the year. An attempt to arrive at an approximate return of the population gave about 1,000,000 souls, of whom 100,000 were white, 300,000 mixed, and 500,000 pure Indian.

#### CHILI AND PERU.

The war between the Western Republics which, since 1879, had been carried on with unbroken success to Chili, would, under ordinary circumstances, have come to an end by the exhaustion of her antagonist in 1881. Chili, already holding Lima and the coast, was in a position to dictate terms of peace. Instead of this she had declined all discussion. She would neither recognise Pierola's plenipotentiaries nor allow any other Peruvian Government to conclude a treaty; and so the war had dragged on in a desultory fashion until, at the beginning of 1883, Peru was reduced to a state of utter prostration. European opinion, once wholly sympathetic to Chili, had veered round, disgusted at the pertinacity with which she demanded impracticable terms as the price of peace, and shocked at the policy of extermination she was pursuing. Flogging, incendiarism, pillage, and murder were carried on at the discretion of officers of the lowest rank. The 300,000 volumes of the National Library were stolen; the scientific instruments of the Observatory taken away; the national archives, dating from Pizarro, plundered and sold by weight as wastepaper; the portraits of the Incas and Viceroy's torn down and used by the soldiers as materials for making tents; the museums and public offices rifled of their treasures; and whatever was portable, including the lanterns and machines of the new lighthouses of Payta and Pisco, was sent to Chili; whilst railways were torn up and the rails and rolling stock carried off. When all public property had been stolen or destroyed the turn came for the private houses. Furniture was seized and the inmates turned into the streets, the men being either sent to the extreme south of Chili, or, if they escaped, declared outlaws. Further, to prevent a revival of commerce, Customs duties were increased 100 per cent. Ordinary articles, hitherto free, were similarly taxed, and heavy duties placed on exports. Everything pointed to a determination on the part of Chili to deliberately wear out her foe, and she began the new year by voting a fresh War Budget. Rumours, nevertheless, of impending negotiations got abroad, and it was generally believed that a treaty might be arranged if Peru were allowed to retain her independence, and not be deprived by the terms of the settlement of all her sources of regeneration. A primary difficulty, however, arose from the want of a central authority with which to negotiate. Of the various Peruvian leaders, Ex-President Pierola had renounced

politics and come to Europe; President Calderon was a State prisoner in Chili; Vice-President Montero, who claimed to exercise the executive power in Calderon's absence, was a prisoner in Peru; Cacères was in command of the only semblance of an army in the field; Garcia was in England, which he preferred to a Chilian prison, having with his wife and children been turned into the street; and Iglesias was acting as President in the northern provinces. The last-named had been for some time in favour of peace, and had summoned representatives of those provinces to express their views, though he had no intention of acting apart from the rest of the nation. On the other hand, Montero had issued a manifesto that the alliance between Bolivia and Peru was stronger than ever, and that, if hostilities were renewed, the Bolivian army would come to his support. There was, however, very little actual fighting during the early part of the year, the Chilians finding it more politic to await the collapse of their enemy, and knowing that Peru would be forced sooner or later to accept the hard terms required of her. In March a Chilian expedition set out to crush the forces under Cacères, but returned without discovering the place of his retreat. Another started from Lima somewhat later and came upon him near Punabamba. The Chilians, who were short of water, found Cacères fortified and in occupation of the only springs. Infuriated with thirst they at once attacked the Peruvian position, driving out its defenders, and forcing the commander to withdraw the remnant of his forces to Chicla.

Meanwhile the Northern Congress of Peru had voted in favour of peace, and Iglesias forthwith proposed to negotiate in accordance with the vote. The demands put forward by the conquerors included the absolute cession of the district of Tarapaca with its nitrate deposits; the occupation of Tacna and Arica for ten years, at the expiration of which a plébiscite was to decide to which country the inhabitants desired to adhere, the country acquiring them to pay the other an indemnity of \$10,000,000. Many weeks passed before even these hard terms were admitted. On the reassembling of the Chilian Congress (June) the President stated that he hoped peace would soon be finally sanctioned, but that at that moment it was only signed provisionally. He added, too, that if General Iglesias, who had signed the treaty with its onerous conditions on behalf of Peru, should become the head of the Peruvian Government, Chili would agree to the proposed conditions, but otherwise she held herself at liberty to ignore them; and their reluctance was increased when (July) the Chilians gained a victory at Huanchuco over the united forces of Cacères, Vocabarren, Elias, and other Peruvian leaders, the latter losing nearly 1,000 men killed and 11 cannon, together with many wounded, including Cacères; whilst the Chilian loss was only 50 killed and 104 wounded.

By the beginning of September Iglesias had formed a Ministry, and, supported by a duly-organised Government, he called together a general Peruvian Assembly at Ancon. He took steps

at once for getting the protocol signed, when, at this eleventh hour, there was all but another rupture through the rapacity of Chili. Her envoy demanded that additional territory should be conceded, and that, to defray the expenses of the Arequipa expedition, Chili should be allowed a further amount of guano from the Lobos Islands. Iglesias met these encroaching demands by an immediate refusal, stating that he was willing to substantiate the offers agreed upon in the protocol, but could not go one step further. For twenty-four hours the question of peace hung in the balance. Finally, Chili withdrew her demands, fearing that if she hampered the conditions of peace at this stage of the proceedings, foreign nations would question her sincerity and good faith. Accordingly, the protocol was at length signed (October 20), and the Government of Iglesias was officially recognised in a telegram from Admiral Lynch, who addressed him as the President of Peru. Early on October 22, the Chilians evacuated Lima, and Iglesias entered the city a few hours later as the "Presidente Regenerado," and once more, after a lapse of three years, the Peruvian flag was hoisted on the public buildings of the capital. A *corps d'armée* of 4,000 Chilians was stationed at Chorillos and Barranco to act until the treaty should be finally ratified by the constituent Congress, and ready to intervene in the event of any rising of the Lima mob. Iglesias had brought with him, besides his Ministers, a large staff of officers and civilian employés, &c., with a small body of tried troops; and the Urban Guard—composed of more than 2,000 foreigners—was also ready to help the authorities to maintain order. Their services, however, were not required, for the President's Government was installed without disorder. One of his first acts was to issue a proclamation to the inhabitants of Arequipa, at that moment invested by 8,000 Chilians, advising them to accept the situation and to surrender; and he moreover decreed all the acts of Vice-President Montero's Government to have been illegal. Montero had, however, previously resigned the command of the defending forces in Arequipa, and fled from the city, making his way with a few followers into Bolivia; and a few days later (October 19) the Chilians occupied Arequipa for a couple of months, at the expiration of which Iglesias's authority seemed fairly established and the prospects of orderly government assured.

Peace, however, was not yet to be the lot of this wretched country. In the interior, near Huancago, terrible scenes of violence, in which the Indians were the aggressors, were enacted. For many years before as well as during the war, the Indians had been suffering from the exactions of the whites, from forced military service, and from excessive taxation, and they were now bent on revenge, and their general rising was the signal for outbursts of violence in the outlying districts. A column of Chilian troops on their way to Arequipa had encountered and destroyed 700 of them; and as soon as he was safely installed as President, Iglesias selected one of his most energetic officers to act as prefect

of the district, and to restore order among the native Indians. But although hostilities had ceased, the Peruvian Government found itself face to face with almost as serious a difficulty in the financial situation. During the Chilian occupation the Custom House of Callao—the chief source of revenue—had yielded an average of 300,000 silver dollars a month; but now, with the tariff lowered to its former peace rates, the average receipts were reduced to 160,000 silver dollars. Moreover, 300,000 soles had to be paid monthly for the support of the Chilian troops at Chorillos and Caranco, and if not paid were added to the amount of the indemnity to be arranged at the expiration of ten years, when the Arica and Tacna question came up for final settlement.

After seventeen years of interrupted relations, a treaty of peace between Spain and Chili was signed at Lima (June 12); and shortly before the close of the year the terms of peace between Chili and Bolivia received formal ratification; and a commission of three members was agreed upon between Great Britain and Chili, in order to settle the British claims for losses during the war. Internally, Chili had not suffered as much from the four years' war with Peru and Bolivia as might be supposed. The almost uninterrupted successes of her troops placed the nitrate and guano deposits within her grasp early in the campaign, and her occupation of the Peruvian ports secured for her the Customs duties of the Pacific seaboard, and she thus had at her command sources of revenue large enough to compensate her for her war expenditure. The outlay caused by the war, moreover, gave an impetus to various industries, and wages rose in consequence of the scarcity of labour. The imports and exports during the four years of war doubled in value, and the revenue so increased as not only to cover the expenditure at home and abroad, but to leave a large surplus to reduce debt. The restoration of peace can therefore hardly add to the immediate prosperity of Chili, and herein may lie the secret of her reluctance to conclude peace. She had, moreover, to face an internal trouble from which public attention had been distracted during the continuance of the war. This was a dispute with the Church on three important points—the right of presentation claimed by the Government, the authority assumed over ecclesiastics as public functionaries, and the assertion of the power to forbid or suspend the publication of decrees of Councils, Papal bulls, and Pontifical rescripts. When the year closed there had been no recognition of the new Government in Peru by European States, and signs of civil war were discernible. Montero had resigned his powers to Cáceres, who had reoccupied Arequipa in defiance of Iglesia's Government at Lima. Consequently General Osma, the Peruvian War Minister, started (December 15) for Arequipa with full powers to settle all difficulties in the south arising from the sudden change of Government. Although the Chilian troops had evacuated that city, they were



still encamped in the suburban towns and valleys, and strong forces remained at Puno and Mollendo.

The year, however, closed without any definite solution having been arrived at, but there was reason to hope that the Peruvians had learnt in the school of adversity the need of unity and peace.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ASIA.

#### INDIA, CENTRAL ASIA, AND AFGHANISTHÁN.

A. *Central Asia and Persia.*—The operations of Russia against the Turkomans during 1882 resulted in the establishment of their influence as paramount throughout the territory immediately adjacent to Persia and Northern Afghanisthán. Towards the end of that year a wide scheme of railway construction was put forward by General Annenkow, in furtherance of which surveys have been vigorously carried out. The existing line starts from Baku, on the eastern shore of the Caspian, and for the present ends at Kizil Arwat. The former place is in steamer communication with the European system of railways on the other side of the sea, and the line now in use is 144 miles long. The terminus, however, is a place of no commercial or military importance, and the survey has been completed as far as Askabad, 135 miles further south. From the latter to Sarakhs, 202 miles from Herát, is 185 miles. The preliminary survey of the whole route has been carried out by M. Lessar, and the proposal unofficially published is for a Russian line as far as Herát, with an English one to meet it from Sibi and Kandahar. The nomad character of the tribes dwelling in the valleys of the Atrek and Hari-Rud has hitherto prevented the demarcation of any definite frontier between them and Persia, and, in fact, many of these tribes are more or less subject to the latter Power. It appears that the Russian operations necessarily entailed frequent disregard of so vague a relationship, and consequently a Commission of Persian and Russian officers to settle the line of frontier on the north-east of the former country had been for some months under consideration. It was also settled diplomatically that a similar arrangement should be undertaken as regards the Persian frontier on the north-west also. From the information at present available it seems that there was a preliminary disagreement between the two Powers as to the Atrek line on the east. The Russians demand the whole valley as it now stands, whilst the Persians only admit the cession of part of the old bed of the river, now dry, on the ground that the present tract is inhabited entirely by Persian subjects, including the Yamat Turkomans, whilst the only large town, Hasan-Kali, has been in their possession ever since its foundation. They also proposed that, as the weather was more

propitious on the north-west than towards the Steppes, that line should be demarcated first, but to this the Russians demurred, apparently because the Atrek valley, being very productive of grain and fodder, was more important to their interests in their advance into Turkesthán. The wishes of Russia were carried out, and the Commission appointed for the north-east line includes Sahib Ikhtiar and General Alamshah for the Persians, with Colonel Karavagew and Lieutenant Conti-Nerot on the Russian side, with two others as interpreter and diplomatic agent respectively. Meanwhile, probably with the assent of Persia, the Russian survey was extended into the Tajand valley as above mentioned, and even occupied, according to information lately received, the outpost of Chachar, a Turkoman village undoubtedly within Persian territory, and not above thirty-three miles from Sarakhs—a fort which, as was stated in last year's review, renders the possession of Merv altogether superfluous as regards the command of Herát. On the part of England, Colonel Stewart was engaged in watching events from Khorassan and Mashad, though without an official mission. To the east of the tract in which the above-mentioned movements took place, the reported acquisition by the Afghan Governor of Badakshán of Shignán, a portion of the adjoining Turkoman territory, was the subject of some comment in the Russian press, but was unconfirmed by information officially published in England or India.<sup>1</sup> Again to the east of this debateable land, the events in Yarkand do not present any remarkable features. A road was partly constructed between Kashgar and Tsinchan in the adjacent province of Kansuh, and there were other signs of the desire on the part of the Chinese authorities to open out that part of the Empire. The present Governor of the Chinese Turkesthán is, curiously enough, a convert to Christianity, having been received into that faith by the Roman Catholic Inland China Mission. This Society was reported to be setting up an establishment in Yarkand. The enterprising trader from India, Mr. Dalgleish, made two journeys to Yarkand during the year, with a considerable train of goods. Though he was well received by the Chinese authorities, he found that the jealousy of other traders, which was a marked feature of his previous visits, had thawed into an admission of Russians, who had established a Consulate there, and the change of policy was manifested, also, in the abolition of the monopoly of the Central Asian Trading Co.

Amongst interesting information obtained during the year about this part of the country may be mentioned the results of a journey to Badakshán and the upper Oxus by a Muhammadan of India, who went to pay a visit to a shrine in that direction, and before going was instructed by the Survey officials how to obtain and record the physical and geographical features of value and interest which he might observe on his way. The same plan of

<sup>1</sup> This territory, however, has been claimed by Kabul for many years, and the Amir has only awaited an opportunity of finally securing it.

getting information has been found very successful in other directions, especially in the upper regions of Thibet and the unexplored Hindu-Kush. On the present occasion the traveller got a medal from the Geographical Congress held at Venice. Passing to the West, again, we find that early in the year the notorious Kurd chief, Obaidullah, was captured and replaced in the hands of the Turkish Government, whilst in November he is stated to have died at Meccah without the recurrence amongst his adherents of the turbulent raids of last year and 1881.

B. *Afghanisthán*.—The events of the year, as far as they can be ascertained by people residing beyond the frontier, indicate that whilst the period under review has been apparently free from any definite or serious complication with foreign Powers, the rule of Abdul Rahman is as yet far from being consolidated on a permanent and harmonious basis within his own territories. The peculiar relations between him and the British Government preclude, doubtless, the immediate publication of the information periodically received from Colonel Muhammad Afzul Khán, the Envoy at Kábul, who has, nevertheless, resided with the Amir's Court throughout the year. The presence, too, of considerable numbers of refugees belonging to the different Afghán parties, who have scattered themselves over the British frontier to watch events, is not conducive to correct information, nor is the news brought by traders, who are mostly embittered against the Amir on account of the imposition of heavy transit duties with but small protection, entitled to much more credence. Discounting the different versions thus obtained, there is no doubt that the most serious opposition to the Amir has been from within, rather than, as last year, from without his frontier. The presence in Mashad of some of the sons of Afghán Sirdars of the late Shir 'Ali's family and faction, who can thus freely communicate with Ayub Khán, on the one hand, and Yakub Khán, on the other, was the occasion of some slight disturbances on the borders of Khorassan, and of one serious raid by the Turkomans of the Merv valley on an important position north of Herát, called Panjdeh, which the Amir, on hearing of the affair, had strongly reinforced. At one time it was believed that Ayub himself had obtained the leave of the Shah to visit a shrine at Mashad, on the occasion of the journey thither of the Shah himself, early in June, but the rumour was contradicted, and the exiled chief is stated to have resided throughout the year at Teheran, though in December he is said to have received funds from Persia for a visit to Bokhára, *viâ* Mashad. His presence, apart from any suspicions of active instigations, seems to have given the Amir cause for uneasiness, and on more than one occasion the Amir is said to have been on the point of starting to Herát, or at least to Maimanah, in order to come to terms with the tribes supposed to be under the influence of the exiles. There was also a rumour in October that Ayub had made overtures to the Khán of Bokhára, Musaffir u'd

din, who had been instrumental in helping the present Amir of Kábul to expel Shir 'Ali in 1865, and with whom the Amir had always been on good terms. As Abdul Rahman has for some time kept an establishment in Bokhára territory, where he is reported to be sending part of his Kábul revenue, it is most likely that the above rumour was merely one of the numerous devices of the exiled Sirdars to cause anxiety amongst the Court party at Kábul.

A more important event was the mission sent by the Shah to the Amir in July, which was received at Kandahar early in August with considerable pomp and honours. The Envoy, Mir Mazum Khán, was received by the Amir in Kábul in September, and is reported to have left that city for Mashad in October, or the beginning of November, having failed, according to the report circulated in India, in the purpose of his mission. What this purpose was has not been yet ascertained by the public, at all events, though, considering that by the treaty engagements now in force with Persia that country is prohibited from diplomatic intercourse with Afghanisthán without the consent of the British Government, it is presumable that the objects of the mission were known to the authorities, and will come forward before long. It may be noted, however, that, coincidently with the mission, Musa Ján, who would probably be the pretender supported by the Ghilzai and Duráni chiefs in case of an insurrection, was found to have made his appearance in Seisthán, the tract that was in dispute between Persia and Afghanisthán some years back, and still in rather a lawless condition. The Amir, however, after having got in most of the revenue through Parwánah Khán, the deputy left in Kábul for the purpose during Abdul Rahman's absence at Jelálabád, secured the attendance of some of the chief Duráni Sirdars at Kábul, as hostages for their adherents. Few steps that have been taken by the Amir since his accession have had as much effect as the execution of the Ghilzai chief, Azamat'ullah Khán, an event which, though it has rendered the Amir personally hated, seems, nevertheless, to have awed the whole of the south-west of his dominions.

It has also rendered implacable the powerful Sirdar, Muhammad Hasan Khán, Governor of Jelálabád in the time of Shir 'Ali, and, since the flight of that chief, the irreconcilable enemy alike of the British and of the semi-foreign Abdul Rahman. To this firebrand is due the outbreak of the Shinwáris, the operations against which tribe have mainly occupied the time of the Amir and his forces since the beginning of the year. At the end of 1882 Muhammad Hasan was in the Lughman valley, trying to excite the tribes against the Amir. Having failed in that attempt, he passed into the Kuner country, where the Chief of greatest influence, Saiad Mahmud Bádshah Khán, showed signs of taking up his quarrel. The Amir, however, at once despatched a force up that valley. Muhammad Hasan fled to his own country, south of Basaul, whilst Bádshah Khán seems to have stood an attack by the Kábul troops, and on defeat to have sought refuge to the east of the Kuner river, and from thence

to have passed into Bajur, and down to Mitai, a Mohmand fort about thirty-eight miles north of 'Ali Masjid. Here he seems to have obtained the assistance of a very popular local Mullah, the Haji Sahib of Badmáni, and to have made overtures to the Zaka Kheyl Afridis, who, refusing to join him in force, nevertheless took the opportunity of stopping the Khaibar traffic for a while. A portion of the Mohmands seem to have favoured, if not to have actively helped, the insurrectionary movement, though the Khán of Lálpura, one of their most important chiefs, remained true to the Amir. There was an action between the Kábul troops and the band under Bádshah Khán, the results of which were undecisive, and, whatever the exaggeration of the account spread in the Passes, there is no doubt that the Amir's party did not break up the enemy's force to an appreciable extent, whilst Bádshah, on the contrary, claimed a victory. The result was that the Amir himself, with his Court and a considerable force of regular troops, moved out of Kábul to Jelálabád. He summoned the chiefs of the Shinwáris to come into that place, and whilst they were considering their answer he occupied the time in examining the general administration of the province, and in collecting revenue from the defaulting landlords, of whom some forty were detained as hostages during his stay. Meanwhile, Muhammad Hasan retired to his tribe in the Tirah district, and entered into negotiations with both the Afridis and the Ghilzais under Faiz Muhammad Khán. The Shinwáris did not come into the presence of the Amir, and replied to his summons that they considered themselves independent of his authority, and had accepted his former overtures, in the shape of Khilats (dresses of honour, &c.), merely as proofs of his maintenance of the same position with regard to them as his father had held, and as an earnest of the continuation of the same subsidy. The Amir then ordered the Khán of Lálpura, the Khán of Dáka, and the Lughman tribes to provide supplies for the expedition, and sent his forces to cross the river at Dáka, and then to make the fort of Pesh Bolak, about thirteen miles west of Dáka, their basis of operations. From this point various excursions against small forts in the neighbourhood were successfully made, and the traffic in the Khaibar was reopened. The Shinwáris seem to have got the Afridis of the Pass, or some parts of it, to begin their attacks again, though some of the raids were at first charged upon the Shinwáris themselves. Later information did not support the latter assertion, which was probably the invention of the Afridis, who were afraid of losing their British subsidy. The Amir retired from Jelálabád towards Gandamak as the weather grew hot, and his troops made their main attack upon the Shinwári stronghold on or about May 8. The troops were divided for the operation into two brigades. They burned nine towers, the standing crops, and some of the villages, and killed a large number, chiefly of the Sangu Kheyl, taking over 200 prisoners. They themselves lost over 100 men. The Shinwáris were then disheartened, especially as their total

number of fighting men did not exceed 8,000; so they retired to the hills, sending some of their Maliks to Lálpura in order to get the good offices of Akbar Khán in mediation with the Amir, with whom the latter was then in favour. The Kábul troops were left at Pesh Bolak to watch the proceedings of the Sangu and Ali Shir Kheyls, who, after the manner of their race, were meditating revenge for the slaughter of their tribesmen before Nazian. The attention of the Amir was for the time diverted from them by the refusal to pay full revenue on the part of the Kuner tribes, who were also found to be trying to patch up an alliance with the Northern Ghilzais. He then went for Ramazán to Máma Kheyl, near the Safed Koh range, where he remained some weeks. Meanwhile, Muhammad Hasan Khán was in the Bárah valley, as a guest of the Zaka Kheyl. The prisoners taken from the Shinwáris in the action of May 8, to the number of 200 or more, were deported to Kábul. At length, on the suggestion of Akbar Khán, as well as influenced by the continued presence of the army at Gandamak and Chapriar, close to their valleys, the Shinwáris sent in their tribal representatives, or Jirgah, to the Amir. The latter insisted on full revenue being paid, and, on the responsibility of the Jirgah for good conduct, an agreement was exacted from the Shinwáris to this effect. The prisoners taken to Kábul, on the other hand, were promised back, but later rumour states that they were sent to Afghán Turkesthán. The Shinwáris returned some rifles they had taken from the Kábuli troops, and seventeen prisoners. It was generally understood that the engagements entered into by the tribes were not intended to be kept, as the Shinwáris only wanted to get the blockade removed, whilst the Amir was at that time (July) equally anxious to return westwards, owing to the unsettled state of both Herát and Maimanah. It was generally believed on the frontier that the recalcitrant tribe had been aided in their resistance by money and advice from Ayub, Yakub, or both, at different times, and the Khán of Basawal in the Kábul valley was actually proceeded against by the Amir for helping the Shinwáris in their intercourse with the refugees. This chief is stated to have been, too, the means of keeping up the communications between Ayub and Muhammad Hasan in Tirah and the Barah valley.

It was not till August 30 that Abdul Rahman re-entered Kábul, and on his arrival he spent some time in examining the administration of his deputy, Parwánah Khán, who had been left in charge, though nominally only the advising colleague of Habibullah Khán. The Persian Envoy arrived from Kandahar on September 3, and, as related above, remained till the end of October or thereabouts. The current reports regarding the object of his mission that were rife after he had left for Mashad were to the effect that the Amir was advised by the Shah to agree to the partition of his dominions, giving Kábul and Kandahar to Ayub Khan, and retaining for himself the northern provinces of Herát and Balkh. This highly improbable solution owes its origin,

it is thought, to the general belief that Abdul Rahman's interest lies in Turkesthán, whilst Ayub Khán's popularity amongst the southern tribes, such as the Duráni and portions of the Ghilzais, is undoubted.

The arrangement for the payment of a subsidy of a lakh of rupees a month, or 120,000*l.* per annum, to the Amir by the British Government, was somewhat severely criticised both in England and in India, chiefly on the grounds that the considerations on which it was made were entirely unknown to the public, and were not specified in any formal agreement entered into by Abdul Rahman when he was placed on the throne. The first instalment was duly received in Kábul during the autumn, and was doubtless intended for the payment of the Herát garrison, whom it was urgently necessary to keep well affected during the negotiations with the Shinwáris on the one hand, and the Persian Envoy on the other. It was generally reported at one time, whilst the Amir was at Jelálabád, that an interview would be arranged between him and the Viceroy, but apparently no encouragement of the project was given by the latter, and, indeed, no special reason save that of want of aid against the rebellious tribes was alleged.

C. *The Indian Frontiers.*—The internal disputes in Afghanistán had very slight effect upon the conduct of the various tribes on the border-land of the Panjáb. The most serious complication in that quarter was an attack made on Mian Gul, son of the late Akhund of Swat, by Rahimatullah Khán, chief of Dir, who got possession of the person of his rival, and imprisoned him in a hill fort. His success in securing the chiefship was almost neutralised by his ill-advised threat to desecrate the tomb of the deceased Akhund, who had been much revered in the Swat country. Meanwhile, Umra Khán, a chief of Bajur, gathered a force together and rescued Mian Gul. A sort of pitched battle took place, resulting in the victory of Umra Khán, who endeavoured to get the goodwill of the British Frontier officials in his interests, whilst Rahimatullah is said to have sent for reinforcements to his brother in law, Aman-ul-Mulk, chief of Chitral. It was also reported that the Siah Posh Kafirs had made an attack upon Swat, and that the chief of Dir had proclaimed a Jihad in consequence; but the flame of hostility did not spread beyond the frontiers of the States concerned, and was still alight at the end of the year.

The Afridis of the Khaibar seem to have been fairly quiet during the year, save for the few raids mentioned in connection with the Shinwári operations. The Malik Din had an intertribal quarrel with the Kamarai, from the other side of the Pass, and fought several times in the immediate vicinity of the route, without, however, disturbing the traffic, probably because each of the combatants was in receipt of a subsidy from the British, and did not wish to forfeit it. During the first opening of the Shinwári troubles, the British authorities took the precaution of

repairing and making available the Tatara route, a side way nearly parallel with the main Khaibar road, on which some eight thousand rupees were spent. The Kháns of Lálpura and Dáka did good service in escorting caravans of merchandise and pilgrims from Central Asia through the disturbed country dominated by the Sangu Kheyl, with whom the Zaka Kheyl Afridis were suspected of being in league.

The Afridis of Kohát had been in the habit of exporting the rock salt from the Dherang mines on payment of the almost nominal duty of 4 annas per maund. In order to stop the extensive smuggling into the Panjáb from this quarter, the duty was this year raised to 8 annas. The Jirgah, or tribal council, refused to agree to the increase unless their subsidy was also doubled. As this was refused, they gave notice that they would close the Kohát Pass to merchandise, though passengers would be allowed free access to it. The Panjáb authorities, on their side, notified the stoppage of the subsidy altogether until the contumacious clans agreed to the raised salt duty. The Afridis, accordingly, sent their families into the Tirah district, and prepared for resistance. They were not joined, however, as they had expected to be, by the Malik Din and Kuki tribes, with whom Muhammad Hasan was then engaged in treaties in connection with the revolt of the Shinwáris, nor were the local clans of Afridis entirely with them, so by the end of August the agreement of the Kohát clans, save that of the Misri, who from the first were the leaders of the movement, had been secured, and in September the Pass was again opened to traffic of all kinds.

In Baluchisthán, there was one affray between the hereditarily hostile tribes of the Maris and the Bhagtis. It appeared, from an inquiry held by Sir Robert Sandeman at Kwat-Mandi, that two Maris had come into Bhagti territory to claim compensation for some cattle. Thereupon a Bhagti gave information to an outpost of Sind Horse, at Sui, that these Maris were thieves come to lift cattle. In the attempt to arrest the supposed marauders a trooper shot one of the Maris. On the first opportunity afterwards a Mari killed a Bhagti, whereupon the Bhagtis made a raid on the Maris, and killed five of them, besides driving off some cattle. As the perpetrators of this second raid dispersed amongst their fellow-tribesmen, there ensued a general feeling of hostility throughout the tract occupied by the two tribes. In the end, however, the Bhagti who had given the false information to the outpost was surrendered to the Political authorities for trial. Compensation for the damage done was assessed on the Bhagtis, who were also bound down by hostages to return the cattle taken, with the amount of the fine, within a fixed time. There was also a dispute of comparatively small importance between the Khán of Khelat and some Brahui Zamindars. The officers of the former had cut off the water supply from the fields of the latter, who attacked them, but the affair was settled by a British officer of the Agency.



Some valuable surveys and allied operations on the West and North-West Frontiers were carried out during the year. In one case the native surveyor made observations up the Tochi river, from Banu to Arghun, fixed the position of two passes into the Ghazni district by the Jadran range, and returned through Waziristhán by the Gomal valley. A more important expedition for the survey of the adjacent country was organised towards the close of the autumn under Major Holdich, for the completion of the observations of the little-known country surrounding the Takht-i-Sulaiman range, and started under a military escort from Dera Ismail Khán. This expedition was to meet that of Sir R. Sandeman, marching from the Quetta direction, and (with that of Mr. Fryer, undertaken in October) will probably settle the most direct and convenient route between the north and Thal-Chotiali. Some opposition was offered at first, but the Sheoráni tribe gave hostages, and acquiesced in the march through their territory.

An interesting expedition through Bajaur to the Kafir country was projected by Mr. Macnair, of the Survey Department, but only partially carried out. The journey was undertaken in disguise, but the suspicions of the Muhammadan chiefs on the route were excited by Rahát Khán, a rival of the Kaka Kheyl Pathán who had started with Macnair as guide. The explorer had got only as far as Chitral, when he was advised by the Khán to advance no further, as the tribes along his route were likely to be hostile. He therefore returned to India by way of Gilgit.

No progress was made with the Quetta railway; but the Harnai road, which is an easy alternative for the Bolán when the latter is flooded, was considerably improved. The fortifications of Quetta itself, too, were proceeded with to some extent, and the bazar of that station improved, as the trade with the West has increased considerably since the first settlement there, and still more since the opening of the line from Sibi.

On the Northern Frontier there is little to record. The Nipalese had some differences with the Chinese and Thibetan officers at the frontier custom-houses, owing to an alleged attack on Nipalese caravans by the Chinese. The friction between the two States has been considerable for some time, owing to the dislike on the part of the Himalayan principality to send the prescribed presents to Peking at certain intervals, as has been the custom for the last eighty years. In the direction of Bhután, too, there were frontier occurrences of a somewhat similar nature in October; the differences, however, are said to have been caused by a raid on a Thibetan station by some of the Bhutia headmen, whom the Dharm Rája was unable to control. The disturbances thus excited seem to have injured to some extent the small trade with India by Dárjiling, which consists of wool, musk, and borax brought into India, and tea, cotton, &c., sent inland from Bengal and Assam.

Still further to the east, on the Assam border, the Akhas, one of the hill tribes, made a somewhat serious raid on British territory,

and carried off two native officials of the Forest Service ; but the rest of the unsettled tribes of that neighbourhood gave no trouble. The disturbance is set down to the Forest Regulations, which prohibited the free tapping of the india-rubber trees by the hill tribes. A detachment of Native Infantry with police was sent into the Akha country, and met with considerable hostility on their route. The operations were still in progress at the end of December, though it was reported that the Forest Rangers who had been carried off were restored.

In Burmah some confusion was caused by the escape of the Myin-Gun prince from Chunár, where he had been interned. This prince was expelled from the Court of Mandalay in 1866, and resided at first in British Burmah. In 1867 he visited Siam, and on his return to Rangoon was placed under surveillance. He next resided at the Andamans, Banares, and Chunár. From the latter he escaped late in 1882 to the French settlement of Chandernagor, a short distance from Calcutta. From this asylum he began communicating with the British Government regarding his rights to the throne of Burmah, whilst at the same time he was carrying on intrigues in Mandalay—it is said through his sister, who was imprisoned there by order of Theebaw. The Government of India declined to receive or consider his representations unless he returned to their territory, which he refused to do. The present King of Burmah, personally unpopular in many parts of his dominions, and unsuccessful in his negotiations with the British as well as in his expeditions against the Shan tribes of his south-eastern provinces, sent troops to the Manipur frontier, expecting that to be the route by which the pretender would enter Burmah on leaving French protection. At the same time, or a little after, the Chief Minister, who had been noted for his anti-British views, retired, and King Theebaw made proposals to the Government of India for a renewal of the negotiations regarding the Commercial Treaty that came to so lame a conclusion last year. He received the answer that a certain time having been fixed for the renewal, and this having expired, no further proposals would be entertained. Later in the year he sent an embassy to France, with the object, it was believed, of getting aid against the semi-independent Shan States, which are nominally under his suzerainty, shared with that, as far as certain tracts are concerned, of the kingdom of Siam. It is also very probable that the presence of the Myin-Gun in a French settlement had something to do with the mission, but, though the subsequent course of events showed that the alliance of France and Burmah may have been deemed advantageous by the former Power, no active steps to cement it were taken during the year. The envoys were received, however, by the French Government.

The expedition against the Shans was not successful, and reinforcements of about 6,000 troops had to be sent. Another disappointment experienced by the King was the birth of a second daughter, by which he is still left without an heir. The Queen

has been successful in preventing him from marrying four wives, in accordance with the family custom, and is reported, too, to be responsible for a good deal of the violence of his first acts on coming to the throne.

As regards British Burmah, which may as well be noticed here as later, the prevalence of gang-robberies or dacoities was a remarkable feature of the year. Most of the raids were accompanied by bloodshed, and in many the ringleaders were afterwards captured. Even in Rangoon and its immediate neighbourhood some offences of this sort took place, but their chief scene was in Pegu. The development of a trade route between Maulmain and Yunán was much discussed in both India and England, owing to the publication of the travels of Messrs. Colquhoun and Baber. Later on, too, the sudden activity of French enterprise in the T'ien-Kwang, or Tonquin, provinces of Annam, which will be treated of at length in another section of this work, lent additional interest to information on this subject, and a second journey by a fresh route was arranged for by Mr. Colquhoun and another traveller.

## INDIA.

*The Feudatory States.*—The chief events of the year, both in interest and in political importance, are those that have taken place in the great Mubammadan State of Hydrabád. Early in the season the young Nizám, on the suggestion of the Minister, Sir Sálár Jang, departed from the usual custom of his family, and took a tour of inspection through the northern part of his State. The object of this proceeding was both to familiarise the chief with the details of the administration, which has been organised on the pattern of that of the adjoining British territory, as well as to break through the habit of seclusion which has been prevalent for many years. The party, which included the Resident, the Minister, the Commissioner of the Assigned Districts, and a large number of the State officials, went to Aurangabád, where there was a large assemblage of the Nizám's subjects to receive him. After the young chief had undergone a course of explanation of the various branches of revenue and general administration, the party returned to Hydrabád. Very shortly after their arrival Sir Sálár Jang was attacked by cholera, and died on February 8, to the deep regret of his colleagues, and of all who took an interest in the State he had so long administered. Memorials of the deceased statesman were instantly subscribed for by all classes, European and Native, both in and out of Hydrabád, and the following Gazette Extraordinary was issued on February 10 by the Government of India :—

It is with feelings of deep regret that the Governor-General in Council announces the death, on the evening of the 8th inst., from cholera, of His

Excellency the Nawáb Sir Sálár Jang, G.C.S.I., the Regent and Minister of the Hydrabád State. By this unhappy event the British Government has lost an enlightened and experienced friend ; His Highness the Nizám a wise and faithful servant ; and the Indian community one of its most distinguished representatives.

It is not the place here to recount the story of what the deceased had done for his native State, and the distinguished services he had rendered to both the late Nizám and the British Government ; but we must mention that a few months before his lamented death he had organised some extensive changes in the method of administration calculated to decrease both cost and delay, and that these arrangements were left by his death incomplete. The young Nizám does not come of age until early in 1884, so that the administration during the interval was carried on by a Council of Regency, organised by the late Resident on behalf of the Government of India. In this Council the Nizám has a seat as President ; a young Sirdar, Khurshed Jah, and the Minister of Justice, Bashir-ud-Daulat, with the Pesbkár, a Hindu, Raja Sir Náraindra Prasád, as members ; and the eldest son of Sir Sálár Jang, named Mir Liakat 'Ali, as secretary. Practically, the greater part of the administration rests with the last-named and the Peshkár. The removal of the strong hand of Sir Sálár Jang was soon followed by symptoms of the unsettled character of the resident upper classes, who have been celebrated for many years for their intrigues and for their covert dislike of the strict discipline enforced by the unswerving policy of the late Minister. Passing over one or two street affrays between the police and the armed retainers of the nobles, we need only mention a case that excited some comment in the press generally, especially in that portion of it conducted and read by the literate classes of the capital cities. It may be recollected that in the time of Sir Sálár Jang there was considerable talk about a new line of railway through the Chandah coal tract, and the late Minister was strongly in favour of its execution, though raising a question regarding the agency through which it should be undertaken. It is believed that the Indian Government was of opinion, for political reasons which it is superfluous to bring forward here, that a work of such magnitude should be carried out by the Paramount Power. The Minister, on the other hand, desired to make his own arrangements with the capitalists who would agree to take up the contract, and intended apparently to take the necessary steps in this direction in England. On his death, however, an agitation was got up in Hydrabád and the surrounding districts in opposition to the project, and a meeting was held under the presidency of one Dr. Argonáth, a Bengali, and the principal of the Hydrabád College, resulting in a telegram to the Viceroy, asking him to suspend any decision on the subject until after the receipt of a monster petition, said to be signed by 1,500 of the principal men in the State. The president of this meeting was immediately suspended, and justified his action by referring to the number of signatures he had obtained ; but on

inquiry it was found that the latter contained a good many either false or obtained on incorrect information of the contents and object of the petition. It also appeared that Dr. Argonáth had written to request the Joint Administrators to submit to the 'Council,' of which he was president, all the papers concerning the proposed line, for the opinion of that Council. As Dr. Argonáth was the paid servant of the State, and was proved to have taken the leading part in the whole agitation, which included an attempt to excite to hostile demonstrations the unruly Pathán and Arab leaders of the bodyguards of the nobles, the administration took the simple course of deporting the offending principal across the frontier, with a prohibition of his reappearing. He remained, therefore, at Sholapur, on the borders of Hydrabád, and continued his meetings against the railway from the safety of British territory. With him was deported the secretary to the Council of agitation, a Parsi, also in the State service. Apart from this incident, which was founded on a false report spread amongst the nobles to the effect that, in order to provide the funds for the new line, the districts of Naldrug and Aurangabád were to be hypothecated to the concessionaires, there was no doubt a genuine dislike of the project amongst the conservative party—a dislike which had only been suppressed in the lifetime of the late Minister. It was even rumoured that in the Council of Regency itself opinion was by no means united, and that the Nizám and Bashir-ud-Daulat were against the Joint Administrators and Khurshed Jah. An emissary was sent, however, to England in the spring, a Company was floated, and it was reported that the contract for the line had been accepted by a leading firm in London. The importance of the opening out of the country through which the line will pass is not to be denied, and a large revenue is expected in time to be reaped by the State from the undertaking. The obstacles are political considerations, into which enter both the treaty relations with the British Government and any financial dealings with European firms, such as brought this same State into difficulties a couple of generations ago. The present proposal is to extend the State line now running between Hydrabád and Shahabád, to Chandah, by Warangal, to join the British State line from Warorah, the junction to be at the river Wardha, where a bridge will be built by the Nizám's Government. There would be branch lines to the Godáwari as well as further to the south, and the arrangement proposed includes a concession of the working of the State mines to a London company. The system would, if carried out, be the largest undertaking yet entered upon by a native State, and was strongly backed by influential retired Anglo-Indian officers in London.

The young Nizám is to be installed on attaining his majority next year. There was some difference of opinion as to the date of the latter event, owing to the respective calendars of the English and Muhammadan authorities not being in harmony one with the

other, but the event was fixed to take place in February 1884, in the presence of the Viceroy.

In Mysore, as in Hydrabád, an administrator passed away whom the State could but ill spare, though the gap he leaves is by no means comparable to that experienced by the Muhammadan State, and is due more to the critical juncture of affairs than to the personal influence of the deceased. The Diwán Ranguchárlia, who died in the middle of January, had a long and intimate acquaintance with the State, and had directed the whole of the administration since the rendition in 1881. On his death, several competitors appeared on the scene, as there has been for some time a rivalry between the Mysorean officials and those born outside the State. The successor selected, however, was an adherent of the deceased Diwán, Sheshádrí Aiyar by name, Comptroller of the Rájá's Household, and closely connected with the organization of the new departments carried out by the Rájá last year. One of the innovations introduced this year was a sort of Council, composed of representatives from different classes, before which the Diwán published his statement of the financial and general administration of the past year, and explained his proposals for that to follow. A scheme for the establishment of municipal corporations and local boards, such as exist in British territory, was also introduced, and the revenue administration was, by an Act of the Rájá, assimilated to that of the Bombay Presidency.

The Gaikwar's State, too, lost its Minister, Sir Mádhawa Rao, who retired early in the year, and was succeeded by a Muhammadan of rank, once in the British revenue service, but for some time past engaged on similar work under the Baroda administration.

Two smaller States, both under the Bombay Government, lost the services of their Chief Ministers during the year, though not by either death or retirement. In Cambay, some of the principal inhabitants made an exodus in January from the State into the adjacent district, and were joined by a number of others. From this retreat they sent to the Local Government complaints against the Diwán, a Hindu from Bombay, recently appointed. On an inquiry, conducted by the Political Agent, it appeared that the measures introduced into a retrograde State by the inconsiderate energy of the new administrator had been carried out without judgment or tact, whilst there had been also unpopular appointments of officials connected with the Diwán. Before the decision of Government was received, the Nawáb had dismissed the obnoxious Minister.

The Junágadh affair was more serious, and far more discreditable to those concerned. The dispute which occasioned the action of the Nawáb is a long one, and had been considered by the Secretary of State some years before. The outlines are as follows. In this State are some hereditary village watchmen, of a caste known as Maiya, who used to be bound to perform certain duties in their villages, and to be responsible for the safety of the crops and other property

of the residents. As the State advanced in civilisation it was found necessary to abandon the rough protection afforded by this body of men for an organised police force, and an arrangement became necessary regarding the land held free by the Maiyas on consideration of their services. The latter were unwilling to abandon their lands or to pay a quit-rent, and the disagreement came successively before the Political Agent, the Local Government, and the Secretary of State. It was decided that a light quit-rent should be fixed, and the Maiyas relieved from the obligation of performing village service. Through negligence on the part of the local Political Officer, the quit-rent demanded by the State was far above what was intended by the Government, or what was reasonably payable on the class of land compared with that held at full rates in the neighbourhood, and the Maiyas again resisted the claim. The State then confiscated the whole of their crops, and the Maiyas adopted the usual resource of the discontented in the Kathiawar Peninsula, as in Cambay, and "went out," or retired to a hill just outside the Junágadh limits. Here they remained, awaiting the reduction of their rent, but without any act of violence. They had, however a few arms, and the Junágadh authorities represented to the Political Agent that the Maiyas might attack the State officers, or at least take to robbing the travellers who passed by their place of refuge. Thereupon the Agent seems to have authorised the State to proceed to take the Maiyas into custody. What followed is not to be gathered in detail from the evidence given by the State or Political Officers, as the police, composed of Arabs, Mekránis, Patháns, and other martial and pugnacious classes, were left to manage the capture as they pleased. The result, however, was, that with the loss of four men wounded by shot and three by sword-cuts, the State Police attacked the hill and killed over eighty of the Maiyas either in cold blood, or whilst the latter were in flight and unarmed, for only forty-six firearms and forty-two swords were found in the possession of the fugitives. The heads of the dead were cut off, and the Minister, after conveying the congratulations of the State to the successful Arab in command of the police, actually took out the Nawáb in procession to meet the victorious force on its return with the heads of the Maiyas in carts. It was only the remonstrances of the Political Officer, who arrived just in time, that prevented this ghastly procession from entering the town in triumph. The resolution of the Local Government published in connection with the inquiry that followed was much and adversely criticised by the press, as it seemed to be entirely occupied with minimising the fault of the State, and in proving the Maiyas to have been actually in armed outlawry. It suggested the dismissal of the bulk of the mercenaries employed in the police, or at least their being withdrawn from district work and placed as treasury and palace guards, and expressed its regret at the rest of the occurrences that took place, including the part taken by the Diwán and his

deputy. On the other hand, the senior member of the Bombay Council, Mr. Ravenscroft, put on record a very strongly-worded protest against and dissent from the decision of his colleagues, and suggested the censure of the Nawáb and the dismissal of the Diwán, himself an Arab, and his deputy, a Bráhmañ. The Maiyas, in their turn, appealed for redress to the Governor-General in Council, and that authority took the view of Mr. Ravenscroft, and strongly censured the young Nawáb, ordered the dismissal of the Diwán and his deputy, with a stringent warning to the authorities as to the necessity for improving the administration that would admit of such atrocities. The real matter in issue—that is, the rent payable by the Maiyas—was referred to the investigation of an independent authority who was not likely to be biassed by previous experience of Kathiawar politics.

In contradistinction to the action of the State in the above unfortunate affair may be mentioned one or two occurrences elsewhere under purely native rule. In Udaipur, for instance, a first-class chief of good family was condemned to death and executed by order of the Rájá, a ruler of the same caste, for complicity in the murder of a rival Rajput chief, whom the accused had besieged in his village. In Jaipur, again, a case of sati performed by the widow of the Rajput headman of the village, with the connivance and aid of her connections, led to the conviction by the Rájá of all concerned in the matter, and the sentence of the actual assistants in it to imprisonment for various terms of from three to seven years. In this State, too, an exhibition of works of art, chiefly manufactured in Rajputána, was held by the chief, with the aid of a European medical officer attached to the Agency, and seems to have been very successful, over 6,600 exhibits being presented.

In other States little worthy of special mention took place during the period under review.

## BRITISH INDIA.

Amongst the chief official moves that have taken place during the year may be mentioned, first, that of Major Baring (now Sir Evelyn), from the post of Financial Member of Council to that of English plenipotentiary in Egypt, in succession to Sir E. Malet. The post thus vacated was assigned to Sir Auckland Colvin, who thus returned to India after an absence in Egypt of over five years. There were changes, too, in the Chief Commissionerships of Burmah and the Central Provinces, and also in the Residentships of Hyderabad and Mysore. Amongst the appointments less important in an administrative light, but of some political and social moment, is that of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught to the chief command of the Meerut Division of the Bengal Army, with the reversion, it is stated, of the post of Commander-in-Chief of Bombay. The Prince



arrived in Bombay in November, and was received with due honour in that town, and at the various stages of his journey to his military station.

The history of the army during the year is one of internal administration without any field operations. The reorganisation of the Native Army resulted in the maintenance of a strength of 111,411 men, or 456 above that of the old cadre. The reduction in expense was not as great, however, this year as had been expected, owing to the discovery of certain claims on account of non-effective services overlooked for many years by the home authorities. There was a large expenditure, moreover, on small-arms ammunition, as that manufactured in Kirkee was found on investigation to be useless, so that it had to be replaced by fresh supplies in excess of the estimated outturn at Dum-Dum. After the investigation and the consequent change in the management of the factory, it was stated that the powder made at Poona was in fault as well as the ammunition. Some savings were effected by the abolition of regimental in favour of station hospitals; one establishment thus serving a whole depôt or cantonment. The new transport department was thoroughly manned, and enabled to mobilise 45,000 troops with complete ambulance and carriage at short notice. The use of carrier-pigeons in the Intelligence Department was tried as an experiment, in accordance with the practice of some foreign armies. The additional expense thrown on the Indian Treasury by the short-service system, which had for some time been represented strongly to the home authorities, was somewhat reduced this year by a system of bounty to time-expired men, who were thus induced to re-enlist for four years or longer. The cost of transporting them back to England was thus saved. One of the results of this change was somewhat curious. There has been a remarkable decrease in the number of married men in the ranks under the short-service system, but on receipt of the bounty a very considerable proportion of the bachelors who had elected to serve the additional time asked for permission to marry instead of spending or investing their money. The spread of temperance in the European troops was remarkable. In Bangalore it is stated that one-fourth of the men were abstainers. The substitution of Indian for English-made stores has been gradually progressing in the army, and in many cases the former turn out to be all that is required. Unfortunately, as pointed out by the financial authorities, no very great saving in this direction can be expected until iron and steel can be turned out in India equal in fineness to that got in Europe.

As regards naval matters, the East Indian Station Fleet was during the year distributed mostly at a distance from the continent, in the eastern seas, and watching events in Madagascar. Late in the year a portion of the fleet went to the Red Sea, in consequence of the disturbances amongst the Arabs near Suakim, on the west coast. In the disputes between the Imám of Muscat and his connections, aided by some Arabs, which ended in the siege and

partial bombardment of the chief town, one of the smaller British vessels intervened to save the persons and property of the British subjects and the citizens as much as possible, and helped to drive off the assailing tribes by means of its long-range shells, but the affair was not of great importance.

The various measures brought forward for the encouragement of local government scarcely advanced beyond the preliminary stage, save in one instance, that of the Central Provinces, where the required legislation was considered last year, and passed into law early in that under review. The working of even this Act has not yet had time to form the basis of any opinion as to its advantages, whilst the Bills on the same subject for other Provinces have been passed in two cases only, and then in anticipation of the local arrangements which are necessary to make them workable. It is expected, however, that the various proposals will be finally adopted in time for the scheme to be in action in all the chief Provinces by April 1 next. The main lines of all are almost uniform. The election of a certain majority of the members, the extended power of the Boards over the local funds entrusted to them, and the provision of official supervision instead of direct initiation and interference, seem to be the principal ends in view, though in all the Bills the power reserved to either the Government or the local official authorities is considerably greater than what was suggested in the Circular issued on the subject by the Supreme Government in May 1882. In municipalities more progress has been made in the direction of autonomy, and in the larger towns the plans adopted show signs of being successful. In some cases, however, the local feelings, such as those on religion and sect, are too high to allow of the administration of the Corporation by a non-official, and the District Officer of the neighbouring division has had to take upon himself the presidentship. It has been found advisable, too, to reserve in all cases the power of nominating a portion of the Committee, in order to counteract the efforts of the wire-pulling that is so dreaded by certain classes of the hereditary leading families. The general results, accordingly, will not be apparent till some years have passed. The Viceroy admitted his anticipation of some faulty administration in the beginning, but trusted to the supervision of the local authorities to prevent serious failures, whilst without such a trial no improvement could, he thought, be expected either now or hereafter.

The year has been characterised by few serious riots or disturbances of the public peace, save in Burmah. On January 17 an attack was made on the town of Nanpur, in Ali Rajpur, in Central India, by a party of Bhils and Vilayatis, or Afgháns and Rohillas, under one Chitu, a Bhil. The Malwa Bhil Corps and a detachment of Central Indian Horse, with some Native Infantry, managed to disperse the marauders, and, with the assistance of the Bombay Local Police Force, to capture the

leaders, though not till after a considerable chase. The investigation into the cause of the riots was held on the spot, and showed that the Bhils had been discontented for some time with the *régime* of a Diwán who was practically the chief. They accordingly retired to their fastnesses, asking for a real chief of the ruling family, with the alternative of setting up Chitu for themselves. As usual in such cases, their cause gathered to itself all the wild characters of the neighbourhood, and when the movement spread, the Viláyatis, of whom there are a good number unemployed in Central India, joined them for the sake of the plunder. The ring-leaders were tried and convicted by the Political Court at Indore. A few robberies in gangs, with other symptoms of an unsettled state of feeling, were reported amongst the Korwas, a wild tribe of Sirgujah, in the Chotah Nagpur division of Bengal, but beyond this there were no predatory raids.

Perhaps a more serious class of offences in the present state of the country is that of sectarian riots, especially between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of the larger towns. Last year and the year before we had to chronicle grave disturbances of this sort. This year, though they have not been absent, showing the smouldering of enmity always ready to break into flame, those that are recorded are less fierce than the occurrences at either Multan or Salem. In Calicut, Ikbalpur, Bhágalpur, and Dacca the Muhammadans seem to have been the aggressors in the disturbances that took place. In the last-named town they made the Hindus dismount from a marriage procession as they passed the Muhammadan houses. In Ikbalpur, a private dispute between two members of the different religions was magnified into a race quarrel, but happily was settled by the tact of a Muhammadan magistrate belonging to a good family of the place. In Bhágalpur, the quarrel was about that frequent occurrence, the purchase by a Hindu money-lender of some land on which a Muhammadan Masjid, probably in ruins, was built. The purchaser refused the offers made by the Muhammadan leaders for the ground, and bricked up the approach to the building. The opposing party mobbed the place, threatened both the owner and the police whom he had called in, and finally attacked the latter, who fired in self-defence, and killed one and wounded several others. In Calicut the Muhammadans marched with a band past a Hindu temple at a time when they knew that a ceremony was being performed inside; the offended parties were prudent enough not to attack the offenders, but laid a formal complaint against them, and proved their case. At the Muhammadan festivals of the Bakra 'Id, which with the Muharram is the most usual time for a demonstration, only two uproars took place; one at Bombay, the other at Delhi. Both bore almost exactly the same features. The Muhammadans wished to carry out their ceremony of killing a cow, for which permission is granted, not in the secluded place where they are instructed to go, but in a place where they thought the Hindus would dislike to see

the performance. In Delhi a riot actually took place, though only four men were injured; but in Bombay the police arrested the ring-leaders and dispersed their followers with ease, as they did not belong to the more turbulent class of Muhammadans, but were mostly weavers and dyers. In the chief town of the small State of Drán-gadra, in Kathiawar, occurred the only riot in which the Hindus were the aggressors. They resisted the progress of a procession of Bohorahs, a class of Muhammadans, on the ground that the latter were not allowed by custom to ride through any part of the town. The chief himself settled the matter. On the whole, though so slight, these disputes tend to show the intensity of the feeling still existing between the two great masses of the Indian population, and its readiness to break out whenever official discipline and vigilance are at all relaxed. In some of the cases reported, especially from the more southern parts of the country, where the Muhammadans are both less numerous and less educated in political action than the upper classes of Hindus, it appears that some discontent was caused by the introduction of the elective system into the towns, since the votes of the majority, diligently and skilfully collected, have the effect of extruding the representatives of the minority from the Corporation save as the nominees of Government, a position which can be cast in their teeth by the rest of the members. This disadvantage, which would seem of little political moment when the community is homogeneous, becomes entitled to consideration in the case of discordant races and religious creeds.

But, in the present circumstances of India, the race-conflict that would be most detrimental to the prospects of the country is not that between two indigenous and subject races, which, as in the instances mentioned above, finds vent in isolated and local disturbances, but one which in an acute form is happily but rarely manifested—namely, serious disagreement between the race in whose hands the reins of power are now placed, and any class of the native population. When classes are at issue, and the dispute is not local, the results travel with modified force and direction to all the centres in which the divided interests are brought into contact with each other.

Such was the case in the present year, which, though in many, indeed in most, respects one of progress and prosperity, will be distinguished in history by one of these class dissensions, arising out of a legislative proposition initiated by the Governor-General in Council, which created such a ferment throughout the whole of Eastern India, and established such an animosity between native and European, that all the cordiality and mutual trust which has been gradually built up since the Mutiny may be said, as far as those parts and certain classes are concerned, to have been in the utmost danger of entire demolition by the course of a month's agitation.

Though the measure in question was one that affected to any

great extent one or two Provinces only, and those not immediately, the agitation, helped on by one or two other causes of dissatisfaction previously existing, was carried into the rest of the continent, and even became a party question in England, and the leading topic connected with India that was discussed in home politics during the whole year. It is a very hard task to set down concisely and yet fully the merits of the case for both sides in the controversy, because it has not only received the opinions of most of the leading officials in India, but has formed the stock subject for months of the Indian press, and has, moreover, been plentifully diluted by comments, parliamentary and journalistic, in England. The mass of literature thus available is rendered all the more difficult of digestion by the fact that into the controversy opinion largely enters, and the opinion or sentiment of those perhaps most entitled to be heard on the matter is largely tempered with the caution of the administrator, so that, instead of an array of authorities on one side or the other of the question, we find every possible gradation of view between unqualified dissent and equally frank agreement. Without touching on the merits of the case, therefore, we recount it below in its historical aspect.

The measure in question, then, is officially termed "*A Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882, so far as it relates to the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects.*" We may, however, mention that it is popularly known both in India and England by the title of the "*Ilbert Bill,*" from the Legal Member of Council who introduced it. In the ordinary routine of this post the Legal Member has to introduce numbers of proposals, any one of which can be said to be equally entitled with that in question to bear his name; but on the present occasion, either from the belief that Mr. Ilbert had been the chief mover in the question, or owing to what the Calcutta public held to be the strong general tendency of his opinions, the press at once associated his name exclusively with this Jurisdiction Bill. We now give the "Objects and Reasons," as published under his signature on January 30.

1. Shortly after the Code of Criminal Procedure, Act X. of 1882, was passed, the question was raised whether the provisions of that Code which limit the jurisdiction over European British subjects outside the Presidency towns to judicial officers who are themselves European British subjects should not be modified. It was thought anomalous that, whilst natives of India were admitted to the Covenanted Civil Service and held competent to discharge the highest judicial duties, they should be deemed incompetent to be Justices of the Peace and to exercise jurisdiction over European British subjects outside the Presidency towns.

2. After consulting the Local Governments, the Government of India has arrived at the conclusion that the time has come for modifying the existing law and removing the present bar upon the investment of native Magistrates in the interior with powers over European British subjects. The Government of India has accordingly decided to settle the question of jurisdiction over European subjects in such a way as to remove from the Code at once and completely every judicial disqualification which is based merely on race distinctions.

3. With this object the present Bill has been prepared. In Section 1 it amends Section 22 of the Code, which provides that only European British subjects can be appointed Justices of the Peace, and gives the Government power to appoint to that office such persons as it thinks fit belonging to the following classes :—

(a) Members of the Covenanted Civil Service.

(b) Members of the Native Civil Service constituted by the rules made under the Statute 33 Vic. cap. 3.

(c) Assistant-Commissioners in Non-regulation Provinces.

(d) Cantonment Magistrates, and being persons invested with the powers of a Magistrate of the first class.

4. The Bill then in Section 2 amends Section 35 of the Code, and makes all Sessions Judges and District Magistrates *ex officio* Justices of the Peace.

5. Section 3 repeals so much of Section 443 of the Code as limits jurisdiction over European British subjects outside the Presidency towns to Magistrates who are themselves European British subjects.

6. Section 4 repeals the similar provision of Section 444 of the Code with regard to Sessions Judges.

7. Lastly, Section 5 repeals Section 450 of the Code, which provides for the case where the Sessions Judge of the division within which the offence is ordinarily triable is not a European British subject. The same section of the Bill also repeals so much of Section 459 of the Code as provides that the section shall not be deemed to confer on Magistrates and Sessions Judges outside the Presidency towns, not being European British subjects, jurisdiction over European British subjects.

Before explaining the changes embodied in the above rather technical language, it is necessary to state briefly what the *status* of the European British subject in India now is with regard to the Courts of Criminal Justice, and how it was ordained, a question that has been well threshed out by the united legal acumen of native and European judges and lawyers since the Bill was published.

Up to 1860 the class of offenders in question were triable only by the Supreme Courts in the Presidency towns, and by English law. There was an exception in favour of certain petty cases punishable by fine. In 1860 the Penal Code was passed, and made applicable to all classes alike, within and without the chief towns. In the next year the Criminal Procedure Code was passed, maintaining the jurisdiction in question. In the interval between that year and 1872, when the Code came under amendment, the number of European settlers in the outlying districts had largely increased, so that, even with the aid of additional High, Chief, and Recorder's Courts, great administrative inconvenience was felt as regards the trial of the cases concerned. It is true that, according to two or three small Acts passed between 1813 and 1860, a Magistrate of full powers not a European British subject might try the petty offences committed by one of that race, but as a matter of fact the power was never exercised, and apparently the contingency arising was not contemplated when the Act was passed, and was removed in 1861. In 1872, therefore, it was proposed to take away the right of the European British subject to trial by jury of his countrymen, save in grave offences, and to allow jurisdiction in other cases to District Officers, that is, to Sessions Judges and Magistrates of the first class, empowered

to sentence to imprisonment up to a year and three months respectively. On representations by the non-official European members of the Viceregal Council, however, a proviso was inserted into the new Act that the extended jurisdiction should be reserved for Judges and Magistrates who are themselves European British subjects. In the Presidency towns such a restriction does not now exist, and for six years past native Magistrates have been on the Bench, the acquiescence of the race concerned being due, it is represented, to the immediate presence of the High Court, the Bar, and an English press. In 1882, when the Criminal Procedure Code again came up for amendment, one of the native members of the Council made a reference to the subject of repealing the race provisions, and the Viceroy stated that the matter was one which it was inconvenient to take up on the spur of the moment, and should receive attention at some future meeting of the legislative body. This concludes the first part of the movement; but it may be added that in 1872 the restriction of the jurisdiction to Europeans was carried by a small majority only, though it included a strong element, both legal and non-official. We may also state here, and before resuming the narrative, that the privileges enjoyed by European British subjects, apart from that of the race of the trying authority, are these:—No Court but a High Court can pass on one of this class of offenders a sentence of more than a year's imprisonment, whereas a Sessions Judge can sentence a native to death, transportation for life, and imprisonment up to fourteen years. By a first-class Magistrate a European British subject can be sentenced to imprisonment up to three months and a fine up to 1,000 rupees, and a native offender to imprisonment up to two years, fine, and whipping. The Magistrates of the two grades below this have no jurisdiction to try European British subjects at all. Then, again, the European can appeal from any conviction by a Magistrate either to the Sessions Judge or to the High Court direct, whilst a native can only appeal to the former, and when the sentence exceeds a certain minimum. Lastly, in trials before the High Court half the jury may be European British subjects or Americans. None of these privileges were touched by the Bill under consideration. To resume the main history. About the time of the passing of the latest edition of the Criminal Code, in the beginning of 1882, a letter was addressed to the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal by Babu B. L. Gupta, a Bengali gentleman who had passed into the Covenanted Civil Service by competition in England. He showed that whilst he had held for a time the post of Presidency Magistrate in Calcutta he had *ex officio* exercised the jurisdiction over European British subjects which, on his promotion to a higher office outside the Presidency town, was withdrawn from him. He added the strong arguments adduced in 1872 in favour of the extension of the jurisdiction to natives of his rank and position in the Civil Service. His letter was sent to the Government of India with some remarks by Sir

Ashley Eden, who considered that the jurisdiction over European British subjects should be conferred upon Covenanted Civilians or at least District Magistrates and Sessions Judges irrespective of their race. The correspondence was then circulated to the Local Governments and Administrations, whose opinion was asked as to whether there would be any objection to the extension of the jurisdiction to Covenanted Civilians generally who may be appointed to the rank of first-class Magistrate, or at least to that of District Magistrate or Sessions Judge. From the replies received it appears clear that the officers consulted assumed the question to relate only to the Competition Civilians, and under that impression they, with one or two exceptions, gave their approval to the proposition. The next step taken in the matter was to obtain the consent of the Secretary of State to the introduction of the necessary legislation. It seemed to the Government of India that the extension of the jurisdiction in question to the Covenanted Civilians, or to the District Magistrates and Sessions Judges alone, would be a measure not worth enacting, so the Bill drafted included, in addition to the competition men of native birth, the Statutory Civilians nominated in India, and the two other classes both also recruited by nomination. Without further consultation of the Local Administrations on the enlarged proposals, and without inquiry as to the views of the non-official classes (since it is usual in ordinary cases to obtain public criticism from the latter through the publication of the intended legislation in the "Gazette" after leave to introduce a Bill has been granted), the Amendment Bill was introduced at Calcutta on February 2. The European population of Bengal, instead of being concentrated, as in Bombay and Madras, in the Presidency and other large towns, is scattered over the outlying districts, as is also the case in Assam, the slopes of the Western Himalayas, and the coffee districts of the Nilgiris and Coorg. The provisions of the Bill, therefore, affected only the planting interest to any wide extent, as in the three Presidency towns Europeans had been for some time tried by native Magistrates without opposition. In Calcutta, accordingly, a storm arose amongst the non-official classes that soon spread to the planting centres all over the Province. Meetings were held at which the strongest language was used and the wildest proposals were accepted by the general vote. Throughout the Upper Provinces and the Panjáb it was the same. In Bombay, too, where the question was of less practical moment, there was considerable agitation. It is superfluous to mention that with a large class of educated natives, as in Calcutta, a counter-agitation was got up, in the course of which much the same sort of language and resolutions were distinguishing features, whilst the press was freely enlisted, as in 1833, in the cause of both antagonists, and a state of hostility was aroused unparalleled since 1857. The native press in other parts of the country took up the cry in



support of their Bengali brethren, and the question, which practically affected the position of but a few thousands (for the Commander-in-Chief had stated that the provision regarding Cantonment Magistrates was not to be put in force), was magnified in flaming leaders into the vital aspiration of the 250,000,000 inhabitants of India. It is scarcely necessary to mention here that in reality none but the literate classes of the natives in the large towns took the least interest in any part of the discussion; but amongst the Europeans of every station in life the feeling adverse to the Bill was very strong, the more so as in the European Vagrancy Act a proviso already existed that, on conviction of a breach of workhouse discipline, a vagrant should lose the "privilege" of being tried for any other offence by his countrymen—a fact on which the agitators laid much stress.

The Bill as introduced was circulated for the opinions of the Local Governments and Administrations, as well as for those of the Judges of the High and Chief Courts. It was some time before all these reports were received by the Government of India, and in the meanwhile the agitation amongst the Europeans and natives of the Bengal and Assam Provinces was in no way diminished. The further consideration of the measure had to be deferred until the return of the Supreme Government from Simla to Calcutta, because, though meetings of the Legislative Council were held at the Hill Station, it was obviously impolitic to handle a question to which such importance was attached by public opinion, as it exists in India, far away from the centre of that opinion. The Bill had, however, been considered in England, where public meetings in favour and against it were held, and where it had also received the approval of the Government in Parliament. Two casual circumstances that had taken place in India contributed, unfortunately, to add fuel to the flames there. In the first place, a telegraphed report of the debate in the Council on the introduction of the Bill was transmitted by Reuter's agency to the *Times* in London without the notification that it was an "official" despatch, giving only the Government views with any detail. Secondly, months afterwards, in telegraphing the account of the opinions of the local officials consulted, Reuter's Simla agent added a numerical summary which was seriously altered during transmission, apparently owing to a misreading of a signaller somewhere between Teheran and England. As both these slips erred on the same side it was not hard for the strongly-biassed opinion of the English press in Calcutta to attribute them to the designs of the Viceregal circle, naturally anxious to give to the view they took a good colouring before Parliament rose, as the real facts were not ascertainable till some time afterwards. A third event which occurred in Calcutta, just at the time when public opinion was most excited, was the committal to gaol for two months of a native editor for gross contempt of the High Court. This personage was a somewhat prominent member of Calcutta society. He had been

dismissed from the Covenanted Civil Service some years back for dishonest conduct, and had become a Professor in a private college in Calcutta, besides being a member of the Corporation, an Honorary Magistrate, and the editor of the *Bengali*, a weekly paper. He was instantly magnified into the martyr of the European Judges of the High Court, actuated by race feeling, and, as an aggravation of the unfortunate occurrence, the Bengali Judge, whilst concurring in the conviction for contempt, dissented from the infliction of a punishment, as the accused had made an apology, which, however, the rest of the Judges had found insufficient and unsatisfactory. Meetings were held all over Bengal, and in the chief towns of the rest of North and Central India, to express sympathy and indignation. Telegrams for his release were flashed to the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and the Prime Minister, and a special emissary was sent by subscription amongst the wealthy of Calcutta to procure the reversal of the judgment in the Privy Council. That Committee, however, confirmed the decision of the High Court, whilst the rest of the authorities to whom applications for redress had been made were necessarily powerless, even had they wished to intervene in such a case.

By the time this ebullition had subsided, the opinions of the Local Governments were ready for publication, and the agitation recommenced. The Bill, as it stood, was not supported by a single administration, though the principle involved was admitted by several; but the modifications proposed, viewed in connection with the events that had taken place since the question first arose, were almost more impolitic than a complete condemnation. The opinion of those officials who were perhaps the least unfavourable to the enactment may be summed up in the reply sent to the reference by one of the Madras District Officers, viz.—“Probably innocuous, but perfectly unnecessary.” The general consensus of opinion, numerically speaking, of those who did not advocate the withdrawal of the whole Bill was in favour of restricting its operation to native civilians who had entered by competition and had attained the rank of District Magistrate or Judge—a view which, with an extension to *nominated* civilians, Lord Northbrooke, in a speech delivered in Bristol in November, stated to be that taken by the British Government on a consideration of the whole position of the question since its first origin. This compromise seemed to satisfy neither party, as the Opposition wanted the withdrawal of the whole principle involved, whilst the supporters of the Bill considered its provisions even as they stood not sufficiently wide, and expected the abolition of distinction of race in every Court.

During the Viceroy's absence on a shooting excursion in Kashmir, Sir Auckland Colvin, who had not been connected with the Government at the first outbreak of the agitation about the Bill, returned to Calcutta in a *quasi*-official capacity, to test the real opinions and wishes of the representatives of the non-official

European community. This visit resulted in an exchange of views with regard to a compromise less distasteful to the class chiefly concerned than that announced by different members of the Ministry in England, and by the end of the year it was generally understood that at the first meeting of the Legislative Council in January (1884), when the motion referring the ill-starred Bill to a select committee would be made, a compromise would be announced, giving to Europeans charged before a District Magistrate or Sessions Judge, whether European or native, the privilege of claiming a jury of which at least one-half the members should be Europeans. In order to save the dignity of the office of District Magistrate, which by the innovation would be placed in a worse position than that of a European first-class magistrate, left untouched by the Bill, the jurisdiction of the former officer was proposed to be doubled. As in many districts it would be very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to obtain a European quorum on a jury, it was proposed that under such circumstances the case should be triable by the Sessions Judge, who would, however, exercise with regard to it a jurisdiction not exceeding that of a District Magistrate. Here the matter remained at the end of December, and if the proposals above mentioned should be finally accepted it was believed that the agitation amongst the Europeans would subside. During the period to which our review relates, however, it must be recorded that there were no signs of a reconciliation between the two opposing interests, either in Calcutta itself, where the social *entente cordiale* was seriously affected by the dispute, or in the planting districts of Bengal or Assam; and there were rumours of a counter-agitation in favour of trial by jury for natives as well as Europeans, an innovation which had never yet been mentioned during the race controversy.

We may conclude this explanation with a brief account of the legal effects that would have resulted from the proposed modifications which have produced so much lamentable discord. At present the Local Governments can appoint only Europeans to be Justices of the Peace, and these when they are Magistrates of the first class. Under the Bill native officials of the four classes mentioned will be eligible for such powers, and also invested *ex officio* when they are Judges and District Magistrates. But no other classes, either European or native, can be thus appointed, and the Assistant-Judge must have been three years in that position before he can exercise this jurisdiction, and then he must be duly and specially authorised. The provisions as they stand were shown by the Local Governments to be restrictive, and thus inconvenient, in three ways. First, the power of the Local Government to invest non-official persons with the powers of Justice of the Peace in outlying districts is taken away. Secondly, there are a good number of the Uncovenanted Civil Service now invested with these powers, and exercising them on

the same footing as the rest of the magistracy, but who will in the case of future appointments be incapacitated from this jurisdiction. Thirdly, there is at present no restriction on the exercise of these powers by a European Assistant-Judge, whilst now the Bill imposes a period of three years' probation and a special investiture. Thus one of these officers who has been promoted from a magistrateship in which he might have been a Justice of the Peace would have his jurisdiction limited in his superior position. The Statutory Civilian mentioned in the Bill is that class nominated by the Local Governments without competition, as are the Assistant-Commissioners, whilst the Cantonment Magistrate is usually a military officer, and the Commander-in-Chief seemed to assume that none but a European would be appointed to that office, so that the clause will be a dead letter. It is reasonable to suppose that all these technical defects would have been remedied in Committee, though of course they were made the most of during the agitation. Lastly, it is alleged by the opponents that Lord Ripon pledged his own Government only for the finality of the measure, and that, as it touches but a comparatively small part of the status of Europeans with regard to criminal trials, the abolition of the rest is only a matter of a few years. On the other side, the native supporters of it demanded its extension to all classes of Magistrates, and the equalisation of the European to the native in regard to limitation of punishment, restriction of appeal, and trial by jury of compatriots, all of which being untouched by the Bill leave the anomaly, they said, as great as before, and more marked. We will here leave the subject with the remark that, however much the principle involved may commend itself to the sense of equity, the political result was most disastrous to the harmonious administration of the most populous and wealthy Provinces of the Empire, and led to the unprecedented incident of a public insult having been offered to the Viceroy on his return to the capital in November, and to the almost entire cessation of social intercourse between him and the non-official public.

The so-called "Ilbert Bill" has almost dwarfed in its renown a far more intricate and important piece of legislation introduced by the same personage in the shape of the "Bengal Tenancy Bill," or the "Rent Bill," as it is usually called. For some years past inquiries have been in progress regarding the status of tenants in Bengal. In one part of this Province, the East, it was believed that the Muhammadan peasantry had been strong enough to hold their own (if not to get more than their own) against the Zamindars; whilst in Behár, on the other hand, the power of the latter class had increased to such an extent that the condition of the tenants had become extremely miserable, and their hold on the land most precarious and uncertain. Under these circumstances, and incited by the riots of an agrarian character that took place in North-Eastern Bengal some time ago, a Commission was held, and the results of their labours embodied in a Bill, which, with a few

alterations, was introduced for preliminary consideration into the Viceregal Council this year. As it is a measure of great length, and affecting the interests of a vast number of cultivators, not to mention the Zamindars, who had been from the days of the Commission strenuously opposed to any change of the nature proposed, the Viceroy suggested that a non-official vacancy in the Council which occurred about the time the Bill was ready for discussion should be filled by a member chosen by the body of Zamindars to represent their interests. It was also suggested afterwards that a corresponding nomination of a representative of the Raiyat should be conceded; but such a course was not taken, as there were already members of the original Committee on the Council who were thoroughly conversant with the details of the tenant's case. The Bill, which is of a highly technical nature, was made over to a Select Committee almost as soon as published, and will, no doubt, be subjected to many alterations before it passes into law. The general tendency was so strongly in favour of the tenant that it excited great opposition amongst the Zamindars, both native and European, and meetings in disapproval of it were held in all parts of the Province. The most general censure was based on the assertion that instead of protecting the tenant cultivator it only tended to support the middleman, generally an alien money-lender and a non-agriculturist. Such a class would evidently be able to obtain the best possible terms from the Zamindar, but would also rack-rent his sub-tenant. The Zamindars have the support of the British Indian Association, which is practically their representative body, and of one or two of the leading journals of Calcutta, whilst the High Court, through its Chief Justice, also pronounced against the Bill. On the other side stand some of the highest of the Bengal revenue authorities, though the majority of those who are in actual charge of districts propose considerable modifications before the provisions can attain their intended object. The Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Rivers Thompson, gave his support to the Bill generally, though suggesting considerable changes, partly due to the very different circumstances of Behár and the Eastern districts.

The rest of the legislation of the year contains little that calls for notice here. Two proposals for the improvement of the position of the Raiyat were entertained—one the amendment of the Act for the relief of the Deccan Raiyat; the other, not yet passed, is a Bill for regulating the advances of cash to agriculturists, a very difficult question, that has been before the Local Administration in different forms for some years. The present attempt is to make the loans repayable after longer periods, and to allow greater freedom than under the present system in the expenditure of the money borrowed. At present the loan is legally expendable on the land or on agricultural improvements only, and the repayment, with interest, must be made within a short term of years. It is now proposed to extend the term of the payment as in the case of

the land assessment, which is fixed for a longer term, and make the loan a charge for ninety years.

*Finance.*—The annual statement of the financial administration of the past and current years, with the estimates for the year following, is made to coincide as nearly as possible with the end of the period for which the accounts are calculated, which in India, as in England, is from April to the end of March. The discussion of this subject in the General (or Legislative) Council of the Governor-General can only take place when any fiscal enactment is brought forward, as the constituting Act of the Imperial Legislature expressly excludes from the consideration of that Council any matter appertaining specially to the Executive of the country. It has more than once been suggested, as again on the present occasion, that the views of the non-official members of the Council might be usefully obtained by means of an unimportant fiscal proposal, to be introduced, as it were, collusively, without the intention of proceeding further with it; but such a course never extended beyond the columns of the press, on which accordingly falls the task of criticism and review whenever, as in 1883, the Statement takes the form of a Minute, bearing the signature of the Financial Member of the Executive Council.

This document was on the occasion under review one of special interest, as, apart from the mere explanation and discussion of the statistics concerned, Major Baring introduced a new system of arrangement of the Tables annexed to it, in order to render the somewhat complicated and peculiar transactions of the Government of India with the Secretary of State on the one hand, and the Provincial Governments on the other, more easy of appreciation by those who are interested in finance, but have no special knowledge of the Indian system. The practical results of this innovation hitherto apparent consist in a more than usually clear statement of the subject in the annual exposition in Parliament by the Under-Secretary of State. There is also appended to the Minute a note on the military accounts and estimates by General Wilson, the member of Council in charge of that branch of the administration, as well as interesting and valuable disquisitions by Major Baring himself on the wheat trade, the opium revenue, the results of the abolition of most of the import duties, and of the reduction of the salt duty.

The period to which the Financial Statement relates does not, unfortunately, coincide with that comprised within the present review. We have thus only the actuals for the year ending with March 1882. For the following year there are the revised estimates, which are probably on this occasion very near the actuals that were brought to book up to the end of last March, and the Budget for the current year, which has still three months to run. The first set of returns has become by this time a matter of history and needs but a passing notice. It comprises the results of the first

year's administration for which Major Baring is wholly responsible. The general results show an Imperial balance of 2,582,727*l.*, which is considerably in excess of the estimate, 855,000*l.* The improvement is noteworthy in all the main heads of revenue, especially in opium, salt, railways of both classes, and forests. The decrease in the customs revenue, due to the abolition of some of the import duties, was outweighed by an increased revenue from larger exports of rice. The annual loan, too, was taken up at a considerably higher rate than had been expected. A favourable harvest throughout the greater part of the country had its effect on the excise revenue, which was more productive than had been anticipated in the estimates. On the other hand, there were some casual items on both sides of the account to be taken into consideration. For example, the English contribution to the Afghán War expenditure exceeded the net war expenses by 380,600*l.*, and there were some heavy adjustments with the Provincial accounts. The loss by exchange was also heavy, as, the rate having advanced a little during the last portion of the year, the Secretary of State took the opportunity of drawing somewhat over the requirements for the current period, in anticipation of the coming year, though the rate for the year on the whole was less favourable by a small fraction than had been allowed for. Thus the aggregate of transactions may be held to have been favourable beyond the expectations of the Government in March 1881. The above accounts, it must be explained, are those of revenue and expenditure alone, and exclude the loan and debt account, with its accompanying items of receipt on account of remittances, bills on England, and cash balances, as well as the deposits by guaranteed and subsidised railway companies, &c. Into these adjustments it is superfluous to enter here; but it is advisable to point out that the surplus on the Imperial account would, if the transactions on the Provincial account were included, be raised to 4,102,519*l.*, but this result would be liable to be misunderstood by those unacquainted with the system on which the two sets of transactions are adjusted, and which is fully explained in an appendix to the Statement.

As regards the arrangements for the year 1882-83, there are at present only the estimates to judge by. These are revised in December, and published with the Budget for the ensuing year in the March following. The original calculations are thus corrected by the experience of nine months of the period concerned. On the present occasion certain events during the year, amongst which the war in Egypt is the most prominent, tended to make it highly important that the estimates should be revised with the greatest caution. The harvest was, on the whole, a good one, but, as the opium crop was more abundant in Bengal than was anticipated, the cost to be debited to that head of revenue exceeded the estimate to an extent above the slight improvement in the receipts. The loss by exchange with England, though diminished by the overdrawing of the account during last year, as mentioned above, was beyond the estimate,

which expected the maintenance of the rupee at its then current rate of one shilling and eightpence. It fell, however, to an average of 1s. 7·52*d.*, and thus a loss of some 4,178,000 rupees ensued. In connection with this important item is the transfer of the Southern Maratha Railway, a protective work begun by the State in 1879, to a private company in the summer of 1882, as related last year. The capital paid into the Home Treasury amounted to 1,724,000*l.* (true sterling), of which 550,000*l.* was due to Government for the work already done on the line, and about 270,000*l.* out of this was to be credited to the Protective Fund during the current year. As, moreover, some provision was made in the Budget for further expenditure from this fund in the year on the transferred line, that sum, together with the repayment adjusted in England, was not at once required for other works of a protective nature. It was therefore arranged between the financial authorities and the Commissioners for the Protective Fund that the available surplus should be transferred to the head of Reduction of Debt, and that, as occasion offered, about 1,000,000*l.* sterling should be remitted to be invested in England, and applied hereafter, when opportunities presented themselves, to the reduction of sterling debt. In the following year the sum available for protective works will be in turn in excess of the assignment for the reduction of debt. This transaction reduced the drawing of the Home Government by some 300,000*l.* In addition to this casual item, there is a slight excess over the estimate of March 1882 in the land revenue, the net receipts from customs, forests, stamps, excise, and salt, with a considerable improvement in those from the two classes of railways, and a decrease in the expenditure on military and naval services and on law and justice. Two casual items of receipt require mention: first, a considerable saving on the amount estimated as remissions of land revenue in the Bombay Presidency; and, secondly, the balance of the Patwari Fund, a local provision in the North-West Provinces for the expense of village officers, abolished last year. The expenditure on account of interest, stationery, administrations, and superannuations shows an increase above the estimate made at the beginning of the year amounting to about 328,000*l.* The net result of the year's finance is estimated to be a surplus of 60,000*l.*, instead of one of 285,000*l.*

The last subject to come under notice here is the Budget for the year ending with March 1884. In dealing with this topic it is as well to quote the words of the framer of the estimates himself. Major Baring writes, "The consideration of any further measures of fiscal reform must be postponed. Last year a favourable opportunity presented itself for the execution of some very large and beneficial improvements of the fiscal system. This year the case is different. The financial position is perfectly sound, but the situation is one in which great caution is required. We have to look, not only to the circumstances of the immediate moment, but also to the contingencies which may arise in future years." And again,



“Not only are we able to balance our revenue and expenditure, but we are able, without any increase of taxation, and without in any way starving the public services or checking the progress of public works of utility, to provide an adequate surplus in order to meet any of the numerous unforeseen contingencies which so frequently arise in India.” Accordingly, the Budget is framed for a revenue of 67,274,000*l.*, or 640,000*l.* less than that of the revised estimate of the preceding year; whilst the expenditure falls below the corresponding figures for 1882–83 by over a million, being 66,817,000*l.*, against 67,854,000*l.* The surplus is thus estimated at 457,000*l.* Including Provincial with the Imperial heads of expenditure, there is an actual increase allowed for under the important heads of telegraphs, police, law and justice, medical, education, political and territorial pensions, and subsidised railways. On the other hand, that under the large headings of refunds, frontier railways, irrigation, civil buildings, political, marine, and stationery, especially the second, has decreased. The Military Budget, separately dealt with, shows a decrease in the net cost of the army amounting to 95,700*l.*, and stands at 11,194,000*l.* The reasons for no larger a reduction in consequence of the new arrangements of the year before were accidental, owing partly to an unexpected demand for arrears due to the Home Government on account of non-effective charges, and partly to the necessity of replacing a large quantity of ammunition made at Kirkee, found on examination to be imperfect.

The revenue has been estimated below the revised amounts of the preceding year in the case of land, forests, mint, and salt, and above those sums in that of stamps, railways (State, guaranteed, and the East Indian). It is almost stationary in that of excise and customs. Salt is expected to yield a larger revenue in the gross, but a good deal of expenditure under this head is anticipated, which will reduce the net revenue.

The two most important items in the Budget under the present circumstances are exchange and opium. The former is expected to amount to 432,000*l.* more than the revised estimate of December 1882, and to reach 3,548,000*l.*, the rupee being taken at 1*s.* 7*d.* This is due not only to the low rate of exchange, which may rise in sympathy with the reduction in rates of carriage of wheat on the Delhi-Rajputana-Bombay Line, but also to the amount of the home drawings, which are taken at 16,300,000*l.* (true sterling). The opium revenue is stated by Major Baring to be one of the main difficulties in framing the Budget. The crop has been less than the sales for the last three years, but the deficiency has hitherto been supplied by the abundant stock placed in reserve after the prosperous seasons of 1875 to 1877. The harvest of 1883 was reported to be below par when the Budget was under preparation, and the amount offered for sale cannot be reduced under existing arrangements without a year's notice. Consequently, in order to stop the depletion of the

stock kept up to meet emergencies, it was notified in August 1882 that from the corresponding month in the following year the sales would be reduced from 4,700 chests monthly to 4,450, so that in the current year the total sale of Bengal opium, to which alone the above arrangements refer, will be less than in 1882-83 by 2,000 chests. It was not considered safe to anticipate any increased export of Malwa opium in consequence of this change, nor was the market price of Bengal opium likely to be affected at present by the reduction in quantity offered for sale. The duty on Malwa opium was, however, lower by 50 rupees per chest than in the previous year, so that there is likely to be some, though not an important, difference in the aggregate revenue, the more so as Major Baring announced that next year the Bengal opium offered in the market would be even less in quantity than in that under review. The out-turn of opium in the poppy-growing districts of Bengal is generally calculable in June, and in future, instead of giving a year's notice before reducing or otherwise modifying the amount to be sold, the practice will be to announce as soon as the prospects of the crop are known how much will be disposed of in the ensuing season.

The connection of the salt duty with the rest of the revenue is not to be lost sight of, especially as far as the opium revenue is in question. It was announced last year that the reduction of the duty on an article the consumption of which was expected to be thereby increased to an amount that would cover the loss was a fiscal measure that had this recommendation, that the duty could be reimposed in case of a failure to realise these expectations, or of any other grave financial emergency, such as the further depreciation of silver, or, more probably, the falling off in the opium revenue. As far as the present experience of the reduction has gone, the consumption of salt has been beyond the expectations of the financial authorities when the Budget was revised, and is 6·54 per cent. in excess of that in the corresponding period of the year before. It appears, too, that the reduction in duty has reached the pocket of the consumer, as the market price of salt in every province affected by the change has fallen in a ratio varying from 12·66 per cent. in Oudh, to 23·8 in Bengal. The rates in January of the present year (1883) were lowest in Bombay and Madras, and highest in Assam and Coorg, the markets comparatively most inaccessible. There was also manifested, as was only to be expected, a considerable variation in the distribution of the stocks of salt. In the North-West Provinces, for instance, the Sámbar Lake salt has been to a great measure displaced by the Cheshire article, now duty free; and both the latter and Bombay salt are coming into general use in the more central portions of the continent. The change, therefore, has been undoubtedly beneficial to both the State and the consumer, whilst the retail profit is likely to be still further reduced as the facility of transport increases.

The licence tax, as was expected, has been retained for the present in its existing shape. The impolicy of incorporating it with the permanent fiscal system of the country has been admitted, but, as last year, the Government has kept its hands untied by any pledges with regard to it. As it is levied at present, with a liberal minimum-incidence limit, it was considered by those in charge to be less open to objection than a totally new impost, which would be not only uncertain as to its revenue, but disturbing to the public, who are now accustomed to the licence tax. The Financial Member made no reference to the extension of its operation to the official and professional classes, the taxation of the former of which is one of the most frequent suggestions of the press in India.

The Famine Insurance Fund was continued, with the variation noted above, on the same footing as last year. War, the second great disturbing element in Indian finance, was not included in the year's eventualities. The loss by exchange was treated cautiously, whilst the opium revenue, the fourth uncertainty, was regarded, as shown above, with anything but a sanguine eye by Major Baring, though it appeared to some equally interested in the question that his prognostications were somewhat too pessimistic in their tone. The loss of revenue in consequence of the abolition of the import duties was not mentioned specially in the Financial Minute, as in 1881-82 the exportation of rice was sufficient to counterbalance the decrease in the receipts on account of imports. But for the following year the estimate as last revised falls short in net revenue of the actuals of the preceding season by 1,096,088*l.*, and the decline in the current year, again, is expected to fall below this by a small amount. The justification of this abandonment of a source of considerable revenue from a financial point of view can be found in the estimates and accounts which have been quoted above from the official Statement, whilst the commercial bearings of the liberation of trade will be mentioned below.

*Trade and Commerce.*—The chief means at present available of counteracting to some degree the detrimental consequences to the financial balance of the depreciated value of silver in reference to gold is the extension of the export traffic from India, especially through the mercantile houses dealing with both the United Kingdom and China. The returns of the ten months between April and January for the last few years, excluding transactions in treasure, show the excess value of exports to have been as follows:—

1879 . .	15,394,901 <i>l.</i>		1881 . .	14,259,741 <i>l.</i>
1880 . .	17,988,557 <i>l.</i>		1882 . .	23,524,590 <i>l.</i>
	1883 . .			22,153,354 <i>l.</i>

The net imports of treasure in the first year of the above series amounted to 1,705,499*l.*; in 1882 the corresponding figure was 7,061,636*l.*; and in the year under review, 11,193,922*l.* Adding to the last the value of the home drafts issued by the Secretary

of State, the result shows that 1,845,067*l.* seems to have been remitted to India in apparent excess of the requirements of trade during the period in question; whilst in the preceding period the corresponding excess was reduced by the surplus drawings of the Home Council to 918,145*l.* This serves to denote the extraordinary fluctuations in Indian transactions resulting from the inevitable State transfers from the one to the other country. The total value of the Indian trade for 1878-79 was 88,090,522*l.*; and that for the year 1882-83, 122,416,443*l.*, ten months only being taken in each case, as above specified.

The increase over the figures of the preceding year during the period under review—that is, for ten months of the Budget year 1882-83—amounts to 2,775,718*l.* on the import side, and to 1,324,783*l.* in the case of exports. The import duty is now confined to opium, wines, spirits, malt liquor, arms, ammunition, and salt. The export duty remains on rice.

The most important articles of export in bulk and value are raw cotton, cotton twist and yarn, opium, oil-seeds, jute, wheat, rice, tea, hides, &c., and indigo. All these have increased during the year, excepting opium, rice, wheat, and indigo. The total value of the increasing trade, omitting all commodities not rated at more than a million in value, is 33,289,107*l.*; and that of the decreasing, 22,978,252*l.* The fluctuations, however, in some cases, such as in rice and indigo, are trifling; that in opium has received a partial explanation above; whilst the wheat exports of the preceding year were abnormally increased by events in the United States, though apart from those influences the trade shows a rapid and healthy development, on which a few words are necessary below. But first as to the increasing trade. The value of raw cotton exported increased by nearly two millions, or 20 per cent.; and the improvement in Indian-made twist and piece-goods was respectively 45 and 31 per cent., especially in the China trade. Eight new mills were in course of construction in Bombay, and the Native Association for this trade took steps towards finding fresh markets, especially on the east coast of Africa, for their most prevalent fabrics. The comparatively new trade in tea has been similarly, but more widely, stimulated by the energy of the agents despatched by the Tea Association to Australia, Canada, and the United States. In the first-named country this article has acquired an established position, and in the other countries, too, the demand is on the increase. Samples were sent with success to the Amsterdam Exhibition and to the chief houses in London, where the sale is reported to be as satisfactory as is compatible with the almost prohibitive duty imposed by the Imperial finance.

Without touching on the minor features of the export trade, we pass on to the imports, leaving till last the question of the wheat trade with the United Kingdom, as it is connected with a separate topic to be taken up in its turn hereafter. The main imports are cotton twist and yarn, cotton goods of other descriptions, metals,

silk (raw and made-up), railway plant, machinery, and liquors. The low rate of exchange that prevailed for the greater part of the year, together with the troubles in Egypt, operated unfavourably on the import trade generally; but, nevertheless, its volume has increased, though the full effects of the abolition of the duties could not be appreciated. The returns that are to hand, however, show that the articles relieved amounted in value to over 34 millions, out of which there was an increased importation of articles valued at 28,500,000*l.*, with a decrease in those valued at 5,500,000*l.* The most remarkable decrease has been in what are known as *white* piece cotton goods, in silk piece-goods, and in tea. The last item is dependent a good deal on the action of the Russian authorities in Central Asia, whence most of the importation is derived. Raw silk, iron, copper, and hardware, with coloured cotton fabrics, show the greatest proportionate increase, though grey goods and twist are not far behind. The total increase amongst the goods on which the duty was abolished amounted to about 7·6 per cent. As a matter of fact, the cotton industry in India has increased in despite of the freedom of trade; and Major Baring took some pains to show in his Minute that what protection there had been was that of one class of English manufacturers against another, whilst the competition had diverted, under the protective duties, the Indian consumption from the finer goods to the coarser.

The export trade in wheat, which, with the exception of rice, is the only food grain exported from India to Europe, is so important a factor in the questions of exchange, of the extension of railways in the former country, and of food supply in the United Kingdom, that it has been thought worth while to treat of it apart from the rest of the trade of the year. The wheat traffic may be said to have begun in 1873, when the export duty was removed from it. It has hitherto reached its acme in 1881–82, when nearly a million tons were sent to Europe. In the year under review, though the trade has fallen as compared to the year before, which was one in which special circumstances helped the export, the estimated trade is three-quarters of a million tons. Half the trade is with the United Kingdom, and of the rest France takes the largest portion. The total imports of wheat in the former, in 1882, were 64 million cwt., of which the United States supplied 35 millions, Europe 13½, India nearly 8½, and the rest was from other British possessions. Thus India has to compete more directly with the States than with any other market, and, unfortunately for the British market, both home and Indian, the natural advantages of the rival are so great that the one commercial disadvantage under which it labours, that of protection, is scarcely significant in the balance. In the way of water communication, both river and canal, ocean freight, unhampered by the Suez Canal duties, inland communication, cheap rates of carriage, and efficiency of arrangements for storage, shipping, and cartage, the United States possess advantages which are at present far beyond the most sanguine hopes of the

Indian merchant. Added to these artificial aids is the almost unlimited area in the Western States suited for wheat crops of the heaviest quality, with an out-turn per acre at present almost double that of the Indian fields. It is certain, however, that in the main portions of the latter the gradual improvement of agriculture is producing good results ; whilst the acreage under wheat, especially in the Northern Provinces and Central India, is increasing. The actual grain, too, is a favourite in both British and French markets, for purposes for which the American and Canadian article is not suited. In America the railway lines are favourite investments ; but it is only of late years that English capital has begun to seek the Indian market, and progress in the hands of Government is necessarily slow ; the competition of canal carriage, too, is entirely absent throughout nine-tenths of India, and the rates on the main railways are very considerably higher than those in the States.

This last consideration brings the subject to the point that has excited the greatest interest in commercial circles during the year—namely, the reduction of the grain rates on the great Indian lines between the wheat-producing districts of the Panjáb and Central Provinces, and the ports of Calcutta and Bombay. A step in advance was taken by the Government in reducing the rates for grain and oil-seeds along the Delhi-Rajputana Line to Bombay, as it had been represented, and with reason, as shown in this review of last year, that the north-country trade was being starved off from Bombay, the nearest port, by the rates of the State line operating in favour of Calcutta by the East India line. The results will not be fully seen until the export season of the present year, between December 1883 and May next. In the resolution of the Government of India conveying the sanction to the reduction, some broad principles were laid down regarding the regulation of rates generally on lines of this sort, which were cordially received by the Chambers of Commerce, especially in Bombay, and a strong recommendation was made by the Public Works authorities to those concerned in the wheat trade to make arrangements at the different centres of collection, as well as at the exporting docks, for the due storage, cleansing, and shipping of grain, in order to raise the reputation of the Indian article in the European market for cleanliness, apart from the economy of labour in transport. On the same lines came circular letters to the chief mercantile bodies, asking for suggestions regarding the fostering of this important branch of trade, both by improving the samples grown and by preventing the mixture of grains other than wheat, and of dirt, &c., in the early stages of its collection for the export agents. Later in the year an interesting correspondence took place on the same subject between the Great Indian Peninsula Line Directors on the one hand, and the Secretary of State and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce on the other. In the Financial Statement Major Baring had pointed out that the carriage of a ton of wheat 616 miles on

the line in question cost more than that of the same quantity 960 miles over an American line, and was also in excess of the rates on most of the other Indian lines. The result, as stated by the merchants, was that northern wheat was diverted to Kurrachee, a longer distance and less convenient port, whilst the districts east of the Central Provinces touched by the line were untapped. The matter stood thus unsettled at the close of the year, the advantage in argument remaining with the merchants. In the same direction was the reduction of the port dues in Bombay, a measure which the prosperity of the Corporation rendered possible. Both in Calcutta and its rival city proposals for the extension of the dock accommodation were discussed, and the sites for the works selected. In the former harbour, the wet docks are to be at Kiddarpor, with temporary wharf arrangements for the present. In Bombay a new dock is to be constructed from funds which the Government has sanctioned to be raised by the Port Trust.

*Railways.*—As regards railways, the selection of a line to be surveyed in detail as soon as possible, connecting Nagpur with Calcutta direct, through the Chhatisgarh and Sambalpur country, has been made by Government. The route selected has been criticised freely in the press, as for some time past rival routes have been advocated. The reason for the selection is said to be the shortness, ease of construction, and proximity to the Raniganj coal-fields, with the probability of extension by branches to the east and south-east at some future time. The route passes Mánbhum, meeting the East Indian Line at Barrakar. A survey between Godhra and Ratlam, long asked for by the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Line, has been sanctioned, and another from Bilaspur to Jhansi, passing the Riwah coal-fields. The estimated cost of this latter is 245 lakhs of rupees for 352 miles. A line from Belari to the Kistna river, and thence to join the new line probably to be undertaken by the Hydrabád Administration, 255 miles in length, has been sanctioned, at an estimated cost of 1,77,50,000 rupees. In pursuance with the original contract, the purchase of the Eastern Bengal Line has been notified by the Government of India. Progress has also been made with considerable portions of the lines between Rewari and Firozepore, Amritsar and Pathankot, and with the Central Bengal.

One of the most important works brought to completion was the bridge over the Indus at Attok, whereby Peshawar is now connected with the rest of India by an uninterrupted line of rail. Shortly after its completion a report was set about that the frontier tribes were meditating a raid on it with the intent to do as much damage as they could, so a military detachment was posted for awhile in the immediate neighbourhood, but no attempt on the work was made. The heavy floods in July did considerable damage to the two main lines into Bombay, through the Tapti and Narbada valleys, but the principal bridges and

other works were unhurt, though two smaller ones, with a considerable portion of the permanent way, were washed away. On the Poona line, too, some injury was done by landslips near the Bhor Ghat, and in the Darjeeling line similar mishaps occurred. With these exceptions, the railway has been fortunate.

The extension of the railway system, especially in the districts mainly concerned in the raw produce trade, has been thus pushed forward as fast as possible, and with the completion of the straight line through the eastern portion of the Central Provinces, mentioned above, no very large tract of country will be left out of the influence of one system or another. The river traffic, too, in Assam and Eastern Bengal has been improved by the provision of suitable steamers, but, as is pointed out in the *Financial Minute*, much remains to be done. The total length of line open up to March 1883 was 10,251 miles, with 2,332 miles under construction, or sanctioned for commencement during the current year, out of which 719 miles are likely to be opened before March 1884. The speed of construction during the last two years has been considerably in advance of that of the preceding period, and the experience thus gained regarding the policy of enlisting private capital under a limited guarantee by the State has enabled the Government, says Major Baring, to lay before the home authorities a general scheme of railway policy, not yet communicated to the public under which still more rapid progress may be expected.

As regards public works of other classes, the year is remarkable for no special undertakings. The Commission of inquiry into the Madras harbour works, which were very much injured by the great storm of two years ago, reported the necessity of some considerable modifications in the original plan of construction, in order to avoid damage in future cyclones from the same quarter. In October a circular announced that it had been decided to combine to a certain extent the post and telegraphic offices, as has been done in England. Telegrams will be received at any post-office and forwarded by post to the nearest telegraph-office. Stamps will be received in payment of messages, and short lines will connect the main telegraph-offices with branch post-offices as the officials of the latter are taught telegraphy. In return the post will convey telegraph correspondence free of charge.

The ordinary business of the Postal Department has been largely supplemented by the assistance it has been called upon to render in spreading the circulation of small and stock notes, and in receiving deposits in the banks now in operation almost throughout the country. The experiment of stock notes, which were originally floated to raise loans for productive public works, has had a year's trial, and some of the defects of the plan first tried have now been ascertained. There is no doubt that the experiment has so far not had the success anticipated, but in India few such efforts can be judged by so short a trial, and during the year some important alterations in the system were discussed and



the opinions of the local authorities taken regarding them. The main difficulties seemed to consist in the length of time before a lost note can be repaid, the difficulty of transfer, and then only at a discount, and a general slackness in taking up the allotted amount. The success in the parts of Central and Northern India where the sale was granted as a monopoly does not seem to have been any greater than where the notes were launched from the Civil Treasuries. The results of the utilisation of the post-offices have yet to be seen. The Savings Bank arrangements were completed in all the rural parts of India and in most of the towns of Upper India last year, but owing to the chartered rights of the banks of Bombay and Bengal the scheme could not be at once extended to the town of Calcutta and the Presidency of Bombay. The requisite agreement has now been made, but Madras has still established these banks in the rural districts only. It may be noted as one of the features of the experiment, as far as it has been conducted, that whereas in the more central savings banks the proportion of native depositors was only 62 per cent., in the smaller banks now introduced the corresponding proportion is 91.

*Miscellaneous.*—Amongst the physical calamities of the year the floods that occurred in Assam and the Surat district of Bombay may be considered the worst. The latter began on July 3, and continued rising until the 6th, during which period, in addition to the damage done to the railway and telegraph line, of which two miles were swept away, nearly 1,400 houses and shops, with property to the estimated value of 260,000 rupees, were destroyed. The inhabitants of Bombay, many of whom are merchants of Surat birth, and have branch establishments in that city, came forward with a considerable subscription, which was administered by a local relief committee in providing shelter and compensation for the distressed families. As this is the fourth or fifth flood that has taken place within the last fifty years in this city, the committee prudently suggested that part of the relief fund should be spent in rebuilding the dwellings of the poorer classes at a distance from the low bank of the river Tapti. The district of Cachar, in South-East Assam, was flooded in the beginning of May, and nearly the whole of the chief town, Silchar, was under water. Great distress was feared in the plantations up the valley, which were cut off by the river from the rice markets. Luckily some mercantile firms in Calcutta were able to provide a river steamer, which conveyed the necessary stores of food to the distressed district. The nature of the houses and the abundant supply of cane and other materials for rafts prevented any serious loss of life, and the number of deaths reported was only twenty-six. Forty inches of rain fell in nine days, and not only the main valley, but a good deal of the outlying cultivation, suffered from the floods.

The great volcanic disturbance in the Straits of Sunda, between Java and Sumatra, was not directly felt in India, though immediately after it a very high tidal wave washed the coast of Ceylon

and the southern part of the Madras Presidency. For some time, too, there was visible across the sun a sort of reddish vapour, which was considered by the meteorological authorities to be the result of the extraordinary discharge of sulphurous matter from the submarine volcano that caused the great disturbance, though different explanations have been since published of this phenomenon, which was observed at immense distances from the scene of eruption. The surface of the sea was for some distance from the islands in question covered with masses of floating lava. Slight shocks of earthquake were felt in Calcutta and Darjeeling shortly after the explosion, though at an interval that seemed to indicate but a faint connection between the two phenomena.

In the Bombay Presidency locusts continued to do considerable mischief to the young crops, though precautions were taken to prevent the great losses that occurred last year. The services of an officer from Cyprus, where a similar plague had been rife, were obtained by the Local Government, and measures taken under his direction to destroy the grubs that threatened to become permanent residents of this part of the country.

As regards the public health during the year, it appears that smallpox and cholera were only prevalent in one or two places to an extent to entitle them to be called epidemic. The former was confined to parts of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, where it is said to have been introduced by returned pilgrims from Meccah. In Bombay, both city and Presidency, cholera was above the ordinary rate, though it was confined to the two or three months preceding the rainy season, and subsided after the cooler weather set in. It was the origin, however, of a long and somewhat bitter correspondence between the Local Port and Medical officials and those in Egypt, where the strictest quarantine was imposed upon what the shipping and mercantile community held to be quite inadequate grounds. The stoppage of trade at a critical time of the season, owing to the prohibition of pilotage from a launch in advance of the vessel, was a substantial grievance about which strong representations were made, and not without some effect, to the home and Egyptian Governments.

One of the events of the year in connection with the health of a neglected section of the native Indian population was the movement set on foot by two citizens of Bombay for the provision of women doctors for native ladies of a rank which prevents them, according to their social custom, from attending a dispensary or consulting a medical adviser of the other sex. The requisite funds were at once subscribed, and two practitioners sent for from England. Towards the end of the year the movement, which had gained footing in Madras some months before, spread to the north of India, where the seclusion of women is still more prevalent. The Zenanah Mission, wherever at work, also helped in the matter. More than one native woman student left India during the year for England or America to complete their medical

education under the most favourable circumstances. The Universities of India, too, have taken steps to open their degrees to women practitioners.

The first International Exhibition ever held in India was opened in December, at Calcutta. The plan owes its initiation to a M. Joubert, who had conducted similar arrangements in New Zealand and Australia. The venture attracted a number of European exhibitors, in addition to those of India itself. The Government took a considerable share in the arrangements, and formed local committees in each Province to ensure the proper representation of the different Indian arts and fabrics. The building was opened on December 4 by the Viceroy, in presence of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and several of the leading chiefs of India. In his opening address Lord Ripon mentioned specially the advantages of increased trade between India and the Australian Colonies, an intercourse which he hoped the Exhibition would help to make more intimate.

### III. CHINA AND JAPAN.

The negotiations that were going on between Paris and Peking at the close of 1882 were continued, with various complications, throughout the whole of 1883; and though numerous collisions took place between the French and the Black Flags—semi-piratical bands occupying territory adjoining China—there was no actual outbreak of hostilities with that country. France continued to send reinforcements to Tonquin, and the Black Flags, with the silent approval of the Chinese Government, opposed the French troops at each stage of their advance. It was understood that if the latter should attack Sontay and Bacninh—important places which were held by the imperial troops—China would regard such a step as a *casus belli*. Sontay succumbed to the French before the close of the year, but the Yellow Flags (imperial troops) had quitted the place before the attack was made, and no declaration of war followed. Not knowing how the Tonquin question with France would terminate, China largely purchased war material in the United States and war vessels in Germany. Three ironclad corvettes were built at Stettin during the year, but, although launched, the German Government would not allow them to leave whilst the controversy between France and China remained unsettled. This observance of international duty was the more necessary as it was stated that the Chinese army had been brought to a state of high efficiency through the teaching of German officers, the French military instructors originally engaged having failed in their task. In the spring of the year, whilst the French Government was hesitating whether to reduce Annam to a state of dependency, and to assert its claims to suzerainty in Tonquin, in spite of the

protests of the Chinese Government, desultory fighting between the Black Flags and the French troops occurred at fitful intervals. On March 27 Captain Rivière, with a force of 800 men, attacked Nandin, the Governor of which had refused to haul down his flag and admit a French garrison. The town, held by Annamese and Black Flags, was captured, after a bombardment that lasted many hours, in which the Annamese lost their leader and about 200 men. On the same day an attack on the French in the citadel of Hanoi was repulsed. Though worsted in both engagements the Annamese remained close by, and skirmishes were of almost daily occurrence. Towards the end of April an envoy arrived at Peking from the King of Annam to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government to the opening of the Songkoi, or Red River of Tonquin, to foreign trade, and to induce the Emperor, as Suzerain of the King of Annam, to afford such assistance as might be necessary for that purpose. The Emperor consented, and gave orders for the immediate return of Li Hung Chang to his post, in order to give early effect to the King's request. Early in May the commander of the French squadron in the Chinese Seas received orders to place all available landing forces at the disposal of Captain Rivière, and preparations were made in France for the despatch of transports and gunboats. Captain Rivière was also directed to repulse by force the 2,000 Chinese troops who had marched from Tientsin on May 7 should they attempt to cross the frontier into Tonquin. After several days' heavy cannonade from the Annamese troops, Rivière made a bold sortie from Hanoi on May 19 at the head of 400 men. He proceeded some way without resistance, the enemy fleeing as he advanced; but at the very spot where Garnier fell ten years before on a similar expedition, the enemy suddenly opened fire from a stockade concealed by bushes, and 80 French soldiers fell dead or wounded without being able to fire a shot in their defence. Rivière himself, severely, probably mortally, wounded, was taken prisoner and subsequently beheaded by the Annamese, and his head stuck on a bamboo as a trophy. France, it was clear, would not disregard the check thus given to her prestige in Asia. But for Rivière's death the Chamber would probably have refused the supplies necessary for carrying on a war in which there was so much to risk and so little to gain. But the national pride was now aroused, and credits were promptly voted. War ships were forthwith despatched to the scene of action, and by the end of June 3,500 French troops, besides 1,000 Annamese auxiliaries, had arrived in Tonquin. Hanoi was at once constituted a *place d'armes*. The natives were expelled and their homes burnt, whilst the Europeans were sent to Haiphong, where their safety would be guaranteed by the presence of the men-of-war. On June 7 M. Tricou, the new French Minister in China, reached Shanghai to confer with Li Hung Chang, recently appointed Commander-in-chief of the Chinese forces, and invested with full powers to negotiate on behalf of China. The insistence, however, of the latter

that his imperial master's suzerainty over Annam should be fully recognised by France proved an insuperable obstacle. Li Hung Chang, moreover, accused the French envoy of behaving with great rudeness, and refused to meet him again, referring him to the Foreign Board at Peking for any further communications, and returning himself to Tientsin. Probably the Chinese Governor's anger was little else than the reflection of public irritation against foreigners, of which a strong proof was given at Shanghai (July 14) on the occasion of the celebration of the French national fête. On August 15 General Bouet, starting from Hanoi, attacked Phukai, an outpost of the Black Flags, 7 miles distant, and in the direction of Sontay. His force, consisting of 2,000 French soldiers and 500 auxiliaries, advanced in four columns. The one led by himself was repulsed, but the others coming up succeeded in occupying the place, after a resistance that lasted from 7 A.M. to 4 P.M. On the following day, however, the Red River rose to such an extent that the surrounding country was inundated, and the troops had to return to Hanoi, which they found partly under water. The French official returns gave only 2 officers and 15 men killed, whilst the Black Flags, who lost 300 men, claimed the victory, as the French retired the next day. On August 18 and two following days the forts at the mouth of the river Hué were bombarded and taken, the Annamese losing 600 men and the French none, though several balls penetrated their ironclads. A truce was granted by the Admiral in command, and envoys left for Hué on August 22 to treat with the Annamese Court, where great alarm prevailed. Tu Duc, the King of Annam, had died on July 20, after a long reign of 37 years, and was succeeded by his nephew, with whom, as he was in no way committed to the anti-French policy so long pursued by his uncle, the French were neither openly nor formally at war, and at once opened negotiations, with the result that a treaty between the Powers was signed. The terms eventually agreed to were—(1) a full recognition of the French Protectorate over Annam and Tonquin; (2) the annexation to French Cochinchina of the province of Bin-Thuan; (3) the occupation of the forts at the entrance of the river Hué; (4) the immediate recall of the Annamese troops sent to Tonquin; (5) the confirmation of all appointments made by the French authorities; (6) France to drive out of Tonquin the bands known as the Black Flags, and to ensure the freedom of trade. Besides these terms, it was agreed that Residents might be appointed by France in all the chief towns of Tonquin, and should be placed under the protection of the French forces; that the French Resident at Hué should enjoy the privilege of personal audience of the sovereign; that the Customs service should be entirely administered by France; that the latter might erect forts along the Red River; that 100,000*l.* should be paid annually to the Government of Annam out of the proceeds of the Customs; that a telegraph wire should be set up between Saigon and Hanoi; and that Hiepma be recognised as the new King of

Annam. Shortly afterwards the latter received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour from the President of the French Republic. The arrangement with the court of Annam did not in any way affect the question regarding Tonquin, and France seemed less disposed than ever to relinquish what she considered her rights in that district. On September 10 a Chinaman, who was trying to force his way on board the English steamer "Hankow" at Canton, was accidentally drowned through the action of a Portuguese sailor. As the British Consul refused to arrest the alien, and the steamer began to move away from the wharf, the mob attacked the foreign settlement, burned the wharf and a number of houses, and cut the telegraph wires. Foreigners at once betook themselves to the vessels lying away from the wharves, but no personal violence was offered them. Gunboats were, however, at once despatched from Hong Kong to Canton. This excited state of feeling was further heightened early in October, when the result was made known of the trial of a Customs officer accused of killing one native and injuring another in a brawl. The prisoner having been found guilty of manslaughter, and only sentenced to seven years' penal servitude, symptoms of disturbance among the population soon showed themselves, mandarins of the highest rank were insulted and spat at in the streets, and troops were held in readiness to guard the Viceroy's palace and preserve order. The foreign residents were perhaps safe under cover of six gunboats, but more probably the precautions taken by the Viceroy, Chang Shu Shing, averted a further outbreak, and at length the city grew tranquil again. Meanwhile, in Tonquinese waters France was resuming active operations. In October Admiral Courbet, no longer under the authority of M. Harmand, the Civil Commissioner, began to exercise greater freedom of action. He reconnoitred Bac Ninh, but, finding it strongly fortified and armed with Krupp guns, preferred waiting for reinforcements before making his attack. He began the actual occupation of Tonquin by capturing the citadel of Nigne Bigne on October 20, and that of Phimor, three miles inland, on the 21st, no opposition being offered. On November 17 the small French gunboat "Carabine," manned by thirty-six men, was attacked when anchored off Haidzuong by 1,200 Black Flags (all Tonquinese) and a band of pirates. At the same time the citadel of Haidzuong, defended by only sixty soldiers, was surrounded and assaulted on all sides. The large gunboat "Lynx," with a crew of ninety-four, hearing the cannonading, went to the rescue, and arrived in time to prevent the complete destruction of the "Carabine" and the capture of the citadel, which was, however, subsequently abandoned. Throughout the Chinese Empire military preparations were being pushed forward with great activity. The torpedo system of defence in the Peiho River was completed, and the Taku forts made formidable. Regiments hitherto stationed in the north were marched south, and General Pang, a distinguished Chinese officer, was sent to assume command on the Tonquin frontier. Trade rapidly fell into

a critical state, especially in Shanghai, where native failures were frequent. The first week in December was said to be the most anxious one Canton had known for eighteen years. General Pang had arrived there with 5,000 soldiers from the north, and as a defensive precaution ordered junks laden with stones to be sunk in the principal channel, thereby rendering access for trading ships most difficult. On December 11 a French expedition of 6,000 men crossed the river Tay and advanced against Sontay. The fortifications defending the approaches were attacked on the 13th, and after two days' fighting the whole line of entrenchments was carried, under cover of the fire from the fleet, at the point of the bayonet, after a stubborn resistance, the Marine Infantry and Algerian Rifles bearing the brunt of the battle. The place was forthwith evacuated (December 17) by the Black Flags, the French admitting a loss of 320 men, whilst other accounts placed it at 1,000, and that of the Black Flags at over 5,000 men, including their commander, who was severely wounded, and his lieutenant, who was killed. Sontay was found to have been strongly fortified and defended by Krupp guns, and unexpected treasure, estimated at \$2,000,000, rewarded the soldiers. The French continued to occupy the city and the forts on the river, and after reinforcing the various garrisons of the delta, of which Sontay was the extreme northern point, set about clearing the district of the rebels and pirates infesting it.

The expected declaration of war against the French was not made by China, and the general situation appeared unchanged by the occupation of Sontay. As the year closed M. Tricou was on his way to Hué, to secure the signature of Khiên Phua, the new King of Annam (Tu Duc's successor had been poisoned early in December), to the treaty made by M. Harmand in August. Preparations were also being matured by the French for an attack on Bacninh, and, as the Chinese were concentrating troops at Canton and openly making hostile preparations, there seemed a danger that the two countries might drift into war at any moment, without any definite declaration. China, however, might, it was thought, be restrained at the last moment by the fear lest a foreign war should be the signal for risings all over a vast empire since local dissatisfaction was rife.

Although the chief interest of the year's history in China centred round the Tonquin question, it included the final adjustment of the long-standing dispute between the courts of Peking and St. Petersburg.

Early in March, as soon as the season allowed, the Russian troops remaining in occupation of Kuldja re-entered Russian territory, the Tarantchees who had come over to Russian allegiance welcoming them on the frontier with bread and salt, and thanking them for the protection afforded during their removal from Chinese territory. A body of Cossacks was left in Kuldja to protect the Russian Consul and traders. Frontier troubles, however, soon

broke out among the tribes as well as between the Chinese and Russians. The latter had, it was asserted, advanced five miles beyond the boundary line marked out by the Kuldja Treaty. The matter, however, was speedily arranged. In June General Bobkoff proceeded to the frontier to meet the Chinese Commission, and after careful study the delimitation of the new Russo-Chinese frontier was concluded, and a protocol signed on October 19 at Tchugutchak by the plenipotentiaries of the two empires.

The arrival of Sir Harry Parkes, the new British Minister to China, during the autumn was greeted with enthusiasm by all Englishmen residing in the East. The valuable services he had rendered during the last China campaign, his intimate acquaintance with all questions affecting our commercial relations with China, and his long successful tenure of office in Japan, all combined to point him out as the most fitting successor to Sir Thomas Wade. On October 23 he left Chefoo for Corea, with the view of negotiating a treaty with that State, which would open up that country to residence and commerce for British subjects. Following the footsteps of General Foote, the United States Minister, who earlier in the year had arrived at Soul, the capital of Corea, exchanged the ratifications of the treaty concluded in 1882 by General Schufeldt between the United States and China.

*Japan.*—The year did not open brightly. Taxation had been increased, trade was depressed, and, although the paper currency had improved nominally to the extent of 30 per cent. during the last three months of 1882, bankruptcies were reported from all parts of the country; and the currency was fluctuating and unreliable. There was, moreover, a general feeling of uneasiness at the relationship of the Government with that of China in regard to the Loochoo and Corean questions, and the military and naval forces were being actively strengthened; fortifications being also erected along the west coast, especially at points supposed to be accessible to attack by the Chinese. The company organised by the Government in October 1882 for providing increased facilities for the coasting trade continued its operations, in spite of public opinion being strongly against it. M. Ito Hirobumi, the Japanese Minister, sometimes called the Bismarck of Japan, visited Berlin and London early in the year to study European constitutional law and history, with the view of advising the Mikado, on his return, as to the best form of constitution that should be granted to his subjects. The returns of a census taken on January 1 give a total for the whole country of 36,700,110, of which 18,598,998 were males and 18,101,112 females. The number of inhabited houses was 7,611,770; whilst the Japanese army consists of 30 generals, 9,335 officers, and 109,496 non-commissioned officers and men.

In the course of the year two distinguished Prussian officials were placed at the disposal of the Japanese Government by the



Prussian Cabinet, to act as advisers to the Ministry of State on administrative reform and the public instruction. A third adviser for finance was to follow shortly after.

## CHAPTER VII.

### AFRICA.

#### I. SOUTH AFRICA.

*Cape Colony* (including *Basutoland*).—Sir Hercules Robinson, opening the Cape Parliament (Jan. 19), said it had been thought advisable to hold a special Session in view of the disturbed state of the Leribe country, where the brother chiefs Jonathan and Joel were quarrelling over the succession to Molappo's authority. The condition of affairs in Basutoland, however, had determined the Ministers to withdraw from the management and responsibility of the internal affairs of that district, reserving only sufficient control over its external relations to maintain peace on the border of the Orange Free State, as contemplated and imposed by the Annexation Act. In the House of Assembly Mr. Scanlan, the Premier, made a statement (Jan. 22) to the same effect, adding that he proposed to visit and confer with the Basuto chiefs, and then to consult personally with the President of the Orange Free State, as to the means of maintaining peace on the border. Mr. Sprigg, the leader of the Opposition, made an elaborate attack upon the Government, quoting General Gordon's verdict that the whole country "stank with the deceit of the resident officials," charging the Basutos with cunning and treachery, and declaring no settlement to be possible without war. He, however, approved of the repeal of the Annexation Act, as it would force the Home Government to declare its real intentions. After a lengthy debate Mr. Upington's motion, condemning the policy of the Government, was negatived without a division, as was Mr. Hofmeyer's amendment, advocating an alliance with the Orange Free State; but an amendment by Mr. Vincent, accepting the Government policy, with the proviso that the details of any arrangement arrived at after consultation with the Basutos should not be carried into effect until the House had considered them, was carried by 34 to 27. Parliament was then prorogued, and it was only in the press and by public meetings that the general dissatisfaction at the proposed policy could find vent. During February the Native Commission reported in favour of territorial self-government for the various tribes, with a resident Deputy Governor, a consultative Native Council, and certain simple municipal arrangements, at the same time recognising the authority of the Ministry and the supremacy of the Cape Parliament. The Premier and the Minister for Native

Affairs at once set out (Feb. 27) for Basutoland to consult with the Basutos as to their future government; and in an interview with Letsea, the principal chief (March 16), the latter expressed his wish to remain a British subject, but regretted the removal of the Resident, Mr. Oppen, and the appointment of Captain Blyth. At a subsequent meeting (March 27) Letsea and the other chiefs proposed that all disputes between natives resident in Basutoland should be decided by the chief of the district in which they occurred; that a Council of Advice should be formed of the leading chiefs and headsmen, to be elected partly by the chiefs and partly by the Governor's Agent; and that the duty of the Council should be to consider and recommend, from time to time, such laws as might be deemed requisite for internal administration. These proposals having been accepted, Captain Blyth, the new Governor's Agent, was introduced to the various chiefs, by whom, as well as by Letsea, he was courteously received, although not enthusiastically welcomed by the Basutos at large, and the Premier returned to Capetown (April 14) believing the Basuto question to be practically settled. Such, however, was not destined to be the case. At a Pitso held (April 24) in Basutoland, Letsea, it is true, signified his acceptance of the Government proposals, but Masupha and other malcontents refused to attend. Fighting was consequently resumed in May between Jonathan and Joel, the latter of whom, in spite of the assistance of Masupha, was unable to hold his own, and ultimately Masupha withdrew his forces (May 15) from the district. At a great Pitso held at Leribe (May 22), attended by 5,000 warriors and most of the leading chiefs, Masupha made a speech, asking permission to hold Leribe; and Letsea declared he was unable to control his people, and fully recognised Jonathan as Molappo's successor. The Pitso was followed by a sort of armistice, the Cape garrison was withdrawn from Maseru, and, although Masupha would not restore the cattle he had captured, Captain Blyth's influence was already making itself felt. At this juncture the Imperial Government intimated its readiness to accept provisional control over Basutoland, on the undertaking that the Basutos showed their approval of such step by some such payment as the hut tax, and by obedience to authority; the Colony was to recoup itself by means of Customs duties or other revenue received on account of goods imported; and the Free State was to prevent incursions into Basutoland. Early in July a long debate on the Basutoland question took place in the Assembly, when three distinct proposals were urged upon the House. The Ministry submitted their scheme of separation, which Mr. Hofmeyer opposed, whilst Mr. Upington demanded absolute abandonment of the country. A motion to remit the question to the electors having been rejected by a large majority, the Basutoland Disannexation Bill, as proposed by the Ministry (August 1), passed. The Colonial Budget was brought forward, and showed an estimated revenue of 3,250,000*l.* (compared with 3,682,098*l.*

actually received in 1882), and an expenditure of 3,820,000*l.*; additional taxation was, therefore, inevitable in order to cover the deficit. The means proposed by the Government, an increase of the import duties on beer and tobacco, met with general approval from the majority of the Committee of Ways and Means, and Mr. Scanlan's taxation proposals were adopted by the House of Assembly with little change. In like manner the Estimates passed the Lower House, one of the few items which was struck out being 8,000*l.* for the internal administration of Basutoland. Parliament, having run its course, was dissolved by proclamation (September 28), and the Premier, Mr. Scanlan, at once started for England to negotiate a loan.

In Basutoland Jonathan was steadily gaining in strength, and the number of loyalists was found to be increasing. Meetings were held to discuss the resumption of authority by the Imperial Government, a large majority being in favour of such a step. A large majority of Masupha's people, however, still holding for absolute independence, refused the proffered terms, and trekked out to the Orange Free State and elsewhere. Captain Blyth, the new Resident, whose popularity with the ever-hostile Basutos was steadily gaining ground, was ordered by the Imperial Government to summon a *Pitso* in Basutoland November 28, to hear the terms on which the administration would be taken over, viz. a ten-shilling hut tax, obedience to the President, and the general assent of the people. The attendance was large, including Letsea, his son, and the chief Jonathan. A document, accepting the terms imposed by the British Government, was signed by the chiefs, who represented about two-thirds of the entire Basuto nation. Masupha was not present, and shortly afterwards raised a protest, declaring he would recognise no Government; but his influence was rapidly waning. Before the close of the year the Queen's Government was taking steps to resume the control of Basutoland, in compliance with the prayer of the large majority of the natives. All sections of the press in Cape Town declared their entire satisfaction at the way matters had been settled; but its practical results on the new Assembly could not be seen until the following year, when the elections would take place. But the final returns for the elections to the Upper House seemed to express dissatisfaction with the Ministry, and the Colonial Treasurer lost his seat.

*Natal.*—At the beginning of the year public opinion was much excited by the proposed release of Langalibalele, for it was felt the Imperial Government had no right to thrust so notorious a rebel on the colony without consulting the wishes of the colonists. Their attention was, however, soon directed to a more important matter, when it became known, in March, that Mr. Escombe's proposals for a change in the constitution of Government had been approved by the British Cabinet, and received the Queen's assent. Under the new arrangement the Legislative Assembly was to consist of thirty members, of whom seven would be nominees

of the Crown. This large infusion of the nominee element into the Government was defended on the ground that it secured the representation of the unenfranchised natives, and maintained the imperial responsibility. Early in April Parliament was dissolved, and the elections which followed were, for the most part, uncontested; the majority of the candidates who were defeated in 1882 on the "Responsible Government" platform being now returned without opposition. When the new Parliament met (July 6), Sir H. Bulwer, in his speech, after referring to the unbroken peace of the colony, insisted on the necessity of giving effect to the new arrangements. This, however, did not deter the Legislative Council from rejecting the Constitution Amendment Bill by the casting vote of the Speaker, and a little later the same body refused, by a unanimous vote of the non-official members, to sanction any measure for providing for Langalibalele's removal from Cape Town. This antagonism between the Council and the Administration showed itself in various ways. A Select Committee reported that one of the Government railways, for which a monstrous price had been paid, was all but useless, and that, notwithstanding it had required continual repairs since it was taken over, it would be necessary to spend 40,000*l.* on bridges and viaducts alone to make it safe for traffic. In the face of this the Council passed a resolution demanding the extension of railways in all directions. A more practical vote was that given in favour of an Intercolonial Conference in which the South African Colonies should be represented. The continuous strength of the Executive was in favour of a vigorous retrenchment of expenditure, but the utmost aid obtainable from the Legislative Council was a grudging assent on the understanding that measures of taxation should be proposed in the following Session for the promotion of public works. The Act requiring all natives passing between Zululand and Natal to obtain permits from the authorities, and imposing fines on persons harbouring natives who were without passes, met with general approval, though strongly opposed by certain members. One of the first to impede the law was Dabulamanzi, who was arrested in Greytown, on a magistrate's order, for having entered the Colony without a pass on his way to an interview with Miss Colenso.

*Zululand.*—With the commencement of the year the preparations for Cetewayo's restoration began. A military escort having been sent on in advance to conduct him from Port Durnford to Ulundi, he left Simon's Bay in her Majesty's ship *Briton* (January 4), and landed at Port Durnford (January 10), where the number of Zulus in waiting to welcome him was ominously small. In return the King's greeting of Mr. J. Shepstone, the British representative, was ostentatiously cold and distant. Cetewayo made no secret that he was dissatisfied with the division of Zululand, declaring that Queen Victoria had promised that only a little bit of the country should be cut off. Cetewayo, on leaving Port Durnford (January 11), made slow

progress through the country, awakening so little enthusiasm that he was constrained to explain the absence of his subjects by the theory that force had been employed to keep them away. When, however, a few days later (January 15), Sir Theophilus Shepstone read to him the conditions of his restoration, and asked if he accepted them, Cetewayo replied in the affirmative, complaining at the same time of the division of his country. By these conditions, which had been agreed to in England in the previous September, Cetewayo was to rule all the territory except Dunnsland and Hlubi's country, which were to become a reserved territory for the Zulus dissatisfied with his rule. Usibepu, now almost as powerful as Cetewayo, was to rule his own territory independently, and Cetewayo undertook to respect its boundaries and those of the reserved territory, not to interfere with the royal girls married during the war, and to punish no one for acts committed since the war. Traders were to report themselves to the President; fines and fees for trials were to go into Cetewayo's treasury; there were to be no restrictions on taxes, and military kraals were not to be allowed. Before Cetewayo reached Ulundi (January 24) it had been evident that his restoration was not desired by the bulk of his people, and he was well aware that his former influence had vanished. Nevertheless, although there had been no representative gathering of the Zulu people to greet him, and many of those he invited refused to come, yet 5,000 Zulu warriors assisted at the ceremony at Ulundi (January 29). When he solemnly resumed his kingly office, Sir T. Shepstone, representing British authority, explained the terms of the king's restoration; Cetewayo interrupting him occasionally to state that the conditions had been imposed by Natal and not by England, although he subsequently assured his people that he had voluntarily accepted them. For two hours Onyamena, Dabulamanzi, and others complained bitterly of the settlement, but Sir T. Shepstone had no power to alter the terms, and advised Cetewayo to address the Government through his new President, Mr. Fynn, though he could hold out no prospect of any alteration. It was mainly due to the tact and firmness of Sir T. Shepstone, and his extensive knowledge of the native character, that the installation passed off without disturbance, the attitude of the Usutu young men being so threatening that he refused to allow them to assemble. When the ceremony was over, Colonel Curtis, in command of the British troops, said, "I have brought the king to his people. He has now to rule, and my work is ended. I hope a new order of things will result—union, order, and prosperity." The troops then left immediately for Natal.

Cetewayo's own impressions are contained in the following message he sent to England about this time:—"I enjoyed the passage out. I had a fairly good reception on landing, and in proceeding through Dunnsland; but it might have been better had not the people been doubtful as to my identity. Considering the short time

the people have had to come in, I have been well greeted by them. I wish to say that I am thankful to the English for the reception they gave me in England. I believe things will go on all right now in Zululand under my supervision. The Government officials have treated me very kindly at Entonjaneni."

The first symptoms of disorder showed themselves in North Zululand within a few weeks of Cetewayo's restoration. The Zulus without warning entered the Transvaal, destroying four kraals and capturing a quantity of cattle; but civil war speedily took the place of frontier raiding. Early in April the Usutus or King's regiments, to the number of eighty companies, attacked Usibepu; but the latter, after enticing them into a difficult position, fell suddenly upon them with only twenty-five companies, and completely routed them. Having attacked the advancing column he cut through it, then closed in upon one-half and utterly destroyed it. Failing in that quarter, Cetewayo turned towards the reserved territory, where he attempted to set up disaffection, whilst reorganising his forces for a renewed attack on Usibepu. In another month he was ready to take the field, and, undaunted by the unlooked-for alliance of Oham and Usibepu, he was about to assume the offensive, when their combined forces fell upon him, driving him back towards Ulundi with a loss of 6,000 men. A short lull followed; the Zulus in the reserved territory had begun to distrust Cetewayo's declarations that ere long the whole country was to be ceded to him, and were slow in responding to his appeals to their allegiance. He continued, however, to rally his forces, and was gradually getting together a fresh army, when one morning (July) at sunrise he was suddenly attacked at Ulundi by Usibepu, and utterly routed. News reached England that he had been killed during the retreat, and this was so generally believed even in the Colony that the British Resident instituted a search for the body; but it turned out afterwards he had only been wounded in the thigh, and was hiding in the Ikandhla bush. His losses, however, had been severe; several chiefs and some of his wives had been killed; Ulundi and Nodwenga had been burnt, the presents he had received in England were destroyed with the rest of his property, and many of his troops had to take refuge in the reserved territory. Oham and Usibepu patrolled the borders of the latter, claiming all women and cattle driven therein; but Mr. Osborne, the Resident, warned them not to enter or molest any one there. Later on, in August, 400 men of the Welsh Regiment under Colonel Montgomery were ordered to Fort Pearson on the Tugela as a corps of observation, and for the protection of the Natal border; and Fort Buckingham, commanding the ford near Cetewayo's hiding-place, was garrisoned by Natal mounted police. Cetewayo continued for some time in hiding, whilst his wounds were slowly healing, but he maintained a defiant attitude, and refused an interview with the Resident.

In Zululand itself Cetewayo's defeat was followed by a complete collapse of all law and authority, and the resident Europeans

thought the only way to establish peace would be to effect an armed occupation of the reserve. Throughout September Cetewayo remained in concealment, sleeping on the edge of a precipitous forest for safety, and with only fifty followers about him. Usibepu, who was on the watch to prevent his joining the Boers, sent him a message to say he would neither allow him to remain in the reserved territory nor return to Zululand, but that if the English would remove him to some distant place he might live in security. Mr. Osborne in reply informed Usibepu that a final message had been sent to Cetewayo calling upon him to surrender, and that in case of a refusal Usibepu might enter the Ikandhla bush. Cetewayo chose the former alternative, and requested Mr. Osborne to send an escort to conduct him to the British Residency. When the escort arrived he declined to accompany it because a horse and clothes had not been provided. The Resident then went himself with an escort of native police, and Cetewayo surrendered, reaching Ekowe on October 15 with about 150 followers. There he remained some weeks as the guest of the Imperial Government, lodging in a kraal close to the Residency, whilst Mr. Fynn, the British Resident in Zululand, went to Pietermaritzburg to confer with Sir Henry Bulwer as to the destination of the fugitive king. Mr. Grant, Cetewayo's English adviser, was not allowed to remain with him, and, though Cetewayo begged that he might stop as a private friend, Mr. Osborne would not permit him to do so. As a last resort Cetewayo telegraphed to the Secretary of State for the requisite permission, and he was greatly concerned when Mr. Grant had at last to take his departure. In the meanwhile much distress prevailed in Zululand, and the uncertainty of the situation produced mistrust and paralysed industry. Usibepu had fallen upon an impi of the Usutus, and killed their leader and half their number. He then held a sanguinary carnival in Cetewayo's territory, slaying all the king's people that fell into his hands, regardless of age or sex. The natives began to cry out for a permanent settlement of the British and the appointment of a white ruler. In the prevailing state of insecurity the British troops were retained at Ekowe, and through their influence the semblance of quiet was maintained; but the feeling was general that Cetewayo should be moved across the sea, or anywhere away from the neighbourhood of the reserved territory. In consequence, Mr. Osborne met the chiefs at Ekowe (November 29), including Dabulamanzi, when their spokesman reviewed the changes in British policy in Zululand, and ascribed all the agitation and bloodshed to the action of white men from outside. He expressed the bewilderment of his brother chiefs at seeing Cetewayo brought among them to foment further discord, and concluded by imploring the British Resident to take steps to preserve the lives and property of the loyal inhabitants of the reserved territory. John Dunn concurred in these statements, and predicted war in the reserve if a settlement were deferred. Mr. Osborne, in reply, commended the frank state-

ments of grievances made by the chiefs, but urged the people to till the ground and sow the crops, adding that the question of Cetewayo's removal was being then considered by the Queen's Government. Though nothing definite had been announced about Cetewayo when the year closed, it was generally supposed that he would be reinstated at Ulundi, that barracks would be erected there, and all communications from and with Cetewayo would pass through the British Commissioner.

*Transvaal.*—The commencement of the year found the Boers still engaged in operations against Mapoch, and the latter, though fighting obstinately, gradually drawing to the end of his resources. In an attack on Secocoeni's people he was repulsed with great loss, but for a long while he successfully withstood all attacks upon his position. At length, however (February 7), the Boers managed to blow up his stronghold with dynamite, using charges of 500 lbs. and 700 lbs. fired by electricity, and the natives were driven out with great slaughter. The military instinct of the Boers was not long in finding out a fresh tribe over which the extension of their rule seemed profitable. The Bechuanas were not only the possessors of rich pasture and other lands, but it was through their territory that the great trade routes from Cape Town to the interior lay; and it was deemed inexpedient (by the Boers) that the control of such important highways should remain in native or independent hands. A difficulty, however, lay in the way of filibustering, since the suzerainty of the English sovereign over the Bechuanas had been recognised by the Boers themselves. This, however, did not hinder their tactics of destroying the crops and seizing the cattle, and generally terrorising the natives. Moreover, Dr. Jorissen, State Attorney for the Transvaal, was despatched to England (February 14), with the object, it was generally believed, of urging the Imperial Government to renounce the British suzerainty over Bechuanaland; and the South African press generally favoured such a withdrawal, unless the Imperial Government was prepared to enforce its authority. Mapoch, left without support or assistance, tardily sued (April) for peace, expressing his readiness to pay an indemnity as well as a yearly tribute on condition that his stronghold was restored to him. Mr. Goubert, however, declined to let him dictate his own terms, as he had provoked the war; but this assertion of the claims of the Transvaal Government failed to rekindle its exponent in popular favour: for, almost at the same time, Mr. Kruger was elected President by 2,431 votes, as against 1,171 for Mr. Goubert. When opening the Volksraad (May 7), Mr. Kruger said the time had come for negotiating a modification of the convention with England, and that a spirit of unity and co-operation continued to exist between the Transvaal Government and the British Bechuanas. By the miscarriage of his invitation the latter was not present at the swearing in of the new President, but he was represented by his secretary, who was very conciliatory, and even hinted that a revision of the convention was possible.



On the Queen's birthday a cordial exchange of friendly sentiments between the British Resident and the executive officers and the Volksraad took place, and soon after it was announced that a High Commissioner would be appointed, with power to settle the terms of a new convention. It had been originally intended that a special Commissioner should proceed from England to the Transvaal to examine into the working of the convention, and Lord Reay, a Dutchman by birth, was selected for that purpose; but the Transvaal Government telegraphed (June 17) to Lord Derby (Secretary of State for the Colonies) that the Volksraad had resolved it was time to reconsider the convention, and inquiring if her Majesty's Government would receive a deputation, either in London or Cape Town, consisting of the President or Vice-President of the Transvaal. Lord Derby replied (June 28) that her Majesty's Government consented to inquire into the working of the Pretoria convention, and would receive the proposed deputation in London, as preferable to sending a Commissioner to the Transvaal. Consequently, early in the autumn, a deputation, consisting of President Krüger and Messrs. Dutort and Sinit, proceeded to England to discuss terms with the English Government.

They were warmly received in Cape Town *en route*, and a public banquet given in their honour was attended by the leading politicians of that Colony. On their arrival in England, early in November, there was some delay about their interview with Lord Derby, in consequence of the arrival of the news that Mampoor had been hanged at Pretoria, notwithstanding the assurance given at Cape Town by Mr. Krüger that the sentence passed upon him should not be carried out until the latter had had an opportunity of conferring with Lord Derby. This difficulty was at length removed, and the explanation accepted. The draft of a treaty was submitted by the delegates to the Colonial Office. Its chief point related to the western boundary of the Transvaal State, upon which a great divergence of opinion was found to exist. The negotiations concerning the frontier line continued for some weeks, and it was understood that the Boers demanded, either in addition or in substitution, the restoration of their complete independence, as secured by the Sand River Conventions. Lord Derby's ultimatum was not made known before the close of the year; but it was understood when the Transvaal delegates left London that terms, which stipulated for mutual concessions, had been agreed upon. To return for a moment to the war, which had been carried on fitfully throughout the summer, its close was brought about by the surrender of Mampoor (July 6) and of Niabel, Mapoch's commander (July 10), followed shortly afterwards by that of Mapoch himself with some 8,000 of his people, who, as prisoners, remained in the hands of the Transvaal officers. The Boers thus achieved the conquest of a hitherto intractable tribe, ensconced in natural fastnesses of enormous strength. Mapoch's entire tribe was shortly afterwards "indentured" out for five years to various

Boer farmers. Goubert and the burghers engaged in the campaign made a triumphal entry into Pretoria (August 1), and Mampoer and Niabel were brought to trial on charges of murder and rebellion, both chiefs being defended by counsel. Mampoer's defence was that what he had done was incidental to a state of war forced upon him by the action of the British Government in wrongfully replacing Hkukum; whilst Niabel pleaded that he owed no allegiance to the republic, and that as a neutral chief he had a perfect right to shelter Mampoer. They were both convicted and sentenced to death, and Mampoer was hanged in November at Pretoria, but the sentence on Niabel and Mapoch was commuted to imprisonment for life.

## II. EGYPT.

If the course of events in Egypt during the year 1883 was unmarked by events of such importance as those of the preceding year, the affairs of the country, nevertheless, continued to absorb a large share of European attention. The first few days of the year witnessed the close of Arabi's career, who, in pursuance of his sentence of perpetual exile, was deported to Ceylon. That island of far-famed beauty was, according to Moslem tradition, the place to which Adam had been exiled when driven from Paradise; and Arabi remarked that he considered himself "greatly honoured in being sent to the last resting-place of the common father of all men." A life of Oriental ease in such a retreat, with an allowance of 30*l.* a month, "to be increased if necessary," from the Government he had lately tried to overthrow, was the climax to the career of an unsuccessful rebel different from that usually seen in Eastern lands, and was, perhaps, in a measure due to a sentiment of sympathy, tardily awakened in England, with the nationalist cause Arabi claimed to represent.

The exertions of Colonel Warren resulted in bringing to justice the murderers of Professor Palmer, Captain Gill, and Lieutenant Charrington. It was found that none of the money carried by the expedition had ever reached the rebels, the sheik in charge of Professor Palmer's party having secreted it while the proposal of killing the prisoners was being discussed among the Arabs. This fact seems to have aggravated the fanatical hatred of the Arabs, who condemned their prisoners to leap over the brink of a high precipice, shooting them as they fell. Thirteen of those concerned were caught and tried, and five of the actual perpetrators of the crime were hanged at Zagazig (February 28). Justice was more tardy in overtaking those who carried out the burning and pillage of Alexandria on July 11, 1882, in which Sulieman Sami had played the leading part. All attempts to make out that the deed had been done by Arabi's orders failed, and no better success attended the efforts of Lord Randolph Churchill and others

to induce the English Government to interpose on behalf of Sulieman Sami, who, terror-stricken, was hanged (June 9), muttering "Mazloun Arabi" ("Victimised by Arabi"), almost on the very spot where he had ordered the destruction of the city. The others who helped in the work of killing the Europeans and burning the city showed a more defiant demeanour, and shouted that they died for Islam.

On the other hand, in addition to their national honour and reward, Lord Wolseley and Lord Alcester were both presented with swords of honour, inscribed "From the people of Egypt," who, probably, would more gladly have made the same present to Arabi. Of less doubtful sincerity was the present of a handsome pair of pistols "From the notables of Cairo" to General Drury-Lowe, whose dashing cavalry march after Tel-el-Kebir undoubtedly saved the chief city from the fate of Alexandria.

The attitude of the European Powers towards the English occupation of Egypt may have been described at the opening of the year as one of acquiescence tempered by expectancy. There was no denying the rapidity and success with which the rebellion had been quelled, and the declared purpose of England had been to uphold the then existing *régime*. Few, however, conceived it either likely or possible that the *status quo ante bellum* would be restored, and the announcement of England's intentions was awaited with some anxiety. The suspense was speedily relieved by a circular note issued to the Great Powers by Lord Granville early in January. The note had previously been submitted to and approved by the Porte; and it must be conceded to Turkey that she did not at any time during the year attempt to complicate the existing difficulties in Egypt by interfering in the character of suzerain. Lord Granville, in his note, pointed out that the course of events had thrown upon England the task, which the Government would willingly have shared with other Powers, of suppressing the military rebellion in Egypt, and restoring peace and order in that country. The work had been happily accomplished, and although, for the present, a British force remained in Egypt, the Government were desirous of withdrawing it as soon as the necessity for its presence was superseded by the organisation of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority. Proceeding then to indicate his future policy, Lord Granville first proposed various measures to secure at all times the freest possible navigation of the Suez Canal, its strict neutrality in time of war, and equal rights therein to all nations; second, the attainment of greater economy in the management of the Daira Estates; third, the treatment of foreigners on the same footing as natives with regard to taxation; fourth, the continuance for the present of the system of mixed tribunals for civil suits between natives and foreigners; fifth, the formation of a small Egyptian army, with British officers, lent for a time, to fill the higher posts, and of a separate force of gendarmerie and police; sixth, some new arrangement in lieu of the

Dual Control, such as the appointment of a single European financial adviser, without authority to interfere in the direct administration of the country; seventh, the prudent introduction of representative institutions in some form adapted to the present political intelligence of the people, and calculated to aid their future progress. Practically, Lord Granville's sixth suggestion amounted to the withdrawal of England from the Dual Control; Sir Auckland Colvin at once resigned his office, and within a few days the institution was abolished by a decree of the Khedive. France, as the third party to the Control, had already been invited to consider the impossibility of carrying on what really was only a provisional arrangement in favour of the bondholders, after two out of the three parties desired, for serious reasons, to withdraw from it. France, however, after declining to act with England in the suppression of Arabi, now refused the offer of nominating to the proposed new office of Financial Adviser, insisting that the Control could only be abolished by the consent of all the three parties to it; and refused to be bound in any way by the Khedive's decree. Such a protest, though considered as a sort of decorous formality, was generally regarded as evidence of French powerless ill-will, which practically placed every arrangement in the hands of England; and soon afterwards Sir Auckland Colvin's place of Controller was virtually revived in favour of Mr. Edgar Vincent, under the title of Financial Adviser. In all these arrangements the European Powers, France excepted, signified their acquiescence without demur.

The process of reconstruction was now steadily pushed on, and whilst the Egyptian Government swept away the Control, and in other respects created a *tabula rasa*, Lord Dufferin, assisted by a number of able Englishmen, elaborated a scheme of administrative and social reform, including the germs of a national representative system. These recommendations were set forth in a very remarkable and comprehensive despatch from Cairo (February 6). In eloquent and unsparing language Lord Dufferin exposed the weakness and corruption of the Egyptian system, and the abuses which had led to a widespread sympathy with Arabi's insurrection. Turning from the past to the future, he sketched the practical measures necessary to bring about a desired transformation in the material, moral, and political condition of the country, and out of the existing chaos "erect an Egypt peaceful, prosperous, and contented, able to pay its debts, capable of maintaining order along the canal, and offering no excuse in the troubled condition of its affairs for interference from outside." These measures included the establishment of an Egyptian army of 6,000 men, a semi-military constabulary numbering 5,600, both officered to a small extent at first by Europeans; and an urban police of some 1,600 constables, to maintain order in the large towns of the Delta. The proposed system of representative institutions comprised (1) the Village Constituency, (2) Provincial Councils, (3) the Legislative Council,

(4) a General Assembly, and (5) eight Ministers responsible to the Khedive. To provide for a pure, cheap, and simple system of justice, which, Lord Dufferin observed, would prove more beneficial to the country than the largest constitutional privileges, he proposed a thorough revision of the codes and the organisation of new tribunals, both to be upon the lines of the best European model, and presided over for a time by European judges. The other recommendations included improvement of the canals and irrigation works, economy in the administration of the Daira Estates, and the allotting and sale of the Domain—both being lands acquired by the ex-Khedive and family, but now held, at almost ruinous loss, by the State; a cadastral survey, with a view to an equitable reassessment of the land-tax, the easy transfer of land, &c.; assistance to the fellaheen in relieving themselves from the heavy debt encumbering their lands; a national system of education; reform of the civil service; mitigation of the evils of the *corvée*, or forced labour system; abandonment of some of the more distant Soudan provinces; gradual abolition of domestic slavery, and effectual suppression of the slave trade; Egypt to be allowed to enter into commercial conventions, regulate its own customs duties, and enforce necessary revenue regulations; and the equal taxation of foreigners and natives.

A formidable array of deplorable facts amply sufficed to show the urgent need for these reforms, which were adopted without demur by the Egyptian Government. It must, however, be borne in mind that they were proposed by the representatives of an alien Power, to a people averse to our progressive ideas, and jealous of interference from without, however well intended. Had Lord Dufferin been commissioned to place affairs in Egypt on the footing of an Indian vassal State, the outlook would have been different. He himself estimated that the masterful hand of a Resident, by bending everything to his will, would, in the space of five years, have greatly added to the national wealth and well-being of the country by the extension of the cultivated area, and the consequent extension of its revenue; by the partial, if not total, abolition of both the *corvée* and domestic slavery. But though compelled by force of circumstances to occupy Egypt, and to undertake by force of arms the restoration of law and order, the British Government manifested a strong determination not to assume the responsibility of permanently administering the country, either directly or indirectly. That, under such circumstances, very considerable progress was made during the year, in carrying out Lord Dufferin's programme, said much for the patriotic readiness with which his advice had been accepted. The changes in the administration, in the judiciary, and in the army, as well as the development of political institutions, was necessarily slow; and in the meantime it was apparently agreed on all hands that, though Egypt was to be educated for self-government, it was impossible for the present to dispense with British predomina-

ance or to withdraw the British troops. A partial evacuation took place, but the majority remained, under the command, first of Sir A. Alison, and subsequently of General Stephenson. Sir Evelyn Wood was invited to undertake the reorganisation of the Egyptian army, and was assisted by about twenty-six English officers. Their work practically amounted to the formation of an entirely new force, the remnants of the army shattered at Tel-el-Kebir having been despatched for service in the Soudan. The energy and organising ability of Sir E. Wood soon overcame this difficulty, and placed him at the head of a well-drilled and apparently effective force of some 6,000 men. General Baker was at the same time charged with the formation of a gendarmerie for the protection of the country along the desert borders. The force numbered, during 1883, about 4,400 men, the organisation being of a semi-military character, and, to a great extent, a mounted force. The raising of an urban police, for service in the chief towns, was undertaken by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and to his zeal was due a number of salutary reforms in the prisons and hospitals, and the founding of municipalities in several of the leading towns; but it was in clearing out of the prisons of Cairo and Alexandria the crowds of unconvicted, and even untried, prisoners that his activity made itself felt, and his sincerity to improve the condition of the people was displayed. Colonel Scott Moncrieff was also invited to superintend the Public Works Administration, and, with a number of practical engineers, carried out various improvements in the canal and irrigation system. Under the title of Procureur-Général of the Native Tribunals, Sir Benson Maxwell was appointed to superintend the needful reforms in the administration of justice, and before the close of the year the new civil and criminal codes were completed, new tribunals organised, and several judges appointed, in substitution of the old-fashioned *cadi* courts, in which texts from the Koran were the chief legal authorities invoked, while the real inspiration was drawn from the money bags of one, or perhaps both, of the parties to a cause.

The progress of reconstructive measures was considerably retarded by a very serious epidemic of cholera, which first appeared at Damietta towards the end of June, and in the space of three months carried off no less than 30,000 victims. There were not wanting unfriendly critics, particularly in France, who ascribed the outbreak to the carelessness of the British authorities, in landing cholera patients from India without subjecting them to quarantine; but this charge was amply disproved. The real cause was the herding together of thousands of people at the most stifling part of the year, without the slightest regard to sanitary precautions. Below Cairo the Nile and its canals were little better than open sewers, carrying down the whole refuse of Egypt. Dead animals floated down through Damietta, exhaling horrible odours, while the great fair at that place attracted a crowd of 15,000 people, who for eight days lived on foul water and putrid fish. The stench during

the fair was said to be observable ten miles away. For several days after the cholera broke out Damietta was without doctors, medicines, or disinfectants; and before putting a cordon round the town 10,000 people from the fair were allowed to disperse through the interior, and the cordon itself was always to be evaded by backsheesh. The sanitary condition of most other towns was little better than that of Damietta, where the deaths soon rose to 200 in a day. The pestilence next appeared at Mansourah, and here, in consequence of the filthy condition of the hospital, few survived an attack of the disease. On July 15 one or two fatal cases were reported at Ghizeh and Boulak, the suburbs of Cairo, and the disease speedily laid a firm hold on the city itself, the death-rate rising to upwards of 500 per day. One of the most infected quarters was isolated and burnt; but not only were the good effects of this neutralised, but the epidemic was aggravated by the fact that no care was taken to prevent hundreds of the evicted occupants of the condemned quarter from escaping, and rushing in crowds through the city. Cholera patients were carried to the hospitals in vehicles which the next day were plying for hire, mourners rode home sitting in the very coffins which had conveyed their cholera-stricken relatives to the grave, and the clothes of those who died were sent to surviving relatives by the hospital authorities. A dozen medical men were sent out from England under Surgeon-General Hunter, to aid in staying the plague; but their efforts were so thwarted by the Egyptian hospital authorities that their resignation and instant return were threatened. Most of the British troops were removed to more healthy quarters outside the city, but in spite of all precautions 140 of them fell victims. With the increase of the disease in Cairo, however, there was a corresponding decrease in the towns first attacked, and by the second week in August the mortality in the capital itself was rapidly subsiding. When September arrived the Nile had well risen, the canals were filling, and the enforced regulations of the Extraordinary Council had succeeded in relieving them of putrid, fever-spreading carcasses, thrown therein to escape burial fees. By the middle of the month the epidemic had almost entirely disappeared, with the exception of a few cases at Alexandria, where its violence had at no time been so severe as at Damietta or at Cairo. The devotion shown by the English officers of the Egyptian army to their men, and the heroism of the English doctors, were the subject of comment, and even of sympathetic admiration, on the part of the natives; whilst the example set by the Khedive, by visiting some of the foulest cholera wards of Cairo, Mansourah, and other places, stimulated the authorities to self-denying duty. Tewfik was greeted everywhere by eager manifestations of loyalty, which were entirely a new experience. "You shall be our Mudir!" was the frequent exclamation; and for a time the Khedive's courageous conduct seemed to have won for him a well-deserved and hitherto undisputed popularity.

The subsidence of the cholera epidemic coincided with the time fixed for the first elections under the newly established constitutional *régime*. These took place during September and October, but the indifference manifested must have been a little damping to ardent political reformers. Bribery prevailed, but it was of a type little known in Western Europe, for the Egyptian electors displayed a widespread desire to pay a sum of money rather than leave their work for the purpose of voting. So far as could be done, the Khedive had anticipated the suspicions of his subjects on their franchise rights, by publishing a Charter, providing, amongst other things, that no fresh tax or burden should be inflicted without the consent of the General Assembly. That financial difficulties should arise out of the events of 1882 was, however, inevitable. The cost of the army of occupation, of the expedition to the Soudan, and of the indemnity to be paid to the sufferers by the burning and pillage of Alexandria added about 5,000,000*l.* to the public debt, and this sum had to be provided for by a new loan. But with the return of peace and of an orderly government, and the profitable sale of Domain lands, the prospect was not gloomy. Hopes were entertained that at length Egypt was about to profit by its natural wealth and by the industry of its peaceful inhabitants, when a new misfortune broke upon the country, upsetting the provisions of the most clear-sighted, and disappointing the hopes of the sanguine.

The region in Central Africa known as the Soudan extends from Assouan to the Equator, and from Massowah on the Red Sea to the western limits of Darfour, a territory of 1,650 miles long by 1,200 miles broad. North of 11° N. the population consists chiefly of Mahomedan Arabs, whilst south of that line negro tribes, mostly pagans, are scattered more or less densely. For centuries past the former have found among the latter supplies for the slave markets of Cairo, Damascus, and Constantinople. Egyptian rule was first extended to these districts by Mehemet Ali, under whom Ibrahim Pasha carried it as far south as Kordofan and Sennaar. The Arabs sullenly acquiesced in this invasion so long as their slave trade was not interfered with. When, however, Ismail Pasha, under European pressure, was induced to issue his proclamation against slavery, he alleged the necessity of extending Egyptian rule to the parts whence the traders drew their supplies. Sir Samuel Baker's expedition in 1870 thus led to the conquest of the Equatorial provinces, of which in 1874 Colonel Gordon, of Chinese fame, was appointed Governor-General. In the following year Darfour was added to the Egyptian possessions. Not only did Ismail Pasha arm his English Proconsul at Gondokoro with dictatorial powers, but two years later he formed all his Central African province into one huge government, which he intrusted to Colonel Gordon. By treating the people justly, listening attentively to all their grievances, and mercilessly repressing all those who defied the law, the Governor-General accustomed the Soudanese to a much higher



standard of government than any that had up to then prevailed in those regions. But on the fall of Ismail economy necessitated the recall of Colonel Gordon, although he had been the first to prevent the Soudan being a burden to the Cairo Exchequer. After his departure his policy was entirely reversed, and a whole horde of Turks and Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks were once more let loose to harass the unfortunate Soudanese. Egyptian misgovernment became intolerable, and in the crisis through which Lower Egypt passed before Arabi's revolt, as is generally the case, a deliverer appeared. This was Mohammed Ahmed, of Dongola, a Mussulman enthusiast, who gave himself out to be the Mahdi, the long-expected Redeemer of Islam. In 1881 Reouf Pasha, sent to report on his plans and intentions, found him residing in a small island of the White Nile, with a guard of chosen followers, who stood before him with drawn swords. He refused the demand of the Egyptian official to accompany him to Khartoum; and when a small force was sent by water to effect his capture it was ignominiously repulsed. Mohammed Ahmed then settled down at Gebel Gedir, which became his stronghold. Here he was left during several months to increase his influence among the neighbouring tribes. In December 1881 he defeated a force under Rashid Bey. In the early months of 1882 another and stronger expedition was fitted out by the new Governor-General of the Soudan, Abd-el-Kader Pasha, under the command of Yussuf Pasha. At the same time a distinct rebellion broke out in the province of Sennaar, on the Blue Nile, the leader of which gave out that he was the Mahdi's lieutenant, and assumed the title of his Vizier. Giegler Pasha, an Austrian officer, succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon this popular leader, thus preventing the insurrection spreading beyond the banks of the Blue Nile. In June 1882, however, Yussuf was utterly defeated by the Mahdi, few of the 6,000 Egyptian soldiers, and none of their commanders, escaping. This success gave the Mahdi's troops a certain number of firearms, though the majority still had only swords and spears. Shortly after, the Mahdi met with his first defeat, being repulsed from the assault of El Obeid with a loss of 6,000 men. He met with similar ill-success in the attack of other towns. During the Egyptian campaign there were contradictory rumours of the dispersion of his followers and of their threatening Khartoum. The Mahdi, however, laid siege again to El Obeid, and on January 16, 1883, it was captured, and the great part of the garrison, headed by Iscander Bey, their commander, took service under the Mahdi. During the spring of 1883 elaborate preparations were made for the suppression of the rebellion. With a view to testing the value of the new Egyptian army, many of whom had been Arabi's soldiers, a camp was formed at Um-Durma, on the west side of the Nile, opposite Khartoum. Here, by the end of August, Colonel Hicks, a retired Indian officer who had entered the Egyptian service, had collected an army of 7,000 infantry, 120 cuirassiers, 300 Bashi-Bazouk cavalry, and about 30 guns,

rockets, and howitzers of all sizes. At Duem he was to have been joined by at least another 1,000, and various detachments swelled the number of his force to more than 10,000 men. The collection of the necessary camels was accomplished by the personal exertions of Alla-ed-Deen, the Governor-General of the Soudan. On September 9, Hicks Pasha began his march up the Nile, keeping as near the western side of the White branch as the inundations would allow. The spirits of the men were pronounced excellent, and their officers expressed themselves highly satisfied. The resolution was taken to march through the desert on El Obeid, trusting to surface pools for water. The number of troops was not sufficient to hold communications with the base of operations, and it was decided not to fritter them away in the attempt. For weeks nothing was known of Hicks Pasha's movements, but at length the news reached Khartoum that the whole of the Egyptian army had been surrounded and destroyed by the rebels. It appeared that after leaving the Nile, the army, which with followers numbered 11,000 men, marched in square, with the baggage and 6,000 camels, horses, and mules in the centre, to provide against surprise from the enemy's cavalry. In this guise they could only march some ten miles a day, the heat being excessive. For such a number it was almost impossible to carry more than twenty-four hours' water supply, and wells were nearly four days apart. Even when the force got to where water ought to have been, the wells were sometimes found to be filled with stones, earth, and the rotting bodies of men and camels. In spite of all privations, however, Hicks Pasha pushed on towards Obeid, where the Mahdi with 3,000 men had his headquarters, hoping there to strike one decisive blow at the rebel power. But on November 1 a treacherous guide led the Egyptian force to a rocky, wooded defile, without water, where an ambuscade had been prepared by the enemy, who were armed with rifles and artillery. Hicks Pasha's force was so situated that he could not use his guns. For three days the army, worn out by thirst, gallantly defended itself, but on the fourth, when the last cartridge was expended, Hicks ordered bayonets to be fixed, and put himself at the head of the force, which was speedily annihilated to a man. With General Hicks there fell Alla-ed-Deen Pasha, the Governor-General of the Soudan, several British officers, Mr. O'Donovan, the "Daily News" correspondent, famous for his adventures in Merv; several pashas and beys, and about 1,200 officers. Thirty-six Krupp, Nordenfelt, and mountain guns, and all the flags, munitions of war, and camels fell into the hands of the rebels. Such a victory naturally set the whole Soudan in a blaze. The fiction of the Mahdi's divine mission required no further confirmation, and additional thousands rallied to his standard.

At Cairo the consternation was profound, the dismay being rendered the more intense by the rapid spread of the insurrection in Eastern Soudan, where disasters similar to that in Kordofan

seemed to be impending, and had indeed already begun. Defensive measures were at once adopted at Khartoum by Colonel Coetlogon, the British officer in command there, who called in, as far as possible, the outlying garrisons. The hopelessness and inutility of holding so vast a country in the face of a discontented population had been pointed out by Lord Dufferin early in the year, and he had decidedly advised withdrawal from the more distant provinces, especially of Western Soudan. The British Government, soon after the failure of Hicks Pasha, advised the Khedive not to attempt further the reconquest of these distant possessions, but to relieve the invested posts as quickly as possible, to fix a hold upon the Red Sea coast and the Nile valley as far as Wady Halfa, or the Second Cataract; and then to maintain the defensive.

Reluctant as the Egyptian Government evidently was to act upon such advice, there seemed but little possibility for anything else to be done. For in concert with the Mahdi's insurrection in the Western Soudan, the tribes on the extreme east had shown signs of disaffection, and in August they broke out into open rebellion, surrounding the garrisons at Sincat and Tokar, severing communication between Berber and Souakim, and menacing Souakim itself, where they had only been kept at bay by the presence of British gunboats in the harbour. A force was despatched at the beginning of November for the relief of the Tokar garrison, but on the 6th it was surrounded by the rebels under Osman Digna, and cut to pieces, Captain Moncrieff, English Consul at Souakim, being among the killed. A month later an attempt to relieve the garrison at Sincat met with an equally disastrous fate, only forty men out of 800 surviving the furious onslaught of the Arabs.

It was clear that, if Sincat and Tokar were to be relieved, a considerable force must be despatched, and the question of how to do this without a breach of faith was a difficult one. All the new Egyptian army under Sir Evelyn Wood had been enlisted with the promise of exemption from service in the Soudan. In this dilemma the Khedive turned to Baker Pasha, now at the head of a creditable body of gendarmerie, avowedly raised as a kind of border police. Of course these could strictly no more be called upon to serve in the Soudan than the regular troops, but having undertaken charge of the expedition Baker Pasha managed to get together some 3,000 men and despatched them to Souakim. Here, on Christmas Day, he held his first review, and, undiscouraged by the appearance of the motley crew, expressed himself hopeful as to the results of an encounter with an enemy said to be about 20,000 strong, fierce with fanatical hatred of their Egyptian oppressors, and excited with recent victory. He resolved, however, to await the arrival of further reinforcements before advancing from the protection afforded by the ships and from the basis of his supplies.

## III. MADAGASCAR AND THE CONGO.

The restlessness which for some time had attacked a very considerable portion of the French nation was destined to find outlets during the year in remote regions; but probably nowhere was a display less expected than on the coasts of the island of Madagascar. More than a generation ago, it is true, French cruisers had halted there, French missionaries had preached there, and French traders had in the course of their business managed to take up and aggravate a tribal dispute dating from the remotest antiquity. The Hovas, now dominant throughout nearly, if not quite, the whole of the cultivable portion of the island, had, at one time, shared the power with the Sakalavas and other tribes, but of late years—except on the north and north-western coasts—the authority of the Queen of the Hovas, Ranovolana, was recognised over the whole country, and, so far as could be gathered from missionaries and traders, her sovereignty was practically undisputed. Doubtless, however, the elements of discord existed, and required but little provocation to break into revolt.

The actual excuse, however, given for foreign intervention was one familiar to English ears. It was asserted that a French trader, M. Ribet, a native of Réunion, had, with his servant, been murdered at Maharaneo, and that the Hovas' authorities were either unwilling or unable to discover his assassins. A French frigate, the *Flore*, at once took up her position before Tamatave, to ensure the safety of French residents; and before the middle of May a frigate, three corvettes, and a gunboat were at various places round the northern coast, bent upon the peaceful mission of protecting the lives and property of the citizens of the French republic. The natural consequences of this solicitude were soon manifest. A few days later (May 16) the French fleet bombarded the port of Margunga, on the north-west of the island, variously described as an important commercial town, commanding the road and river leading to Antananarivo, and a collection of mud huts—useless alike to inhabitants and invaders. The bombardment, however, lasted six hours, and considerable loss was, it was said, inflicted on the Hovas. The French admiral, leaving a small garrison, then withdrew to Mayotte, an island he had seized, and informed his Government that he had done away with all the military forts established by the Hovas in the territory of the Sakalavas, over which France claimed a protectorate. For some time the French ships contented themselves with cruising round the northern coasts, occasionally bombarding open towns, and destroying British and other foreign merchandise. Admiral Pierre, then acting under instructions, addressed an *ultimatum* to the Queen Ranovolana, in which he demanded the acknowledgment of the treaties of 1841, by which the French protectorate

along the north-western coast had been recognised, the payment of an indemnity of a million and a half of francs, and "the settlement in an equitable manner of the tenure of property by French citizens in Hova territory." These terms were summarily rejected by the Queen's advisers. The admiral forthwith (June 16) and without loss took possession of Tamatave, and destroyed Foule Point, Mohambo, and Tenerife, following up these exploits by declaring the whole northern part of the island in a state of siege.

The Hovas at once retired into the interior, where the French, during the remainder of the year, were unable to make any impression upon them. In the midst of their Koulle the Queen Ranovolana died (July 13), and was forthwith, and without dispute, succeeded by her niece, who, according to usage, at once became the wife of the Prime Minister. The bombardment of Tamatave, however, was accompanied by a regrettable incident, which at one moment threatened the friendly relations of France and England. Admiral Pierre, acting on instructions which were subsequently shown to be wholly unfounded, took up a hostile attitude towards the British Consul and Captain Johnstone, of her Majesty's ship *Dryad*; and especially towards Mr. Shaw, an English missionary. This gentleman was arrested at Tamatave, on charges afterwards abandoned as baseless, and was closely confined on board a French man-of-war, where he was treated with much needless severity, and the display of petty tyranny. The recalling, however, of Admiral Pierre, and his subsequent death, before landing at Marseilles, furnished an excuse for these high-handed proceedings, and enabled the French Government to make an apology for his undue detention.

The difficulties of the situation were further aggravated by the death, at the moment of the French descent upon Tamatave, of the British Consul, Mr. Pakenham, who had resided in the land for upwards of twenty years. After his death and at his funeral the French admiral undoubtedly paid official honour to Mr. Pakenham, but it remained on record that shortly before his decease the British Consul was ordered by Admiral Pierre to haul down his flag within twenty-four hours; that on his refusal his secretary was arrested in his presence, and that the British flag was hauled down by the French. A few days later all communication between H.M.'s ship *Dryad* and the shore was forbidden by the French admiral; and the mail steamer *Taymouth Castle*, on her arrival at Tamatave, was boarded by the French, who placed a sentry on board, and forbade the captain to land any passengers, and only allowed him to land cargo on payment of the French tariff. Admiral Pierre, however, made up the outgoing mails, and demanded and took the ingoing mails, and even demanded the consular despatches, and was only prevented from taking them by Commander Johnstone, of the *Dryad*, sending them on board the *Taymouth Castle* and escorting her to sea through the French fleet. Tamatave was further proclaimed a French town, and a French mayor appointed; a large amount of British property was destroyed, and

2,000 British subjects, rendered destitute by the bombardment, had to be conveyed to the Mauritius.

The French Government never seriously attempted to defend the acts of their subordinates, and Admiral Pierre was replaced as speedily as possible by Admiral Galiber, who was careful to remove, as far as possible, the unpleasant memories left by his predecessor; but the tone of the French press showed that the "forward" policy had many supporters among the irresponsible advisers of the public.

After the occupation of Tamatave, however, the French forces in Madagascar scarcely came into collision again with the natives. They contented themselves with occupying the town, establishing a custom-house, and sending two or three gunboats with a roving commission along the coast. By this policy foreign settlers suffered more than the natives; for instance, it was reckoned that the British sugar interests within a radius of fifteen miles from Tamatave represented a value of 250,000*l.*, and, as the bombardment of that town took place just when the planters were preparing to gather in the year's crop, the losses of the British settlers were considerable.

*The Congo.*—On the western side of the great African continent French enterprise was seeking another field for the display of its new-born colonial policy. The river Congo, which penetrates into the heart of Africa, had long been an object of interest to the pioneers of commerce and civilisation. The discoveries of Stanley, Cameron, and others had proved that the cataracts by which a short portion of its course was rendered impassable, once passed, the river offered a splendid highway into the interior. As early as the fifteenth century the Portuguese had occupied certain points, and, although they had been turned to little use in the interval, the Portuguese still claimed certain privileges by right of early discovery and conquest. Of late whatever had been done towards opening up the country was due to the missionary stations, chiefly Baptists, established along the lower reaches of the river, and more recently to the enterprise of the International African Association, in which the King of the Belgians took a leading part. By the energy of Mr. Stanley, acting in the name of this society, a road had been constructed by the side of the river, and a steamboat successfully launched on the upper waters of the river. In the course of 1882, however, an adventurous traveller, M. de Brazza, claiming French nationality, suddenly appeared from the north, having made his way across from the French colonies, and commenced distributing tricolour flags along the banks of the river, and pretending to have obtained from their recipients the cession of tracts of territory to France. Proceedings of this sort happened to accord with the passing mood of the French people, and M. de Brazza soon found himself supported not only by volunteer adherents but encouraged by the French Government. He returned to the Congo with men and money, and at

once set about establishing a chain of posts along the river, and strengthening the various bodies of natives he had left in charge of his station. Occasionally he came into contact with Mr. Stanley, whom he accused of placing difficulties in his way. The banks of the Congo, from McRoma to Stanley Pool, at once acquired a commercial as well as a political importance, and were promptly bought up by merchants of the International African Association, on which Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid represented British interests, and was charged with the duty of protecting the natives against any return to a system of forced labour. Shortly after his arrival at the Congo (October) the death was announced of Makoko, the chief with whom M. de Brazza had concluded his treaty. The successor was a staunch supporter of Mr. Stanley, and consequently opposed to the agents of the International Association, who at that moment were cultivating friendly relations with the French. In November instructions were sent to the French authorities at the West African naval station to give all aid possible to the Brazza expedition, "a mission as important as it is perilous."

The English Government were at first disposed to support the claims of the Portuguese, and possibly might have committed themselves further than circumstances would have excused, since on numerous occasions we have ignored the Portuguese whenever our cousins had reason to inflict chastisement on the pirates who infest the mouths of the Congo and its neighbouring Bight. At the very first rumour that there was any possibility of our aiding the disputed sovereignty of Portugal, a burst of indignation, irrespective of party, met the proposal; and the Ministry, closely questioned in Parliament, said that they had no intention of concluding any treaty without giving Parliament full opportunity of expressing its views. Nothing, however, was done during the Session, and subsequent to the departure of Sir Frederick Goldsmid little transpired as to the doings on the Congo beyond the statement that the French naval authorities on the West African station had received instructions to give all possible assistance to the De Brazza expedition.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### AUSTRALASIA.

#### I. AUSTRALIA.

*Victoria.*—Towards the end of January the O'Loghlen Ministry presented a Memorandum to the Governor, stating that in view of the obstructionist tactics adopted in the Legislative Assembly, especially against the Land Bill, they recommended that Parliament should be dissolved—a step to which Lord Normanby assented.

Though prospective obstruction had been put forward as ground for a dissolution, the failure of the attempt to launch the four million loan in London was recognised in Melbourne as the real cause of this "electioneering manifesto." The prospect of security and power which lay before the Ministers at the close of 1882 was dissipated when the news arrived from London that not more than an eighth of the four million loan had been subscribed for, and the papers were general in their condemnation of Sir Bryan O'Loughlen as a Treasurer. He had, they declared, neglected to start the loan when money was cheap, and procrastinated until it had become dear. The test questions, however, on which the elections turned were not limited to finance. Intercolonial free trade, the federation of the Colonies, and the preservation of the secular principle in the Education Act were points which attracted the greatest interest, and of which the supporters were the most successful. As soon as the new Parliament assembled (March 1) a vote of want of confidence in the Ministry was carried by a coalition between Mr. Graham Berry and the Constitutional party, followed by a change of Ministry, in which Mr. Service became Premier and Colonial Treasurer, and Mr. Berry Chief Secretary and Minister of Public Instruction.

During the early part of the year Melbourne was the scene of a series of strikes, beginning with the bakers and butchers and subsequently extending to other trades. Shorter hours rather than increased wages were demanded by the men; but the struggle for the most part ended in favour of the employers, leaving a certain amount of ill-feeling between the classes.

In his speech proroguing Parliament (April 19) the Governor expressed his approval of the annexation by Queensland of New Guinea. Parliament on its reassembling at once took up the matter, and later on the Victorian Government, joining with the other Colonies, strongly urged upon the Imperial Government the importance of annexing the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, and other groups in the Pacific not under the dominion of any other Power. An address to the Queen was, moreover, unanimously voted by both Houses of the Victorian Parliament in support of the annexation of, or the establishment of a Protectorate over, New Guinea and the other islands in the Pacific; and stating that the Colony was prepared to share the expenses entailed by such a policy. Public interest in the question of the annexation or protectorate of New Guinea and other islands continued to increase, and great disappointment was caused by the Imperial Government failing to recognise the danger to the Australian Colonies of their being flooded with French convicts, should the adjacent islands become French penal establishments after the model of New Caledonia, and should the French authorities maintain the policy of refusing to receive back convicts who had escaped to the mainland.

Attention was momentarily distracted from this to a nearer and more immediate grievance. The s.s. *Puthan* was announced,



bringing amongst its passengers the Irish informers in the Phoenix Park murder trials—Kavanagh, Hanlon, and Smith. The Premier, in reply to the inquiry of the Assembly as to the intended action of the Government, declared at once that the men would not be allowed to land. Consequently, on the arrival of the steamer, a party of police boarded her, the passengers were mustered, and, with the assistance of an Irishman in Melbourne who knew Kavanagh by sight, the informers were recognised, and after a violent resistance by one of them were detained in the chief engineer's cabin until final arrangements could be made for their disposal. It was eventually settled that the men should be taken back to Ireland in the *Pathan*, the Government paying their passages; but a few hours after the steamer had started for Sydney, *en route* for Ireland, a telegram arrived from the Imperial Government instructing the captain of H.M.S. *Nelson* to receive them on board until further orders.

Mr. Service, in his financial statement (July 18) to the Legislative Assembly, estimated the revenue of the Colony for 1883-84 at 6,000,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 6,060,000*l.*; the revenue for the previous financial year (to June 30, 1883) having been 5,770,000*l.*, and the expenditure 5,690,000*l.* The amount he proposed to borrow for public works was restricted to 1,000,000*l.* for the construction of railways, in order to utilise the rolling stock and rails on hand. The Colonial Treasurer also proposed to contract a new loan of 3,000,000*l.*, to meet the old loans falling due, explaining that the public debt of Victoria amounted to 26,000,000*l.*, and the net revenue from railways and waterworks, after meeting all expenses, was sufficient to pay 4 per cent. of the debt.

The Public Service Bill, which struck straight at the heart of political patronage, came before Parliament. Its main feature was the adoption of competitive examinations for civil appointments, on the model of the system in force in the mother country. Although the measure was favourably received, its provisions were in some degree modified out of regard for political pressure.

The Colony during the year continued to make provision for its naval and military defence. Batteries were completed and armed with modern artillery, the land forces reorganised, and the naval forces strengthened by the addition of two gunboats, the *Victoria* and *Albert*, built in England, and three formidable torpedo boats, constructed for the Colony by Messrs. Thornycroft, one of them, the *Childers*, being longer and more powerful than any in the British Navy.

Early in the year the gold returns for 1882 were published, and gave a satisfactory result, the yields being 1,066,533 oz., as compared with 886,416 oz. for 1881. The amount of wool locally produced was 84,711,791 lbs., valued at 4,792,084*l.* The imports during 1882 amounted to 18,784,081*l.*, and the exports to 16,193,579*l.*, whilst the railway receipts for the year ending June 30, 1883, came to nearly 2,000,000*l.*

*New South Wales.*—The General Election at the close of 1882 had resulted, as was anticipated, very unfavourably for the Government, and consequently, as soon as Parliament met and the Speaker had been elected, the Ministry resigned. The Governor (Lord A. Loftus) then entrusted Mr. Alexander Stuart with the formation of a new Cabinet, and Parliament at once re-assembled (January 17). The Governor in his speech on the occasion congratulated the Colony on its continued prosperity and the flourishing state of its finances. The revenue was steadily increasing, and had already exceeded the estimates given by the Treasurer in the preceding November by 258,000*l.*, and the surplus thus obtained would be applicable to cover appropriations for various public services. The Governor also announced that Bills would be introduced to authorise the creation and issue of consolidated stock, to establish high schools, and to introduce a comprehensive measure of land reform. Mr. Dibbs, the Colonial Treasurer, in producing his Budget, brought down the figures to the end of 1883, and after providing for all present and contingent liabilities started the new year with a surplus of 1,846,238*l.* This surplus was the result of selling land, and of selling it faster than the proceeds could be spent. The incoming Government, however, pledged to a change in the land policy, had already stopped the auction sales of rural land, involving thereby a reduction of 1,000,000*l.* in the annual revenue. Mr. Dibbs, therefore, refrained from proposing any change in the fiscal system (although his predecessor had intended to abolish many of the small and comparatively unremunerative duties) on the ground that, looking at his diminished land revenue, it would be better to leave the existing taxes as they were. Moreover, as the surplus did not exist as cash in the bank, but had been advanced to the loan fund for the construction of railways, it would be necessary to receive from the Railway Department such portion of it as might be required for the current service of the year. In other words, a railway loan of about 1,000,000*l.* would have to be floated to admit of the amount borrowed from the revenue account being returned. By way of satisfying the public creditor that he might go on lending to the Government for the present for railway construction without any anxiety, Mr. Dibbs stated that the railways in the Colony had been valued at 25,000,000*l.*, at which price they could be sold to a syndicate of capitalists, if it were the policy of the Government to dispose of its interests, so that the whole of the national debt (18,000,000*l.*) could be extinguished, leaving a net surplus of 7,000,000*l.* In addition to the security afforded by railways, there was owing to the Government, from conditional purchasers of land in the Colony, a balance of about 12,000,000*l.*, for the payment of which every new work undertaken would be an additional guarantee. In the face of such facts as these, Mr. Dibbs thought the charge that the Colony was undertaking liabilities without either a wise provision for their discharge or a sufficient justification for

increasing them was not to be sustained; and as an encouragement for the future, he added, that in 1881 the tonnage of ships entering the port of Sydney, exclusive of the coasting service, exceeded the tonnage entering the port of London fifty years before.

As in Victoria so in this Colony, there was a general feeling of regret that the British Cabinet had declined to endorse the action of Queensland in annexing New Guinea. It was certain that if the latter passed into the hands of a foreign Power the people of New South Wales would have to bear a permanent war tax, besides the risk of having more escaped convicts landing from foreign settlements. Opinion among the Australian Colonies as to the importance of New Guinea not being annexed by any foreign Power was so unanimous that the policy of federation was seriously discussed, with the result that towards the close of the year an Intercolonial Conference met at Sydney, to consider the question. It was resolved (December 7) that a Federal Council should be formed, to deal with matters in which united action might be desirable. A Bill was accordingly prepared for the constitution of this Council, which the Imperial Government would be requested to introduce and carry through next session. It proposed that each Colony should be represented by two members, and the Crown Colonies by one. There were to be yearly sessions, and any three of the Colonies would be competent to summon an extra session. The first session was to be held at Hobart Town, and convened by the Governor of Tasmania. The summoning of subsequent sessions would be determined by the Council. This body would be invested with legislative authority with regard to the relations of the Colonies with the Pacific Islanders, the prevention of the influx of criminals, marriage, divorce, fisheries, naturalisation, enforcement of criminal process, extradition, colonial defences, quarantine, patents, copyright, bills of exchange, and other matters. The royal assent would be necessary to give effect to any decision arrived at by the Council, and would be given through the Governor of the Colony where the Council was in Session. The Act was only to be operative in the Colonies which assented to its provisions, and would not have force until four of the Colonies had signified their adhesion to the Bill.

Public works were pushed forward with great vigour, more particularly railways; and by the autumn 1,300 miles had been opened for traffic, and 548 more were in course of construction. A popular fête was held (June 14) at Aldbury, the border town of New South Wales and Victoria, to celebrate the completion of the direct railway between Sydney and Melbourne, and a banquet under the auspices of the Governors of both Colonies, and to which 1,000 invitations were issued, passed off with great *éclat*. About the same time the Macquarrie Lighthouse at the South Head was finished, and handed over to the Government authorities.

The rabbit invasion continued to be a source of unabated trouble, and such hordes crossed the border into South Australia that the Minister of Lands from the latter Colony was sent to Melbourne to confer with the Governor on the subject. Later on an Act was passed by which the Governor was authorised to appoint inspectors, who might enter Crown or private lands at all reasonable hours, for the purpose of destroying rabbits, or might require the owners of private lands to destroy them, under penalty for neglect. Anybody who had a live rabbit in his possession rendered himself liable to a penalty of 100*l.*, or six months' imprisonment, and no one was allowed to capture or kill any animal that was a natural enemy of the rabbit. Another pest turned up in this Colony in the prickly pear. It was introduced about ten years previously as a garden ornament, and had become such a nuisance in many districts that the Legislature was asked to pass an Act of Parliament providing for its destruction.

*South Australia.*—The Colonial Treasurer, in his financial statement in the House of Assembly (July 27), estimated the revenue for 1883-84 at 2,330,000*l.*, inclusive of the proposed property tax, which was expected to yield 160,000*l.* The revenue for the preceding year amounted to 2,090,000*l.* He asked for a vote of 40,000*l.* to encourage immigration, and announced the intention of the Government to connect the railway system of the Colony with that of Victoria. The discovery of a fine, well-watered country in the northern territory revived the hope that the enormous tracts which have for so long remained neglected would become available for agricultural and pastoral uses. Arrangements were made early in the year to determine the Australian longitudes with exactness, and the boundary between this Colony and Queensland was clearly defined.

*Queensland.*—Public interest in Europe no less than in the Pacific centre in this Colony, on account of its forward action in the policy of Colonial annexation. Rumours had for some time been industriously circulated that a foreign Power—what Power was not specified—was prepared to undertake the colonisation of New Guinea; thereupon the Queensland Government hurriedly despatched a police magistrate to take formal possession of the island in the name of the Queen, pending the decision of the Imperial Government. The English Cabinet, however, having assured itself that there had been no truth in the rumour, wrote back to the Governor disapproving of what had been done, and declining the proposed annexation in the absence of sufficient proof of the necessity of such a measure. This decision gave great disappointment throughout Australia, for opinion was pretty general as to the necessity of securing the island; and during the summer it was stated in the Legislative Assembly that the Government would leave nothing undone to give effect to the wishes of the Australian Colonies in the matter. In July the Executive Council adopted a

Memorandum, which was forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, urging the Home Government to reconsider their determination, and inviting them to take measures with a view to providing federal government for Australia. All the Australian Colonies accepted invitations to attend a conference to be held at Melbourne, as to the annexation of New Guinea and the other islands in the Pacific. This Intercolonial Conference was subsequently held at Sydney, in November, and a series of resolutions of the highest importance was adopted; not only calling upon the mother country to annex New Guinea and the New Hebrides, but to forbid any further extensions of non-English power in the Pacific south of the Equator. (*Vide also page 398.*)

In August the Government was defeated on the question of a transcontinental railway connecting Brisbane with Point Parker. An English syndicate had obtained the consent of the Premier (Sir T. McIlwraith) to their terms for constructing this railway. These terms, however, on examination, showed that the syndicate was not only to be paid in cash for the actual cost involved, but was to receive, in addition, land to the estimated value of twelve millions sterling. The Colonial Parliament, without hesitation, refused to sanction the scheme, and on the defeat of the Government Parliament was dissolved. The elections which followed were against the Ministry, which then resigned, and Mr. Griffith became Premier and Colonial Secretary. The census of 1881 showed what a disparity there still was between the numbers of men and women in this, the youngest of the Australian Colonies. There were 38,861 unmarried adult males to but 5,290 unmarried females. Of the women, 86 per cent. were married; of the men, only 46 per cent. The Colony was still face to face with the labour question, and, seeing no other solution, the authorities sent an agent to China to obtain labourers, and were prepared to pay the 10*l.* poll tax now required on the landing of every Asiatic or African alien.

*Tasmania.*—This Colony continued to make satisfactory progress, and, owing to its recently developed mining wealth, has reached a very prosperous condition. With the surplus funds at the disposal of the Government, Hobart and Launceston have been to a great extent rebuilt, and but for the dearth of labour (the supply being lower than at any time since the outbreak of the Victorian gold fever) the colony promises well for the future. Some large nuggets of gold were found at the Rocky Mountains during the spring, the largest weighing 25 lbs. Parliament was opened on July 24 by the Governor, Sir J. C. Strahan, who congratulated the Legislature upon the prosperity of the country, and announced that it had been decided to appoint a Tasmanian Agent-General in London. On August 1 the Colonial Treasurer delivered his financial statement. He expected the financial year 1884 to commence with a probable surplus of 51,375*l.* The receipts he estimated at 572,378*l.*, and the expenditure at 503,531*l.*, leaving an

available balance of 68,847*l.*, which, added to the surplus at the beginning of the year, amounts to 120,222*l.* He proposed a further remission of taxation on the ordinary necessities of life, in the hope of getting a "free breakfast table" for the working classes. The Government proposed a large expenditure on public works for the current year; 719,000*l.* was to be spent on railways, 9,000*l.* on roads and bridges, and 50,000*l.* on public buildings and other works.

*Fiji.*—The sugar industry has greatly developed in this Colony. The mills are at work, and those being constructed indicated that capital was being invested in the Colony. The labour question excited attention early in the year, for, whilst land and money were plentiful, the supply of bone and muscle was limited. Planters were hesitating between Polynesians, who spent their money freely, and so contributed to the revenue and to the maintenance of store-keepers, and Indian coolies, who, while less liable to small-pox, spent next to nothing, and put by all their earnings. The transfer of the seat of Government from Levuka to Suva gave a great impetus to the growth of the latter place, and levelling, road-making, and house-building are going on in every direction. The revenue of this Colony has now reached a total of 90,000*l.* per annum, and its population consists of 110,000 natives, 2,500 Europeans, and labourers from India, &c. Towards the end of the year the Colonists of Fiji sent home a petition to the Queen, asking for the incorporation of the Colony with one of the Australian Colonies, or, in case they should become federated, that it may be constituted an integral portion of federated Australia.

*New Zealand.*—Shortly after the arrival of the new Governor, Sir W. C. Jervois, at Wellington (January 20), the Minister for Native Affairs announced the intention of the Government to throw open the King's country, partly for the construction of public works and partly to enable the Government to have access to their own blocks of land near Mokon, such a step being equally advantageous to Maoris and Europeans. This act was followed by a further indication of the Government policy. The Maori king, accompanied by several leading chiefs and about fifty followers, paid a visit to Auckland, where he was cordially welcomed by the citizens, and received with marks of attention by the Prime Minister (Mr. Hall). A general amnesty was shortly afterwards issued by the Government in respect of all offences of a political kind, or connected with the Waikato war. Te Whiti and Te Kooti were released, the latter giving assurances that he would never again cause any trouble. The Colonial Treasurer's financial statement in the Legislative Assembly showed that the revenue for the year, to March 31, 1883, including the credit balance up to March 31, 1882, amounted to 3,670,000*l.*, being 76,750*l.* above the estimate. The expenditure, including 270,000*l.* devoted to the Sinking Fund of the public debt, was 3,640,000*l.*, being 55,750*l.* below the Estimate. The surplus was 35,500*l.*, exclusive of 85,750*l.* the

credit balance from the Land Fund account. The amount appropriated for public works had been 1,810,000*l.*, and the actual expenditure only 897,000*l.*, the Public Works Fund showing an unexpended balance of 1,020,000*l.* The public debt amounted to 30,400,000*l.* on March 31, and the Sinking Fund to 2,500,000*l.* The Treasurer said the business of the Government Life Insurance Department continued to be very satisfactory, the Colonial industries were rapidly developing, and, although trade was partially depressed, a return of prosperity was assured. He estimated the revenue for 1883-84, including the balance up to March 31, at 3,610,000*l.*; and the expenditure at 3,662,000*l.*, showing a deficit of 52,000*l.*, which he proposed to meet by increasing the property tax one farthing in the pound. This, he expected, would realise 85,000*l.*, and so effect a surplus of about 32,000*l.*, which would be devoted to the construction of roads and bridges. Like the Australian Colonies, the New Zealand Government gave much attention to its means of self-defence, and among the purchases were four formidable steel torpedo boats, built in England. As a curious development of protective policy of the Colonies, it may be mentioned that, though the South Island produces corn in abundance, while the staple product of the North Island is timber, each is protected against the other. To keep foreign corn out of the North Island a duty of one shilling per 100 lbs. on grain and flour is imposed; and to restrict the importation of timber to South Island, a duty of two shillings per 100 ft. is enforced.

PART II.  
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS  
IN 1883.

JANUARY.

1. On the Cambrian Railway, near Barmouth, a serious accident was occasioned by the fall of some of the overhanging roadway upon the metals. A train running into the obstruction was upset, the engine and tender rolling over the precipice on to the rocky shore of Cardigan Bay, about fifty feet below. The engine driver and stoker were killed, but the other passengers escaped with severe bruises, the carriages, although overturned, not falling over the cliff side.

2. Disastrous floods reported from various parts of Central Europe. The Rhine in many places had swept away its embankments, making between Wesel and Emmerich a lake five miles in breadth. Higher up the stream, from Baale to Bingen, villages were submerged, and the plains were covered with water. Houses were washed away on the banks of Main, the Neckar, and other tributaries, whilst on the Danube the whole of the lower parts of the city of Vienna were submerged, the floods extending from Passau to Pesth. In France the Doubs, the Saône, and the Seine rose to an extraordinary height, inflicting enormous damage, and rendering thousands homeless.

— Three Emergency men having been attacked by an armed party at Upper Cross, Tipperary, closed with their assailants, of whom one was shot dead, and some others wounded.

3. The removal of the lantern tower of Peterborough Cathedral commenced in consequence of the alarming report of the architects appointed to examine the cracks which had recently appeared in parts of the building. The tower, which was 150 feet high, rose over the centre of the building, and its fall would probably have involved the total destruction of the Cathedral. The cost of the removal was estimated at 40,000*l*.

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3. The course of the Rhone, as well as the railroad between Collonges and Bellegarde, blocked by a landslip, which at one time threatened to produce the most serious consequences. The Rhone at this point runs through a rocky gorge, bounded on one side by a spur of the Jura, on which is built the Fort de l'Ecluse, and on the other by the precipice of Mount Vuache. The railroad, before entering the great Credo tunnel, passes through a short one below the fort. At 4.30 a.m. a mass of earth fell from the mountain above the smaller tunnel, and completely blocked the course of the Rhone. At noon the tunnel itself fell in with a report that was heard for miles. The water gathered behind the barriers with frightful rapidity; but a few hours after the second landslip the dam was burst through, and the danger averted.

5. In 1882 the number of emigrants, including foreigners, who left English ports was 413,288, an increase on 1881 of 20,774. Those of British and Irish origin were 279,366, an increase of 36,364. The favourite destination continued to be the United States, which absorbed 153,435; British North America, 34,344; Australasia, 31,465; and other parts, 9,523.

6. The funeral of Gambetta celebrated with great pomp in Paris. The body, which for two days had lain in state at the Palais Bourbon, was conveyed to the cemetery of Père la Chaise, attended by a cortège over two miles in length. Funeral orations were delivered by the President of the Chambers, M. Henri Martin, and representatives of the Ministry, the Senate, the Press, the Army, &c. The coffin, pending its removal to the family grave at Nice, was placed in a vault belonging to the Paris Municipality. A bag filled with Lorraine earth sent from Metz, bearing the inscription, *Lotharingia memor, violata non domita*, was placed on the coffin.

— Marshal Polk, State Treasurer of Tennessee, arrested at San Antonio, Texas, on the charge of having absconded with State funds valued at from 600,000 dollars to four millions.

7. A collision took place at the mouth of the Mersey, between the steamships *Kirby Hall* and *City of Brussels*, resulting in the loss of the latter vessel and ten lives. The *City of Brussels*, one of the Inman line, running between Liverpool and New York, had arrived in the Mersey early in the morning; but in consequence of the dense fog, lay under steam close to the light-ship. In spite of the precaution of fog-horns, steam-whistles, and bells, she was suddenly struck by a large steamer on the starboard bow, which proved to be the new Hall liner *Kirby Hall*, arriving from Glasgow on her first voyage. The *City of Brussels* began to sink rapidly, and in twenty minutes after being struck went down with a lurch. Two passengers and eight of the crew, including the second officer, were lost, the boats having the greatest difficulty, on account of the fog, in finding those floating about the wreck.

— Two young girls, in the service of the Independent minister at Gosport, found dead in their beds. It transpired that a flue of the heating apparatus of the chapel adjoining passed up the wall of the house, and some of the bedroom paper had been torn away, thus admitting the fumes of the stove.

8. Sir Charles Dilke re-elected for Chelsea without opposition, on his appointment as President of the Local Government Board.

9. The town of Raab, in Hungary, a centre of the grain trade, greatly

devastated by the floods. Upwards of 10,000 persons in the district were rendered homeless; 400 houses were altogether swept away. The Danube overflowed its dykes near Kourdin, flooding the country for miles, and the Theiss and the Waag, as well as the Raab, were swollen by the floods to an alarming extent.

— The colours of the 71st Highlanders, which had been captured at Buenos Ayres in 1806, restored to the regiment. An Englishman settled at Buenos Ayres had obtained possession of them and had retained them for many years. On his deathbed he desired that they might be sent to the Duke of Cambridge.

10. Newhall House, the chief hotel of Milwaukee, totally destroyed by fire in the course of a couple of hours. Of the 100 persons sleeping in the building, upwards of ninety lost their lives, some by burning, others in leaping from the upper stories. The fire was believed to be an act of incendiarism, and the bar-keeper was arrested and accused of the crime, but was eventually acquitted.

11. The Royal Courts of Justice used for the first time for the public sittings of the various Courts. In consequence of the assizes fourteen of the judges were absent, so no official ceremony took place beyond a few words from the Lord Chief Justice (Coleridge) to the bar.

12. At Rome 125 persons arrested on charges of high treason and revolutionary manoeuvres. Papers containing accounts of Oberdank's life and "martyrdom" were found in great numbers.

13. The body of M. Gambetta, having, as it passed through Dijon, Mâcon, Lyons, Avignon, and Marseilles, been received with imposing honours, arrived at Nice, where at noon the funeral ceremony was performed with great pomp. M. Gambetta was interred in the family vault, beside his mother and aunt.

— The Prince of Wales, accompanied by his two sons and the Dukes of Edinburgh and Cambridge, unveiled the statue of the late Prince Imperial (Napoleon), erected in the grounds of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. The statue, executed by Count Gleichen, was the outcome of a public subscription from the ranks of the army, over 20,000 persons having contributed.

— The Dublin police, acting upon secret information, surrounded a number of houses occupied by suspected persons, and carried off fifteen to be examined before the Secret Inquiry Committee at the Castle. The prisoners were charged with being concerned in a plot to murder the more active members of the Dublin police.

— The birth of the eldest son (second child) of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught took place at Windsor.

— At Berditzcheff, a town of Russian Poland, in the government of Kieff, while a performance was being given in a circus, a fire broke out. The building in a few minutes was a mass of flames, and 1,300 persons perished.

— At Constantinople a brawl took place within the Yildiz-Kiosh, the residence of the Sultan, between the Albanian and Circassian guards—the old and the new body guard—the object of the former, it was said, having

been to assassinate the Sultan. No details were allowed to transpire, and the number of men killed within the palace was variously given from fifteen to one hundred.

14. A fire broke out at Planter's Hotel, St. Louis, in which three lives were lost, and much property destroyed.

15. A convict, under sentence of fifteen years' penal servitude, escaped from Portsea prison by making a hole in the ceiling of his cell, and sliding down a water-pipe into a court outside the prison walls.

— Patrick Higgins, aged 60, convicted of murdering Lord Ardilaun's two bailiffs, and throwing their remains into Lough Mask, executed at Galway.

-- In the City a fire broke out in a house in Windsor Street, let in small tenements to numerous lodgers. Five persons were burned to death, and four injured in jumping from the second floor windows.

— Springs of mineral oil discovered in Elm Colliery, Buckley, Flintshire.

17. A strike of guards, engine drivers, and other *employés* on the Caledonian Railway, commenced, and gradually extended over the various districts through which the company's lines extended. The objects aimed at were limitation of the ordinary day's work to nine hours, augmentation of over-time pay, and re-arrangement of Sunday duty.

— At the request of Mr. Sackville-West, H. B. M. Minister at Washington, a portrait of Thomas West, third Lord Delaware (after whom the Delaware River was named), was presented by the British Consul to the city of Philadelphia. The ceremony took place in the presence of almost the entire consular body.

— Lord Derby received at the Colonial office the agents accredited by the seven great Colonial Dependencies. Sir Alexander Galt, the Canadian Commissioner, congratulated, on behalf of his colleagues, Lord Derby on his return to the Colonial office.

18. The Holy League, a Russian secret society, dissolved. It had been founded under official patronage by Count Paul Schouvaloff, and others, with the object of beating the Nihilists by counter-plotting and counter-mining, and protecting the Czar's life from assassination.

19. Appointment announced of the Rev. Canon Wilkinson, of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, to the Bishopric of Truro; and of Rev. Archdeacon Lewis, of Lampeter, to the Bishopric of Llandaff.

— At Muiden, near Amsterdam, the explosion of a private gunpowder manufactory unroofed nearly every house in the town; and window frames at distance of six or eight miles were broken by the shock. About forty lives were lost and enormous damage done.

-- The mail steamer *Cymbric*, from Hamburg to New York, with a crew of 110 hands and 380 passengers, principally emigrants, run into (in a fog) by the British steamer *Sultan*, from Hull. The collision took place near the island of Borkum, near the mouth of the Elbe. The *Cymbric* sunk almost immediately, and upwards of 400 lives were lost.

20. The Southern Pacific train from San Francisco to New York met with a serious accident shortly after reaching the summit of the Sierra Nevada. From some unexplained cause the train began to back, and the

breaks being unable to hold it, it ran down the track for about five miles, when it rolled over the embankment fifteen feet high. The whole train, excepting two cars, which ran on two miles further, fell in a heap and at once took fire, and nearly 30 persons were either burned to death or very seriously injured.

Twenty-one persons arrested in Dublin, brought up before the magistrates on the charge of conspiring to murder Government officials. The testimony of an "approver" named Farrell, revealing the secret history of the organisation, alone occupied the Court.

— At Glasgow an explosion took place at the gasworks which supply the southern part of the town, doing much damage to the neighbouring houses ; and a little later in the evening, an attempt was made to blow up the Keppoch Hill bridge, an aqueduct conveying the Frith and Clyde canal. The canister by which this was to be effected was found by a gunner of the Royal Artillery ; he and his four companions were wounded by the explosion of the canister they had unearthed.

21. At Rome an International Fine Arts Exhibition opened with great state by the King and Queen of Italy.

22. The Ex-Empress Eugénie suddenly left London for Paris, where she remained about six-and-thirty hours at the Hotel du Rhin, and visited the chief members of the Bonaparte family.

23. Official statistics published showing the number of Quakers in the United Kingdom to be 17,977, in addition to whom were 5,790 regular attendants at Friends' Meeting Houses, but not in full membership. The body was represented in Parliament by ten members.

24. The lowering, prior to the removal, of the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington at Hyde Park Corner commenced. The statue was erected on September 30, 1846.

— The election at Mallow resulted in the return of the Nationalist candidate, Mr. O'Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, by 161 votes against 80 given to Mr. Naish, the newly appointed Solicitor-General.

— Bank rate of discount reduced, after a period of eighteen weeks, from 5 to 4 per cent. The reserve of coin stood at 12,377,065*l.*—being a proportion of 44½ per cent. to the liabilities.

— The silver wedding of the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia (Princess Royal of England) celebrated at Berlin ; but in consequence of the recent death of Prince Charles of Prussia the Court festivities and public fêtes were postponed.

26. A duel took place at St. Germain, near Paris, between Aurélien Scholl, the journalist, and Dr. Fontaine, in consequence of the latter having rudely insulted the former in a café. The duel was with swords, and Dr. Fontaine was slightly wounded.

27. A portion of the remains of the Spanish hero, El Cid, and his wife Ximena, which in some unexplained manner had been transported to Sigmaringen, in Germany, by a M. de Salm-dyk, restored by Prince Charles of Hohenzollern. The ceremony took place at Madrid, when King Alphonso, surrounded by his Court and the representatives of the province of Castille,

received the urn, pending its restoration to the cathedral of Burgos or the church of Cordova, where the sepulchre of the Cid is shown.

28. Captain Mayet, a Frenchman, who for two months had been making balloon ascents from the Retiro Gardens, Madrid, met with a fatal accident. The balloon, a Montgolfier, was a large one, and considered perfectly safe. In consequence of the high wind, Captain Mayet had to descend rather hurriedly and, falling on a populous suburb of the city, got entangled in the housetops, and the Frenchman was thrown down into the street below and killed.

## FEBRUARY.

1. The *Kenmure Castle*, on her voyage from Shields to China, foundered during a gale in the Bay of Biscay. Before getting clear of the Channel her steering gear had been destroyed, and later on the saloon was crushed and carried away; the passengers escaping in their nightdresses to the engine-room. Finding the stoke-hole filling with water, a boat was got ready, into which eight persons scrambled; but almost immediately the ship sank with thirty or forty souls on board. For three days the boat was tossed about, the passengers being without food, and with little clothing. On the evening of the third day they were picked up by a passing ship and conveyed to Boulogne.

2. The inquiry into charges of conspiracy at Dublin resumed, when eight of the prisoners in custody were charged with having murdered Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in May 1882.

— An accident occurred on a railway in Hungary, constructed on the plan of the Righi line. A train of twelve loaded coal trucks was going up the hill, when the teeth of the engine broke, and the train began to fall back, and with increasing speed rushed down the valley, where it was dashed to pieces—seven women being killed and as many workmen seriously injured.

— Representative teams of the Cambridge University and London La Crosse Clubs met for the first time at Willesden Green—the latter being ultimately victorious by three goals to one.

— Two gamekeepers murdered by poachers early in the evening, at Harelaw, near Pool, Glasgow, Renfrewshire.

— Disastrous floods occurred in various parts of the United States; Ohio, Indiana, and Western Pennsylvania especially suffering. Many large towns were inundated, notably Cleveland (Ohio) and Bradford (Penns.), and throughout the country cattle and live stock were swept away by the freshets in large numbers.

5. Lord Elcho succeeded to the vacancy created in East Lothian by his father's succession to the Earldom of Wemyss. His opponent Mr. Finlay, the Liberal candidate, polled 400 votes, to 492 given to Lord Elcho.

— The work of clearing away the Law Courts adjoining Westminster Hall commenced. The materials, fittings, etc. having been previously sold by public action.

9. Prince Napoleon brought before the *Chambre des mises en Accusation*, which at once decided that there were no grounds for the prosecution. The Prince was immediately set at liberty.

10. Miss Booth and her companion, Miss Charlesworth, expelled from the canton of Geneva; Miss Booth, for not producing an account of a collection made at a Salvation meeting in December, and Miss Charlesworth because she was not furnished with the written authority of her parents to reside in the canton, and because after being examined for three hours on Saturday *in camera* she objected on conscientious grounds to undergo a second examination on Sunday.

12. Great floods prevailed over nearly the whole of England, especially in the midland and southern counties. Windsor Castle was the centre of a district wholly covered by water, communication by road being impossible, and by railway much impeded. All round the coast severe storms were reported, and great damage done to shipping, harbours, and sea-coast towns.

— Mr. John Bright, M.P., presided at the opening of the new Infirmary, Rochdale, the gift of Mr. Thos. Watson to that town.

15. Bank rate reduced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; the stock of bullion being 22,605,922*l.*, the total reserve 13,287,882*l.*, and its proportion to liabilities 45 per cent.

— Parliament assembled and opened by Royal Commission.

17. Serious floods reported in various parts of the United States. The Ohio rose to an unprecedented height, carrying destruction in its course 60,000 people being deprived of shelter. Along the entire course of the Mississippi similar devastation occurred.

18. The embalmed body of Richard Wagner, which had been brought from Venice to Bayreuth, interred in the tomb built by Wagner himself in the grounds of his villa Wahnfried. The enormous funeral procession opened with the Bayreuth fire brigade, with their bright helmets craped, followed by the funeral heralds, the band of the 7th Infantry, and one after the other the numerous deputations, carrying wreaths. Behind them came the carriages, carrying a pile of wreaths, and then the hearse, accompanied by the whole of the clergy of the city. The pall was borne by eight of Wagner's most intimate friends. The coffin was followed by his son Siegfried, as principal mourner, and the aides-de-camp representing the King of Bavaria.

21. According to a Parliamentary paper, the volunteer forces enrolled at the close of 1882 were 207,336, of whom 199,374 were efficient; 5,692 officers (328 of whom had passed examinations in tactics) and 1,129 sergeants had earned the extra grant for proficiency, and 177,878 had been present at inspections. The efficient of each arm were, Light Horse, 210; Artillery, 36,591; Engineers, 8,551; Mounted Rifles, 38; and Rifles, 153,984.

22. The heart of Pius IX. solemnly deposited in the vaults below St. Peter's, and permanently placed in a marble urn close to the tomb of the Stuarts.

23. A violent explosion heard at Ganshorten, near Brussels, and a man named Métayer found in a ditch mortally injured by the explosion of a bomb

he had in his pocket. A companion named Cyvoet was subsequently arrested and afterwards extradited at the demand of the French Government for connection with anarchist plots at Lyons, both men having been condemned by default in France.

— At the Missouri Penitentiary, Jefferson city, where 1,400 convicts were undergoing sentence, a mutiny broke out, and the ringleader, named Johnson, set fire to the buildings. When the warders rushed to put out the flames, the convicts cut the hose. The alarm-bell was rung, and the male population of the town at once formed a cordon round the burning prison. The majority of the convicts (1,150) surrendered almost at once; but Johnson and some others endeavoured to force their way out, and were captured. Several prisoners were burnt, and many hurt in attempting to escape; others, however, assisted in extinguishing the flames.

24. Mr. John Morley, for many years editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, and more recently of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Macmillan's Magazine*, elected member (Radical) for Newcastle-on-Tyne by 9,443 votes, against 7,187 given to Mr. Gainsford Bruce, Q. C., the Conservative candidate.

— Mr. Harrington, whilst undergoing a sentence of imprisonment for an inflammatory speech, elected without opposition for the county Westmeath.

25. A daughter born to the Duchess of Albany at Windsor Castle.

— A desperate attempt made near Cornamona (near the scene of the murder of the two Huddys) to murder another of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs, named Flynn.

26. The petition against the election of Mr. Coleridge Kinnaird for Salisbury dismissed. The chief charge against him was the employment of 78 voters and 136 non-voters as agents, in an election where he polled only 955 votes.

27. A bomb, charged with gunpowder, thrown into the courtyard of the Austrian ambassador's palace at Rome.

28. Colonel King-Harman, a Conservative, returned for Dublin County by 2,514 votes, against 1,428 polled by Mr. McMahon, the Parnellite candidate. At Portarlington Mr. Frank Brewster, a Conservative, received 70 votes, against 57 given to Town-Councillor Mayne, who stood as a Nationalist.

## MARCH.

1. Bank rate reduced to 3 per cent.

— The festivities of the silver wedding of the Crown Prince of Prussia and the Princess Royal of England, interrupted five weeks previously by the death of the Emperor's brother, Prince Charles, celebrated with full splendour. Amid the processions of the Troubadours and the Queen of Love in the White Palace at Berlin, one gay pageant was especially in honour of the Princess—the Court of “the High, Mighty, and Magnificent Empress, Queen Elizabeth.”

— Baron Nordenskjöld, as chief of the *Vega* expedition, claimed of the States-General of Holland the 25,000 fl. offered by that body in 1506 for the discovery of a north-east route to China.

2. Cantonal Government of Geneva rejected Miss Booth's appeal against summary expulsion of herself and Miss Charlesworth, on the ground that



she was the hierarchical head of the Salvation Army in Switzerland ; and, as such, responsible for its acts, which were destructive of public order and peace.

3. Dr. Benson " confirmed " at Bow Church, Cheapside, as Archbishop of Canterbury ; the Bishops of London and of the principal dioceses of the southern province acting as Queen's Commissioners on the occasion.

5. Foote, the editor of the *Freethinker* newspaper, convicted at the Old Bailey of the publication of blasphemy, sentenced by Mr. Justice North to one year's imprisonment with hard labour ; Ramsey, the publisher, and Kemp, the printer of the publication, respectively sentenced to nine and three months' imprisonment. At the previous trial, the jury having been unable to agree upon their verdict, were discharged ; and Mr. Justice North ordered the case to be retried again at once, with a fresh panel.

6. Wrotham Park, Barnet, a seat of the Earl of Strafford, totally destroyed by fire ; the pictures, plate, and much of the furniture being saved. The house was built by Admiral Byng in 1754, from designs by Ware.

9. The judgment of the Court of Appeal, in the case of *Robarts v. the City Corporation*, although technically adverse to the ex-Remembrancer, was morally a decision in his favour. Mr. Robarts succeeded in vindicating himself and in eliciting strong judicial disapprobation of the conduct of the Corporation. The judgment was a distinct censure upon the unfair way in which the Common Council had pretended to adjudicate upon the vague charges circulated against Mr. Robarts without affording him any adequate opportunity of refuting them. The Common Council having called upon the Remembrancer to resign, had a week later displaced him under a standing order as to annual election never before so enforced, and now made no other defence than that by this order the tenure of office had ceased by effluxion of time. The Master of the Rolls (Sir G. Jessel) held that, " in good sense and honesty," Mr. Robarts's tenure of his office was during good conduct, condemned the proceedings of the Common Council by which that tenure was discontinued, but admitted the validity and application of the order as to yearly election. Mr. Robarts's contention that the case was one of dismissal was therefore declared by the court to be untenable.

10. Colonel Gerard Smith (Liberal) returned for Wycombe by 1,105 votes, against 557 polled by Major Carson, the Conservative candidate.

14. Sir Robert Phillimore, after sixteen years' service as Judge of the Admiralty Court and Dean of the Arches, took his leave of the bar.

— The " Drink Bill of the United Kingdom," as made out by Mr. Hoyle, showed the following figures :—

	1882.	1881.
British spirits . . . . .	£28,554,264	£28,780,719
Foreign spirits . . . . .	9,950,425	9,954,318
Wine . . . . .	12,988,154	14,080,281
Beer . . . . .	73,258,516	72,809,142
British wines, estimated . . . . .	1,500,000	1,500,000
	<u>£126,251,359</u>	<u>£127,074,460</u>

In 1880 the total was 122,279,275*l.* ; 1879, 128,143,863*l.* ; 1878, 142,188,900*l.* ; 1877, 142,007,231*l.* ; 1876, 147,288,759*l.* In 1876 the expenditure per head was 4*l.* 9*s.* ; in 1880, 3*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* ; in 1881, 3*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* ; and in 1882, 3*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*

15. A room in the office of the Local Government Board, Whitehall, completely wrecked by the explosion of a quantity of nitro-glycerine, placed inside the balustrade of one of the windows. No lives were lost, but the explosion shattered much glass in the neighbourhood. About the same time (9 P.M.) a vessel filled with the same explosive, and with a fuse attached, was found in close proximity to the *Times* printing-office.

— Contrary to custom, the University boat-race rowed (Thursday) in the evening. The names and weights of the crews were as follows :—

OXFORD.		CAMBRIDGE.	
	st. lb.		st. lb.
1. G. C. Bourne, New (bow)	10 11½	1. R. C. Gridley, Third Trin.	
2. R. S. de Havilland, Corpus	11 4	(bow)	10 7
3. G. S. Fort, Hertford	12 0	2. F. W. Fox, First Trinity	12 2
4. E. L. Puxley, Bras-nose	12 6½	3. C. W. Moore, Christ's	11 13
5. D. H. Maclean, New	13 2	4. P. W. Atkin, Jesus	12 1
6. A. R. Paterson, New Inn		5. F. E. Churchill, Third Trin.	13 4
Hall	13 1	6. S. Swann, Trinity Hall	12 1½
7. G. Q. Roberts, Hertford	11 1	7. S. Fairbairn, Jesus	13 4
L. R. West, New Inn Hall		F. C. Meyrick, Trinity Hall	
(stroke)	11 0	(stroke)	11 7
E. H. Lyon, Hertford (cox.)	8 1	P. L. Hunt, Cavendish (cox.)	8 1

At 5.40 P.M. a wretched start was made, the Oxford getting slightly the advantage in the scramble. West led off with 42 strokes to the minute, and at the fourth or fifth stroke quickly drew his boat away, although Meyrick, the Cambridge stroke, was rowing 40 to the minute. At the London Boat-club's boathouse they were three-quarters of a length ahead, and this was increased to a length at the Craven Steps, which were reached in 2 minutes 29 seconds. Here a snowstorm, which had long threatened, burst forth, and the rest of the race was rowed against blinding snow. Rounding Craven Point the rowing of the Oxonians became slightly irregular; while, as a set-off, the steering of the Cambridge coxswain here became very erratic. At the Crab Tree, a little more than a mile from the start, there was a clear length between the boats; but shortly before Hammersmith Suspension-bridge a spurt on the part of the Cambridge boat gave it some advantage, though it was full in the wash of the leading boat. At the bridge, which was reached in 8 minutes 9 seconds, Oxford was nearly three lengths in front. Another spurt off Chiswick Eyot was made by the Cantabs. In Corney Reach, however, the Oxonians got together again, and both crews settling down to their normal strokes of 36 for Cambridge and 35 for Oxford it was seen that Oxford still drew away. Barnes railway-bridge was reached in 17 minutes 32 seconds, with more than two clear lengths between the boats. Cambridge, though struggling courageously to the last, were beaten at the Ship by four boat-lengths; the time of the winning boat being 21 minutes 18 seconds.

16. Forest City, California, totally destroyed by fire. Seventy-six buildings of importance were burnt, hundreds of people rendered homeless, and property to a large amount consumed.

— According to an official return the phylloxera had destroyed nearly 2,000,000 acres of vines in France, and 1,500,000 acres more had been attacked, and more or less affected in their yield. About 50,000 acres had within the last year or two been replanted, and the young vines doused with sulphate of carbon, while 20,000 acres newly planted were protected by sub-

mersion ; 40,000 acres more were planted with American vines. Seventeen fresh districts were invaded during the year 1882.

17. At Windsor Castle, the Queen slipped upon some stairs, and falling sprained her knee. Although at first regarded as of but slight importance, the accident was the source of much pain and inconvenience to Her Majesty for many weeks.

19. At a meeting of the Privy Council, Lord Carlingford took his place as Lord President, in succession to Earl Spencer.

— Railway collision outside Glasgow station, resulting in the death of four persons, and serious injuries to twelve others.

20. The eruption of Mount Etna assumed serious proportions. An earthquake at Catania was followed by fresh shocks and the opening of eleven fresh fissures in the side of the mountain at a height of about 3,500 feet, and lava issued, but soon ceased to flow. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages, however, passed the night in the fields. The trees in the threatened districts were hung with offerings and wax candles devoted to patron saints. There had been no eruption on the southern flank of the mountain, until the present one, since 1792.

24. At St. Paul's Cathedral, during the afternoon service, George Campion, a "maker of agricultural implements," after the singing of the anthem, rushed up the choir, leapt upon the Communion Table, and flung down the cross and candlesticks. He was brought up before the city justices and sentenced to a fine of 5*l.*, which was paid for him by a sympathetic friend.

27. At Miskolcz, in Hungary, an earthquake was felt. The audience in the theatre were seized with panic and rushed out, and many were injured.

— The town of Miragoane, in the island of Hayti, seized by the Mulatto revolutionists without opposition, most of the able-bodied men joining the insurgents ; and, in a subsequent attack by the Government troops, were defeated with severe loss.

28. Judge Lawson passed sentence on twelve members of the Irish "Patriotic Brotherhood," condemning ten of them to ten years' penal servitude, and the others to seven and five years' each, "for conspiring to overthrow the Queen's authority in Ireland and to murder various owners of land."

— The fourth centenary of Raphael's birth celebrated at Rome. In the morning there was a procession from the Capitol to the Pantheon, where a bronze bust of the painter was unveiled. In the afternoon there was a further commemoration in the hall of the Horatii and Curatii on the Capitol, at which the King and Queen were present. The Duke Ripaldi reopened the Farnesina Palace, which had been closed for many years, and thousands streamed in to look at Raphael's frescoes. In the evening there were illuminations. Similar festivities took place at Urbino, Raphael's birthplace.

— At the Birmingham Quarter Sessions, James Hartwell, alias "Meth-ratton, the great seer of England," alias "Anna Ross, the seeress of New York," who claimed to be descended from Lord Lovel, was charged with defrauding numerous women by selling them love-charms and spells. A young woman deposed to paying prisoner different sums of money in order to gain

“ a wealthy Adonis and live happy ever afterwards.” He was sentenced to nine months’ imprisonment as a rogue and vagabond.

29. Enthronement of the Primate in Canterbury Cathedral.

— At Liverpool, two men named Deasy and Flanagan arrested and charged with having in their possession explosive compounds, with the intent to commit a felony. Deasy had arrived by the steamer from Cork, bringing as his luggage a package containing a large quantity of liquid dynamite.

30. Accounts received of serious raids in New Mexico and Arizona by the Apache Indians. In the latter territory a United States Judge and his wife, and seven inhabitants, were murdered, and as many in New Mexican settlements.

— The Warsaw Forest Academy closed, and 109 students expelled for insubordination.

31. Sentries posted at the New Law Courts, Somerset House, and many other public buildings, hitherto unguarded by soldiers.

— The remains of Professor Palmer, Captain Gill, R.N., and Lieutenant Charrington, R.N., who were murdered by Arabs during the Egyptian campaign, landed at Portsmouth. The remains, which were discovered in the desert of Tih, by Captain Warren, R.E., were carefully collected, brought to this country, and subsequently interred in St. Paul’s Cathedral.

## APRIL.

2. Princess Maria de la Paz, Infanta of Spain, and second sister of the King, married in the Chapel Royal, Madrid, to Prince Louis of Bavaria.

— A letter from Rome to the *Times* described the results of the excavations at the Forum. “The orator’s platform, the Rostra (forming three sides of an oblong 78 ft. by 43 ft. 6 in.) is open to view ; and its construction of huge blocks of tufa resting on a foundation of travertine points to it as the original Rostra, to which the beaks of the galleys taken at Antium, B.C. 338, were affixed. The holes running through the wall still remain in which the metal stanchions were inserted that supported the beaks. Its position is to the right of the Arch of Severus and somewhat to the front. At the other end of the Forum is the Rostra Julia, which in later times superseded the ancient platform. Documents and drawings, moreover, discovered by Signor Lanciani point to the conclusion that the ancient edifice converted into a Christian Basilica by Pope Honorius I., and dedicated to S. Adriano A.D. 630, was no other than the Curia, or rather the more important part of it. While S. Adriano was the Senate Chamber proper—that is, the hall in which the senators met—the Curia buildings covered the whole of the space from the south-east side-wall of S. Adriano to the north-side wall of Santa Martina and included both those edifices. The Via Bonella now passes between the two churches.”

4. At Nice, the pier promenade, on the eve of its completion, totally destroyed by fire.

— At Berlin, the National Theatre, the largest in the capital, took fire from the sparks of a chimney, and, notwithstanding the iron curtain and use of incombustible scenery, was totally destroyed.

5. The first of a series of arrests in connection with the dynamite plot in London, made at an hotel in Southampton Street, Strand. The prisoner, who gave the name of Norman, subsequently turned Queen's evidence. The others arrested were Albert Whitehead, at Birmingham, Henry Dalton, *alias* O'Connor, Dr. Gallagher and his brother Bernard Gallagher, William Ansburch, and others who gave foreign names.

— According to the *Daily News*, arrangements for protecting the Houses of Parliament by military force, when nearly completed, were abandoned at the instigation of the Speaker.

— Large tracts of country, bordering on the Vistula, inundated, forcing the inhabitants to take refuge in Dantzic. The military, unable to break the ice at the mouth of the river by means of artillery, at length succeeded by the use of steamers.

6. The House of Lords accepted the Government proposal to refer the scheme of a Channel Tunnel to a Committee of both Houses.

7. At Vallorbes, a thriving village on the slopes of the Jura, a fire broke out in a baker's shop, and in less than an hour 12,000 out of the 20,000 inhabitants of the place were houseless. The breeze which was blowing carried the flames from cottage to cottage; and on one side of the stream which divides the village, every building, public and private, was destroyed.

9. Conrad, a German, who had murdered his wife and four children, beheaded at Berlin, inside the gaol, the Emperor having been advised not to commute his sentence.

— Mr. Justice Fry appointed Lord Justice of Appeal, in succession to Sir Baliol Brett, promoted to be Master of the Rolls; and Mr. A. L. Smith, of the South-Eastern Circuit, appointed to succeed Mr. Justice Fry.

— Mr. Clarke's action to recover 500*l.* penalty from Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P., for voting without having taken the prescribed oath, dismissed with costs by the House of Lords.

10. The tercentenary of the birth of Hugo de Groot (Grotius); the committee proceeded to his birthplace (Delft), and a wreath was laid on his tomb in the old church, and an oration pronounced by the acting president of the committee, M. Cremers.

— The trial of the "Invincibles" charged with the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. T. H. Burke, commenced at Dublin. Twenty prisoners were arraigned, and the five principal accused—Brady, Kelly, Caffrey, Curley, and Fitzharris, were tried separately.

11. In 1882, 193,687 German subjects emigrated, chiefly to the United States. Of these Prussia sent out 116,000, Bavaria 12,000, and Saxony and Würtemberg each 7,000. The total number of emigrants from 1871 to 1882 was 999,385, of whom 951,704 went to the United States.

12. Specie payments resumed throughout Italy, after a suspension of over twenty years.

— Spanga, the Italian suspected of the murder of Herr von Majlath, arrested at Presburg. On being apprehended, he fired several shots from a revolver at himself, inflicting a serious wound in the face. He was subsequently removed to Pesth. He confessed to knowing the three men

arrested, but denied having been present at the murder, and said he fled from Pesth because he had robbed a doctor's house there.

13. The railway connecting Tiflis and Baku opened for traffic, thus bringing the Caspian into direct communication with the Black Sea ports of Batoum and Poti.

— The *Court Circular* announced that the effects of the sprain from which the Queen had been suffering for some weeks, were still so severe as to prevent her walking or even standing for more than a few seconds.

14. Mr. C. Bradlaugh, M.P., who had been prosecuted at the instance of Sir Henry Tyler, for complicity in the publication of the *Freethinker*, acquitted of all share in the transaction; Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, in his charge to the jury, laying down his interpretation of the laws against blasphemy.

16. Heavy snowstorm reported from Scotland, the Grampians being covered with snow from base to summit.

— A serious fire occurred, involving the destruction of the premises belonging to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., in Paternoster Square. The fire is supposed to have originated at an old hostelry in Newgate Street, "The Cat and Salutation" tavern, from which it extended on all sides, destroying property estimated at 150,000*l.*, whilst some of the losses at the publishers' were wholly irreparable.

— A telegram announced that the Governor of Queensland had sent a police officer (or magistrate) across the Torres Straits and annexed New Guinea (the largest island in the world) to the British Crown.

17. Seventeen prisoners, tried at St. Petersburg for political offences, received sentences. Five of them, accused of being participators in attempts on the lives of the two Emperors and General Strelnikoff, were condemned to be hanged: two to hard labour in the mines for life for organising insurrection among the peasantry; and the remainder for various terms of imprisonment and enforced labour.

18. The Prince of Bulgaria arrived at Constantinople and received by the Sultan with great distinction.

19. Statue of Lord Beaconsfield, by Raggi, erected in Parliament Square, unveiled by Sir Stafford Northcote, accompanied by the Marquess of Salisbury and principal members of the Conservative party.

— Parliament House, Quebec, totally destroyed by fire, the origin of which was unknown. The buildings were of recent date, having been erected to replace a previous edifice also destroyed by fire in 1854.

— Monsignor Perraud, Bishop of Autun, received member of the French Academy, in succession to M. Auguste Barbier. He was welcomed to the body by M. Camille Rousset.

— The members of the dynamite conspiracy arrested in London and Birmingham, brought up at the Bow Street Police Court, and charged with being in possession of a quantity of explosives with intent to commit a felony.

20. The Charter of the Royal College of Music received the Queen's approval in Council at Osborne.

23. In the case of *Bradlaugh v. Newdegate*, M.P., Lord Justice Coleridge

decided that an action for maintenance would lie against Mr. Newdegate for making himself responsible for the costs to be incurred by Mr. Clarke in his action for recovering 500*l.* penalty from Mr. Bradlaugh for voting in Parliament.

— H.R.H. the Duke of Albany laid the foundation stone of the new buildings of the Birkbeck Literary and Scientific Institute, in Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

25. A meeting under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, held at the Mansion House, in support of the scheme for the extension of University Teaching. The principal speakers were Right Honourable W. E. Forster, M.P., Sir Lyon Playfair, M.P., Right Honourable J. G. Goschen, M.P., Lord George Hamilton, M.P., Lord Reay, and Professor Stuart, of Cambridge.

— The Irish Land League Convention opened its sittings at Philadelphia. Messrs. Patrick Egan, James Mooney, John Derry, &c., were among the members present. The section headed by O'Donovan Rossa held meetings apart.

26. Two deputations, one from the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, and the other from the Associated Chamber of Commerce, waited on Lord Granville to urge that the Government should give its direct aid to the cutting of another canal in the East.

27. The navigation of the Neva formally opened by the Commander of the Peter and Paul fortress.

— The *Gazette* contained a Queen's proclamation establishing the order of the "Royal Red Cross," a decoration for nurses who devote themselves to the care of the sick and wounded of the Army and Navy.

28. Meeting held at Croydon to stimulate local zeal for the preservation of the old archiepiscopal palace, at present used as a school, but of which the lease was about to expire.

30. The newly-appointed Bishops of Llandaff (Archdeacon Lewis) and Truro (Dr. Wilkinson) did homage at Osborne.

## MAY.

1. According to a return published in the *Guardian* it appeared that in London and the suburbs vestments were used in thirty-seven churches as against the same number in 1882; incense in ten, as against the same number; altar-lights in sixty-four as against fifty-nine, and the eastward position in 304 as against 270. The number of churches in which altar-lights and the eastward position were used was greater than it had ever been, but in 1876 incense was used in eight churches in which it had since been discontinued.

— Bishop of Llandaff enthroned at his cathedral by the Bishop of Dover in his capacity of Archdeacon of Canterbury.

— The new road connecting Hamilton and Grosvenor Places thrown open for public use. The cost of this improvement, which necessitated the

throwing back of the triumphal arch at the top of Constitution Hill, was about 28,000*l.*

— The International Exhibition of Amsterdam, especially intended to display colonial products, opened with great ceremony by the King of Holland.

2. The National Liberal Club, inaugurated by a banquet at the Aquarium, at which Mr. Gladstone, Earl Granville, and Mr. John Morley, M.P., were the principal speakers.

3. At the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, a fire broke out just as the guests of the Royal Caledonian Ball were leaving. The Grand Lodge Room and Temple were destroyed, as were also the portraits of the Grand Masters since 1775.

4. Lord Dufferin left Egypt, having handed to Sherif Pasha his report on the condition of the country.

5. A dreadful explosion took place at the shell factory at Priddy's Hard, near Portsmouth Harbour. Some men were engaged in filling shells, and it is supposed that by some means a fuse must have become ignited. The building was destroyed, and of the seven men at work six were either killed on the spot or died shortly afterwards.

6. Guion steamer *Alaska* arrived at New York (Sandy Hook) in 6 days 23 hours, 48 minutes after leaving Queenstown, the shortest passage (westwards) on record.

7. The Royal College of Music at Kensington Gore opened by the Prince of Wales, when the director, Mr. George Grove, announced that 100,000*l.* had been raised and fifty scholarships founded, of which fifteen were to provide for the maintenance as well as future instruction of scholars. Mr. Grove, Mr. George Macfarren, and Mr. Arthur Sullivan received the honour of knighthood on the occasion. The building had originally been erected by Sir Charles Freake for the National Training School of Music, and by him was presented to the Royal College of Music.

9. The town of Croydon received a royal charter of incorporation.

— Presiding at a breakfast at Exeter Hall "General" Booth stated that the total marketable value of the Salvation Army's property was more than 150,000*l.*, and that the mortgages on it did not exceed 46,000*l.*

10. Bank rate of discount raised to 4 per cent., the cash and bullion standing at 20,548,298*l.*, and the reserve at 10,307,183*l.*, leaving a proportion of 33½ per cent. to the liabilities.

— New Central Fish Market, adjoining the Smithfield Meat Market, erected by the Corporation of the City of London at a cost of 28,000*l.*, formally opened by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs. The new market was intended to relieve the pressure of traffic upon Billingsgate.

12. The Fisheries Exhibition at the Horticultural Gardens, Kensington, opened in great state by the Prince of Wales on behalf of the Queen.

13. The foreign fisher-girls and those from Newhaven who had taken part in the opening ceremony of the Fisheries Exhibition, received at Marlborough House by the Princess of Wales. The Prince and Princess, with the young Princes and Princesses, and Prince Henry of the Netherlands,



went out on the lawn to meet the visitors, with whom they talked for some time. The fisher-folk were afterwards entertained in the servants'-hall, and then taken in carriages, provided by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, to the Zoological Gardens, where they met fifty of the Irish fishermen. The whole party were subsequently taken to the house of the Baroness in Piccadilly.

14. A terrible accident occurred at Lockerbie, where the main line of the Caledonian Railway is joined by the branch running by Dumfries and Newton Stewart to Stranraer and Portpatrick, on the western coast of Wigtonshire. At half-past eleven a goods train from Carlisle had finished its shunting operations at Lockerbie, and was moving out of the station northwards, when an express from Stranraer plunged into it, knocking over some of the trucks and fouling the line. Almost immediately after the collision the down train from Glasgow and Edinburgh came up and dashed into the *mêlée* at the rate of fifty miles an hour. This train was composed of about a dozen carriages of various kinds, for London, Manchester, and Liverpool, and was drawn by two powerful engines. When the leading engine reached the middle of the station it left the rails and dashed into the platform, tearing away first of all about twenty yards of the wooden platform. It next ploughed into the portion of the platform which is built of solid masonry, and broke the flagging and stonework into shapeless *débris* for a distance of forty yards further. It then fell upon its side, but continued working and throwing out steam. The driver and the fireman were killed on the spot. The second engine maintained its position on the rails eighty or ninety yards further, but wrought a terrible amount of destruction. One side of the express was stripped almost from end to end by coming in contact with the disabled trucks of the goods train on the up line. First-class carriages, third-class, composites, and sleeping-saloons had all shared the same fate. In some, the whole of one side was torn off completely, seats were broken and dislocated, and all around lay strewn splintered panels, broken glass, doors of carriages smashed into long strips; here and there a pair of wheels of a dismembered truck or pieces of torn or twisted iron helped to make a picture of ruin seldom paralleled. The express had been very full of passengers, many of whom were returning from home for Whitsun holidays, and how so many escaped injury is extraordinary. Only two passengers were actually killed, but a very large number were seriously injured.

15. Particulars published of a small company, under the chairmanship of the Duke of Marlborough, formed to survey a rival route to the Suez Canal—a waterway through Palestine from Acre to the head of the Gulf of Akabah. The company proposed to make a canal 200 feet wide and forty feet deep, from Haifa, in the Bay of Acre, through the plain of Jezreel to the valley of the Jordan, a distance of twenty-five miles. Another canal would be cut from the head of the Gulf of Akabah to the Dead Sea, of which the level is many hundred feet below that of the two open seas to be connected. If, however, the two canals could be successfully carried out, an inland sea about 200 miles long, varying in width from three to ten miles, and deep enough to float vessels of the largest size, would connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, and 300 square miles of country, chiefly desert, would be submerged.

17. The session of the old Catholic Synod held at Zurich under the

presidency of Bishop Herzog, who reported the cause in the Bernese Jura to be almost lost. Nearly every congregation of that district have returned to Roman Catholicism. In Luzern, Geneva, and Aargau the prospects were more satisfactory.

17. At Bonn the synod of the Old Catholics, under Bishop Reinkens, was but sparsely attended, and much disappointment expressed at the hostility shown to the movement in Germany and France.

18. Cyclones burst over large districts of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Missouri. Houses were destroyed, and many waggons were swept into Lake Michigan, over which were raised spiral columns of water. Eighty-three persons are reported to have been killed and 340 injured.

19. Heavy rains and the melting of the snow on the mountains led to the occurrence of serious floods in Dakota, washing away the greater part of Anchor City and Golden Gate, above Deadwood, and sweeping away all houses in Deadwood on the lower levels. Timely telegraph warning was given, but several lives were lost, and \$700,000 worth of property was destroyed.

20. The "Cook" tavern in Fleet Street, a well-known and song-celebrated resort, dating from the time of Charles I., sold for 3,100*l.*, the purchaser covenanting to expend 5,000*l.* on the building.

21. The Czar of Russia made his State entry into the city of Moscow and took up his residence at the Kremlin.

22. King and Queen of Portugal arrived at Madrid on a visit to the Spanish Royal family, and received in great state, and much popular enthusiasm.

— The "Derby" stakes at Epsom won by Sir F. Johnstone's *St. Blaise*, by Hermit—Fusee (C. Wood), defeating the favourite, Lord Falmouth's *Galliard* (placed 3rd), and a field of eleven starters. Time, 2 minutes 48 seconds 2-5ths.

23. The remains of Isabella, Queen of Denmark, sister of the Emperor Charles V., who died at Ghent, in 1526, disinterred and transmitted to Denmark at the request of the King.

— Brooklyn Bridge over the East River, connecting New York with Brooklyn, opened with great ceremonial in the presence of President Arthur and the Federal and State officials. The bridge is the largest suspension bridge in the world, being 5,980 ft., or upwards of a mile long over all; the main span is 1,595½ ft., and the land spans between the two towers and the anchorages 930 ft. each. The towers are 271½ ft. above the water, 104 ft. by 59 ft. at the bottom, and 136 ft. by 53 ft. at the top. The roadway is 85 ft. wide, 119 ft. above the water at the rise from the towers, and 135 ft. at the centre. It is divided into five avenues, the two outside for vehicles, the two-inner for tram-cars, and the middle one, 12 ft. above the rest, for foot-passengers. The whole cost, including the land required, was originally estimated at \$10,800,000, but has reached \$15,500,000, owing to changes in the plans involving an increase of height and the substitution of steel for iron in the cables and superstructure. One hundred thousand persons passed over on foot in the first twelve hours.

— The Epsom Grand Prize for three year olds (value of stakes 3,837*l.*)

won by Prince Soltykoff's Padlock (Rossiter) 8 st. 3 lb., 1½ mile. Time, 2 min. 3 sec. 1-5th; eight started.

25. According to a House of Commons return of the churches, chapels, and buildings registered for religious worship in England and Wales, there were:—churches and chapels in which marriages are solemnised according to the rites of the Established Church, 14,573. Places of worship certified under Acts 15 and 16 Vict., c. 36, and 18 and 19 Vict., c. 81:—Presbyterians: Church of Scotland, 6; United Presbyterians, 7; Presbyterian Church in England, 57; Presbyterian Church of England, 201; Independents, 2,603; Baptists, 2,243; Moravians, 34; Roman Catholics, 824; Society of Friends, 375; Unitarians, 124; Wesleyans, 6,469; New Connexion, 290; Primitive Methodists, 3,825; Bible Christians, 495; United Methodist Free Church, 1,230; other Wesleyan Methodists, 66; Calvinistic Methodists, 895; Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, 35; New Jerusalem Church, 39; Catholic Apostolic Church, 47; Latter Day Saints, 47; Jews, 60; all others, 1,371; total, 21,343. According to Mr. Mann's religious census there were, in 1851, 14,077 churches, and 20,390 other places of worship.

— The London Corporation, in pursuance of a petition by the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and councillors, made an order directing that "all issues or inquiries at *Nisi Prius* which would otherwise be tried and executed within the county of the city of London shall for ever hereafter be tried and executed at the new Courts of Justice."

The Oaks Stakes at Epsom (value 3,475*l.*), won by Lord Rosebery's Bonnie Jean, by Macaroni—Bonnie Agnes (J. Watts), defeating the favourite Captain Machell's Rookery, and a field of fourteen starters. Time, 2 min. 53 sec.

26. The "Queen's Birthday Gazette" contained the list of the first recipients of the Royal Red Cross, instituted under the warrant of April 23. The names comprised those of the Princess of Wales, the Crown Princess of Prussia, Viscountess Strangford, Miss Nightingale, and many members of Catholic and Protestant sisterhoods devoted to nursing.

27. The Empress Eugénie had a narrow escape as she was returning from the North Camp Roman Catholic church at Aldershot. One of the horses began to plunge and the other horse also became very restive, and at length one of the animals got his hind leg over the carriage pole. With the aid of some passers-by the Ex-Empress was extricated from her dangerous position and walked home with her attendants.

— The coronation of the Czar and Czarina took place at Moscow, amidst general enthusiasm, and accompanied by the most gorgeous ceremonials, religious, civil, and military; all the crowned heads of Europe being represented by members of their families, and the majority of the tributary princes attending in person. The whole proceedings lasted a fortnight.

28. Disturbances took place at St. Petersburg on the occasion of the promulgation of the Imperial ukase defining the limits of the reforms and benefits accorded by the Czar on his coronation.

29. A meeting attended by 280 members of the Liberal party held at the Foreign Office, to hear from Mr. Gladstone a statement regarding the state of public business and the prospects of legislation during the session; whilst a meeting of the Conservative party took place at the same time at the

Carlton Club to consider the attitude to be adopted towards the Agricultural Holdings Bill.

30. Mr. Justice Barry appointed to the Irish Court of Appeal in the place of Lord Justice Deasy, deceased.

31. The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland debated at great length the instrumental music question. Principal Rainy moved a resolution in favour of granting liberty to congregations in the matter. Sir H. Moncrieff, who proposed a resolution for delay, was supported by the Begg party and the Highlanders. The discussion was continued until eleven at night, and it resulted in a majority of 390 to 259 in favour of Principal Rainy's proposal.

## JUNE.

1. In Illinois, a site upon Lake Michigan, near Greenbay City, having been given by a layman, every parish of the diocese was permitted to own a lot of land, on condition of erecting on it a cottage for its clergyman and family to occupy during the excessive heat of the summer. The name given to the place was Anapauma.

2. A medallion portrait of Garibaldi, presented to the Duke of Sutherland by the Italian residents in London, unveiled at Stafford House, where it was affixed on a memorial tablet. Mr. Gladstone paid an eloquent tribute to the character and career of Garibaldi.

3. Grand Prix de Paris won by Duc de Castries' Frontin (English bred), defeating St. Blaise, the winner of the Derby, by half a neck, and six others. Time, 3 min. 20 sec.

— Two vessels heavily laden with fresh herrings having arrived early in the morning at Strome Ferry, Ross-shire, it was deemed desirable, considering the heat of the weather, to despatch them at once to the southern markets. The railway officials commenced the work of transferring the fish from the boats, but were violently interrupted by the fishermen. Several encounters took place, in all of which the fishermen, being much the most numerous party, came off victors. Constables were telegraphed for, and they arrived by special train from Dingwall. They charged the mob repeatedly, but were invariably driven back, and at length they returned to Dingwall. In the affrays several persons were injured, and subsequently arrests were made and the Sabbatarian rioters committed for trial, convicted, and finally imprisoned.

5. A direct train (*le train éclair*), performing the journey from Paris to Constantinople in 80 hours, despatched from Paris for the first time, accompanied almost throughout its route by a severe thunderstorm. Accommodation for eating, sleeping, and dressing was provided in the cars.

7. A return issued, which showed that fifty-eight deaths had occurred in 1882 in the metropolitan district upon which coroners' juries returned a verdict of death from starvation. Twenty-three occurred in the central division of Middlesex, twenty-eight in the eastern, and three in the western, one in Westminster, and three in Greenwich.

— The despatch boat *Lively*, having on board the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the wrongs of the Skye crofters, struck on the Chicken Rock, about five miles from Stornoway. All efforts to get her afloat were ineffectual and she was ultimately abandoned.

8. About midnight a French aeronaut, L'Hoste, started from Boulogne with the intention of crossing the Channel. The balloon took at first a south-easterly course, but soon changed for a south-westerly one, and descended at Dunkirk early on the following morning. Starting after breakfast the aeronaut soon found himself caught by a storm wave. His limbs were benumbed with cold, and the gusts of wind at times nearly blew him out of the car. With difficulty he made the balloon descend and found himself in the midst of a thick fog. After a while the balloon lost its buoyancy and fell into the sea, where it was picked up by a lugger and M. L'Hoste was conveyed in safety to Antwerp.

— Ascot race meeting concluded. The principal events resulted thus :—

Prince of Wales's Stakes.—Lord Falmouth's Galliard, 3 yrs., 9 st. 1 lb., 2 min. 52½ sec., 1¼ mile. Seven ran.

Ascot Stakes.—Mr. Jardine's Ishmael, 5 yrs., 7 st. 10 lbs., 3 min. 41 sec., 2 miles. Seven ran.

Gold Vase.—Mr. Johnstone's Border Minstrel, 3 yrs., 7 st. 8 lbs., 3 min. 45 sec., 2 miles. Six ran.

Hunt Cup.—Mr. Gerard's Elzevir, 3 yrs., 7 st. 5 lbs., 1 mile. Twenty-two ran.

Orange Cup.—Mr. R. Peck's Barcaldine, 5 yrs., 9 st. 7 lbs., 3 miles. Three ran.

Gold Cup.—Mr. Lefevre's Tristan, 5 yrs., 9 st. 4 lbs., 2½ miles. Four ran.

Hardwicke Stakes.—Mr. Lefevre's Tristan, 5 yrs., 9 st. 12 lbs., 2 min. 37½ sec. 1¼ mile. Nine ran.

Alexandra Plate.—Duke of Beaufort's Faugh-a-Ballagh, 4 yrs., 9 st., 5 min. 24½ sec., 3 miles. Four ran.

9. Collision took place at a short distance from Calais between the mail packet *Wave* and a French barque. A passenger on board the former was killed by a falling mast and several others injured. A thick fog prevailed at the time.

— Severe thunderstorms reported from the midland and northern counties. Old Hall, Lumley near Durham, the Post-office, Christchurch, Hants, and Llandinab's Church, Ross, struck by lightning. The steeple of Painswick Church (near Stroud), 173 feet high, was also struck, and, falling through the belfry tower, did great damage but occasioned no loss of life.

11. Second reading of the Bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister carried in the House of Lords by 165 against 158.

— Mr. Alderman Roe returned without opposition as member for Derby in the place of Mr. M. T. Bass, resigned.

— Tamatave, chief port on the east coast of Madagascar, bombarded by the French for two hours, and subsequently occupied without resistance on the part of the Hovas.

12. Mr. Bright arrived at Birmingham to receive the congratulations of the constituency he had represented for twenty-five years. It was estimated that half a million of people were present along the line of procession.

— With reference to the fifth anniversary of the Berlin Conference, the *Times* correspondent at Paris furnishes the following personal recollections.

“Lord Beaconsfield,” he said, “arrived in Berlin at nine in the evening. At ten o'clock he was at Prince Bismarck's. Suddenly the Prince said, ‘Let us speak of business. What have you come for, peace or war?’ ‘Peace first,’ replied the Earl, without hesitation, ‘and war afterwards, if I cannot have peace as I understand it. I am ready for either.’ Thence-

forward the Chancellor could gauge what England wanted ; and it may be added that Lord Beaconsfield did not yield an inch except on the question of Batoum. . . . The Congress met on the 13th, and on the 18th the Russian Plenipotentiaries found that their instructions did not allow them to make the concessions demanded by England as to Turkey's right of fortifying and garrisoning the crests of the Balkans. The sittings were suspended till the 22nd. On the morning of Friday, the 21st, no arrangement had been come to. Beaconsfield engaged a special train for Monday morning. His intention was to reach London on Tuesday, to go to Windsor on Wednesday, and to meet Parliament on Thursday with a declaration of war. At 3.40 Prince Bismarck called on him—for he was confined to his room. On entering Bismarck asked Mr. Corry to let him know when it was 3.55. The conversation turned on Lord Beaconsfield's health. 'The work of the Congress is tiring you,' said Bismarck. 'No,' replied Beaconsfield, 'it is time that is tiring me.' 'I hope,' returned the Chancellor, 'you will have pleasant recollections of your reception here. We are rather unpolished but good at bottom.' 'Oh,' replied Beaconsfield, 'I shall take away the best impressions of my short stay. I have found nothing but courtesy and goodwill. I have just this minute been told that, notwithstanding all difficulties, a special train will be ready for me on Monday morning.' The Chancellor gave a start, and at that moment a message was brought him that it was 3.55. Beaconsfield, who did not know the reason of this message, frowned. The Chancellor rose, saying, 'Then this is your *ultimatum*, is it?' 'Quite so,' replied Beaconsfield, endeavouring not to reveal his emotion by his voice. Bismarck left. He knew what he wanted to know. Through some mysterious leakage, the rumour at the same time spread that the sitting of the 22nd could not be held. It was the break-up of the Congress. The Chancellor went direct to Gortschakoff, found Schouvaloff also there, and two hours afterwards Lord Beaconsfield learned that the representatives of Austria, Russia, and England were to confer at the English Embassy. Gortschakoff, angry and vanquished, did not attend it. At eleven o'clock the special train was countermanded, and at midnight a telegram to the *Times* stated that the Balkan and Bulgarian question was settled. 'There is still a Turkey in Europe,' exclaimed Bismarck, on learning the result."

Since the signing of the Berlin Treaty five of the plenipotentiaries had died, Mehemet Ali, Herr von Bülow, Baron Haymerle, Prince Gortschakoff, and the Earl of Beaconsfield.

14. A trial lasting four days at the Central Criminal Court, before the Lord Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Justice Grove, and a jury concluded. Thomas Gallagher, 33, described as a physician ; Henry Wilson, 22, clerk ; John Curtin, 34, engineer ; William Ansburgh, 21, no occupation ; Alfred Whitehead, 23, painter ; and Bernard Gallagher, 29, iron moulder, were indicted for treason felony, and for being concerned in the dynamite conspiracy. T. Gallagher, the brain of the conspiracy, Whitehead, the manufacturer of the explosives, Wilson and Curtin, their active assistants, were found guilty, and were each sentenced to penal servitude for life. Ansburgh and Bernard Gallagher, against whom the evidence was faint, were acquitted, and, as the Crown decided not to prosecute them for any minor offence, they were discharged. The prisoners were not indicted under the statute of treason of Edward III., but under the Treason-Felony Act of 1848, which was intended to clear up some uncer-

tainties and to substitute in certain instances a milder sentence for offenders who were deemed too contemptible to be executed. Another conspirator, named Lynch, had turned Queen's evidence, and mainly contributed to the unravelling of the plot. The prisoners were charged with conspiring to "levy war;" Dr. Gallagher had, it was said, never purposed to "levy war," even if he entertained any criminal intentions. It was contended that to constitute the offence armed force must be arrayed against armed force, the might of the rebel must be pitted against the might of the Crown. Lord Coleridge, however, brushed aside the difficulty, such as it was, when he said that the criminal law covered all new as well as old means of carrying on war; and the three Judges (the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Justice Grove) had no hesitation in ruling that if the prisoners had agreed to blow up public buildings with a view to create general terror in the hope of bringing about the independence of Ireland, they were guilty of an offence within the Act. When this point was disposed of, the defence of Dr. Gallagher and Whitehead virtually collapsed. Whitehead had been found in possession of an enormous quantity of nitroglycerine. He had, it was plain, manufactured it in large quantities. Gallagher and the other prisoners had brought to London sufficient explosive matter to do enormous damage. Putting the informer Lynch's evidence out of the question, there was enough in the admitted facts to satisfy a jury that some of the prisoners had come to London with the deliberate intention of laying a large portion of it in ruins. If any corroboration were needed, it was supplied by the informer, who was initiated in the mysteries of the Fenian Brotherhood in America. The evidence against Wilson and Curtin, who played minor parts in the piece, was not so complete; but their conduct, too, was not easily explicable on any hypothesis of innocence.

15. Upwards of thirty sealing schooners immersed in a heavy ice field in the northern part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

16. At the Victoria Hall, Sunderland, an accident occurred involving the death of 183 children. A conjuror named Fay had been giving a performance for the children, and at its close began to scatter prizes over the hall. The children in the gallery, fearful of losing their share, rose from their seats and hurried down the stairs leading to the body of the hall. There were three flights of steps and the landing. About the middle of the lower landing was a strongly constructed swinging-door, about five feet wide, with a bolt which can be let down into a hole in the floor, so as to keep it ajar to the extent of twenty-two inches. The object of this arrangement is, of course, to prevent more than one person from passing the ticket-taker at once. Whether any of the children, when they reached this door, got through it, is not known. It is probable that two attempted to go through the outlet at once, that they stuck in the narrow way, and others pressed upon them from behind, and that perhaps a third was blocked in the opening. The place was then impassable, and while it was so the children, eight or nine hundred strong, came bearing down from the gallery behind them. There was no panic, no alarm, no shout of "Fire!" or "Thieves!" it was simply a rush down to gain the desired presents. The door prevented the egress of any of the children from below, and the hundreds coming fast from the corridors above set up a block on the small landing between the door and the upper flight of steps. Within four yards of this spot there was absolute safety, and hundreds of children stood there in comfort; but the

small, open space intervening between the stairs and the walls and door was a veritable shambles. Children were tumbled head over heels, one on the top of the other. Shrieks and screams vibrated through the staircases. More still pressed down from above. The children at the bottom of the stairs got packed as it were in a well. The heap of writhing and rolling humanity became higher and higher until it rose above the heads of those who were first jammed in the door-way, and became a mass upwards of six feet in height. The fearful struggle in which the children pulled and tore for bare life was all within a space of about twelve feet square, whilst the audience in other parts of the house were entirely ignorant of what was passing, and for a time none of the attendants even suspected anything to have gone amiss.

18. During the excavations at Rome in the small open space behind the apse of the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, near the site of the temple of Isis and Serapis, a small obelisk and a sphinx of basalt discovered.

21. A waterspout descended on Silesia, followed by violent rain, which caused destructive floods. In some places the rain fell uninterruptedly for forty hours. Bridges were swept away, and railway embankments injured to such an extent as to interrupt the traffic. Seven lives were lost. At Glatz and Neisse the water rose 14 feet above the normal level, reaching the highest point since 1829. After the floods had subsided in Silesia, the Elbe rose 7 feet at Dresden.

20. The tennis-court at Versailles opened as a national museum, in memory of the oath taken there by the members of the States-General on June 20, 1789.

— A fire broke out in the Government dockyard at Amsterdam, which destroyed the newly-built man-of-war, *Duyfshank Kortenaar*, and consumed several buildings and an enormous quantity of timber.

22. A general strike of telegraph operators took place throughout the United States, about 17,000 ceasing to work almost simultaneously.

— At Peterborough the vacancy created by the retirement of Mr. Whalley was filled by Mr. Sydney Buxton (Liberal), who polled 1,438 votes, defeating Mr. Fergusson (Conservative), 1,106.

23. Louise Michel, a prominent French Socialist, charged with inciting the people of Paris to insurrection and pillage on March 9, found guilty with extenuating circumstances, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, to be followed by ten years' police supervision.

— Several cases of suspected cholera, having appeared at Damietta, a sanitary cordon was at once drawn round the town, but in spite of all precautions the epidemic invaded the principal towns and villages of Lower Egypt. Almost simultaneously news arrived of the ravages made by yellow fever at Vera Cruz and in the surrounding districts.

— The International Chess Tournament held this year at the Criterion Restaurant, London, concluded after six weeks' duration. The winners and their scores were: Zukertort, 22 games, 300; Steinitz, 19, 175; Blackburne, 16½, 150; Tchigorin, 16, 125; Englisch, 15½, 75; Mackenzie, 15½, 75; Mason, 15½, 75. Baron Kolisch's prize of 25£ for the best score against the prize winners was awarded to Rosenthal, and a consolation prize



of 50l. was divided among the other competitors in proportion to the number of games won by them. Zukertort, a native of Berlin, was a pupil of Anderssen, domiciled in this country since 1872. In 1878 he obtained the first prize at the Paris tournament, and in 1882 at Vienna the fourth prize with the special prize for the best performance against the leading winners.

24. The Tell Chapel, on the Lake of Luzern, which had been restored by the Society of Swiss Artists and decorated with frescoes by M. Stückelberg, formally handed over to the Government of Uri in the presence of delegates of the Confederation and representatives of twenty Cantons.

25. The Prince of Wales presided at Marlborough House over a meeting to consider the foundation of a British School of Archæology and Classical Studies at Athens.

27. The Svir and Siaski Ship Canals connecting the lakes Ladoga and Onega, opened with great ceremony by the Emperor and Empress of Russia.

— The Oxford and Cambridge Cricket Match concluded at Lords with the following result :—

## CAMBRIDGE.

First Innings.	Second Innings.
Mr. J. E. K. Studd, b Bastard . . . . . 26	c Walker, b Robinson . . . . . 4
Mr. C. W. Wright, c Robinson, b Peake . . . . . 102	not out . . . . . 29
Hon. M. B. Hawke, b Page . . . . . 0	
Mr. C. T. Studd, c Kemp, b Peake . . . . . 31	c Kemp, b Bastard . . . . . 1
Hon. J. W. Mansfield, b Peake . . . . . 24	not out . . . . . 0
Mr. P. J. de Paravicini, b Page . . . . . 1	c Page, b Peake . . . . . 20
Mr. P. J. Henery, b Peake . . . . . 1	
Mr. W. N. Roe, b Peake . . . . . 0	
Mr. J. A. Turner, not out . . . . . 13	
Mr. C. A. Smith, b Page . . . . . 3	
Mr. H. G. T. Topham, c Kemp, b Page . . . . . 0	
Byes, 4; 1-b, 10 . . . . . 14	Bye, 1; 1-b, 4 . . . . . 5
Total . . . . . 215	Total . . . . . 59

## OXFORD.

First Innings.	Second Innings.
Mr. J. G. Walker, run out . . . . . 15	b C. T. Studd . . . . . 51
Mr. T. R. Hine-Haycock, b Smith . . . . . 12	c Topham, b Smith . . . . . 24
Mr. C. F. H. Leslie, c Topham, b Smith . . . . . 5	b Smith . . . . . 6
Mr. A. G. Grant-Asher, c Smith, b C. T. Studd . . . . . 0	1-b-w, b Smith . . . . . 19
Mr. M. C. Kemp, b C. T. Studd . . . . . 1	b Smith . . . . . 24
Mr. W. E. T. Bolitho, c Smith, b C. T. Studd . . . . . 1	c Henery, b Smith . . . . . 10
Mr. H. G. Ruggles-Brise, b Smith . . . . . 5	b Smith . . . . . 0
Mr. H. V. Page, run out . . . . . 6	c Turner, b C. T. Studd . . . . . 57
Mr. E. Peake, c Smith, b C. T. Studd . . . . . 0	not out . . . . . 11
Mr. G. E. Robinson, run out . . . . . 3	b C. T. Studd . . . . . 0
Mr. E. W. Bastard, not out . . . . . 1	c Smith, b C. T. Studd . . . . . 5
L-b, 5; n-b, 1 . . . . . 6	B, 5; 1-b, 2; n-b, 1 . . . . . 8
Total . . . . . 55	Total . . . . . 215

Umpires—Lillywhite and Pullen.

28. According to an official return the numbers of matriculated students in the German Universities in the summer term were :—Berlin, 4,062 ; Leipzig, 3,097 ; Munich, 2,295 ; Breslau, 1,659 ; Halle, 1,414 ; Tübingen, 1,373 ; Bonn, 1,165 ; Göttingen, 1,104 ; Würzburg, 1,085 ; Heidelberg, 1,019 ;

Königsberg, 929 ; Marburg, 848 ; Strasburg, 840 ; Freiburg, 823 ; Greifswald, 741 ; Erlangen, 641 ; Jena, 631 ; Kiel, 447 ; Giessen, 464 ; Munster, 328 ; Rostock, 231 ;—an increase on the total of the year 1882 of 1,256. Formerly Leipzig was at the head of all in respect of numbers.

29. A fire broke out at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in a chemical factory, and spread rapidly. The flames burst out on the roof of the celebrated Gothic Town-hall, erected in 1353 on the site of Charlemagne's Palace. Its two ancient towers and roof were totally destroyed, but fortunately the great Coronation Hall with the magnificent frescoes remained uninjured. All the documents and valuable collections were saved. Altogether twenty-five houses were more or less damaged, but no lives were lost.

— Mr. H. B. Ince, Q.C. (Liberal), returned for Hastings, in the place of Mr. O. Murray, by 2,138 votes, defeating the Conservative candidate, Mr. J. H. B. Warner, who polled 2,101 votes.

30. Annual Dinner of the Cobden Club held at the Ship Hotel, Greenwich ; Right Hon. J. Chamberlain presiding.

— Prince and Princess of Wales went to Eastbourne to open the Princess Alice Memorial Hospital, and inaugurate the new Water-works.

— Destructive fire occurred at the coach-building works of Messrs. Kesterton in Long Acre. Whilst directing the firemen to place the hose so as to protect the Queen's Theatre adjoining, Captain Shaw fell from the ladder, and a few minutes afterwards Engineer Port, one of the officers in charge, met with a similar accident. Both were at once conveyed to the hospital, but no serious results ensued.

— Monaghan election resulted in the return of Mr. Healy, the Nationalist candidate, who polled 2,376 votes, against Mr. Monroe (Conservative), 2,011, and Mr. Pringle (Liberal), 274.

## JULY.

1. The Civil List Pensions granted during the year were as follows :— Mr. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, a pension of 150*l.*, in recognition of his valuable contributions to the history of England ; Mrs. Emma Robinson 80*l.*, in recognition of the services of her husband, the late Canon Robinson, in the cause of public education ; Mr. John Hullah, 150*l.*, in recognition of his great services in the advancement of musical education in this country ; Mr. David Wingate, 50*l.*, in consideration of his merit as a poet, and of his narrow means of subsistence ; Mrs. Alma Haas, 80*l.*, in recognition of the position of her late husband, Dr. Haas, as an Oriental scholar, and of his important services in the British Museum ; Mrs. Auguste Marghereta Elizabeth Palmer, 200*l.*, in recognition of the services of her late husband, Professor Palmer, and in view of all the circumstances of the case ; Prince Lucien Louis Bonaparte, 250*l.*, in consideration of his services to literature and learning ; Anna Maria Lady Palliser, 150*l.*, in recognition of the valuable services of her late husband, Sir William Palliser, in the improvement of the manufacture of projectiles and rifled ordnance ; Mrs. Harriette Scott Russell, 90*l.*, in consideration of the high position held by her husband as a naval architect.

2. At Sheffield, during the annual procession of the Band of Hope children, when the streets were most crowded, a dray horse took fright and ran toward the procession. A panic ensued, many children and adults being knocked down and trampled upon. Two children were killed and many seriously injured.

3. The steamer *Daphne*, 500 tons, whilst being launched at Linthouse yard, Glasgow, capsized, and of the 200 men on board 146 were drowned.

— William Johnson, aged 46, a native of Christiansand, arrived at London-bridge from Drontheim, in a boat 24ft. long with 5½ft. beam, and a depth of 2ft. He left on the 1st June, and coasted for about four hundred miles to Stavanger, where he took in water, and after one day's stay, left on the 17th. With a fair wind and smooth sea he managed seven knots an hour. He made Flamborough Head on the 25th. While in the North Sea he experienced a north-easterly gale, and was compelled to lie to sea-anchor for two days. He called in at Lynn, and arrived in the Thames on Monday.

4. Mr. Henry Irving, on the eve of his departure for the United States, entertained at a dinner in St. James's Hall, at which 550 guests were present, and Lord Coleridge presided. Speeches were made by the United States Minister (Mr. Russell Lowell), Professor Tyndall, Mr. Alma Tadema, R. A., Lord Coleridge, and Mr. Irving.

— The King of Saxony, whilst visiting the factory of Herrn Giorgi at Milan, in the Province of Voigtland, narrowly escaped being killed. Whilst ascending in a lift the machinery broke down, and a heavy weight falling on Herr Hübler, the governor of the district, killed him instantaneously, and severely wounded the manager of the factory. The King escaped unhurt.

— A balloon occupied by two aeronauts, a Belgian and a Frenchman, descended at Bromley (Kent), having left Courtrai the previous evening. The balloon had first travelled toward Louvain, when the wind shifted and carried them eastward over Ostend, brought them along the channel past Dover, and finally landed them within sight of London.

5. Mr. Wm. Spottiswoode interred in Westminster Abbey, the site of his grave being to the north of Poets' Corner, near the statue of Dryden.

— Professor Huxley elected President of the Royal Society in succession to Mr. Wm. Spottiswoode.

6. Henley Regatta concluded, no less than eighteen heats having been rowed on the first day. On the second day the wind blew from the Berks shore, and, with this advantage besides that of the bend, the boats on that side were successful in nearly every race. The Grand Challenge Cup was won by London by a length from Twickenham (with four Oxford oars in the boat), Exeter College being half a length behind the latter. Kingston beat Third Trinity by two lengths for the Wyfold Challenge Cup for fours. The Ladies' Challenge Plate was won by Christ Church, who also beat Caius for the Visitors' Challenge Cup. Hereford Cathedral School were successful in the Public Schools Challenge Cup. Lowndes (Twickenham, formerly of Hertford College) won the Diamond Sculls, and Roberts and Brown (of the same clubs) the silver goblets for pairs.

— A Commission appointed by the Municipality of Paris to draw up a catalogue of books for the use of the popular libraries has adopted a resolution

to exclude from this catalogue the Bible, "et tout autre livre de controverse religieuse pouvant, à quelque titre que ce soit, fausser ou passionner l'opinion."

6. A trial began yesterday at Nyregyهاز recalling the legends of the Middle Ages. About a year previously *Herr Puody* alleged in the Hungarian Parliament, as a reason against admitting fugitive Jews, that the crimes laid to the charge of the Jews in former times were still committed, giving as a proof the story of Esther Solymosi, a girl of fourteen, at Tisza-Eszlar, who had been seen to enter the Jewish butcher's house, but no one had seen her afterwards, though seventy-nine days after her mysterious disappearance a body was found in the River Tisza. The deputy declared that it was firmly believed in the whole town that the Jews had murdered the girl in the synagogue, and paid the authorities to hush up the whole affair. It appeared that the only witnesses to the deed were the butcher's two sons, fourteen and five years old respectively, who testified to having seen the murder through the keyhole. Upon this testimony the butcher was arrested and eight other persons, whom the boys declared to have seen in the synagogue while the deed was perpetrated. The Jews not only denied having committed the crime imputed to them, but also any knowledge of a murder of the kind. A proclamation of the Burgomaster warned the people to abstain from demonstrations against the Jews during the trial. Close to this, however, an anti-Semitic pamphlet, stamped with a large black cross, was placarded, and the anti-Semitic members of the Hungarian Diet arrived in a body to be present at the trial.

12. Serious floods reported from Ontario (Canada). Seventeen persons drowned, and enormous destruction of property caused by the sudden rising of the river Thames beyond its highest flood mark.

— Fancy dress ball and entertainment given at the Albert Hall by the Savage Club, attended by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and many members of the Royal family. Thirty members of the club attired as North American Indians acted as a Reception Committee, and performed a variety of ceremonies of the Indian character.

— The Orange demonstrations in Ulster passed off quietly everywhere except at Newry, where a slight disturbance took place, involving no serious consequences.

13. Intelligence received at Berlin, that the Duke Nicholas Constantinovitch, whilst superintending the construction of the Ary Canal, in Turkestan, had been placed under arrest, for having interfered in matters under the control of the governor.

14. The sale of the third portion of the Beckford library by Messrs. Sotheby, extending over twelve days, concluded. The total amount realised was 12,852*l.*, bringing up the total to 35,705*l.*

— National fêtes in honour of the Republic celebrated throughout France. In Paris the colossal statue of the Republic by M. Léopold Morice unveiled. A few isolated attempts by anarchists to interrupt the feeling were suppressed by the populace. At Roubaix only was public order disturbed.

14. The Eton and Harrow cricket match resulted in a draw. The game at the close stood :—

## ETON.—First Innings.

Mr. A. H. Studd, b Grieve . . . . .	64
Mr. F. Thomas, b Young . . . . .	9
Mr. R. H. Pemberton, b Young . . . . .	0
Mr. F. Marchant, b Grieve . . . . .	93
Mr. R. J. Lucas, c Thompson, b Young . . . . .	12
Mr. A. C. Richards, b Grieve . . . . .	13
Mr. J. Hargreaves, c Crawley, b Thompson . . . . .	14
Hon. C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen, b Grieve . . . . .	0
Mr. C. A. Grenfell, b Young . . . . .	19
Mr. H. W. Forster, st Cox, b Hewett . . . . .	6
Hon. A. E. Parker, not out . . . . .	0
N b . . . . .	1
Total . . . . .	231

## HARROW.

First Innings,		Second Innings.	
Mr. F. H. Oates, b Thomas . . . . .	22	not out . . . . .	29
Mr. V. Thomson, run out . . . . .	5		
Mr. C. D. Buxton, b Parker . . . . .	38	c Thomas, b Richards . . . . .	0
Mr. T. Greatorex, not out . . . . .	37	not out . . . . .	40
Mr. H. E. Crawley, c Marchant, b Parker . . . . .	3		
Mr. E. M. Butler, c Hargreaves, b Parker . . . . .	2		
Mr. H. T. Hewett, b Parker . . . . .	1		
Mr. A. F. Daughlish, b Parker . . . . .	0		
Mr. B. A. F. Grieve, b Parker . . . . .	4		
Mr. A. R. Cox, 1 b w, b Parker . . . . .	0		
Mr. W. A. R. Young, b Parker . . . . .	0		
B 5, 1 b 3 . . . . .	8	B 6, w 1 . . . . .	7
Total . . . . .	120	Total . . . . .	76

## 16. Royal Agricultural Society's Show opened at York.

— The match for All England Lawn-Tennis Championship between the brothers W. and E. Renshaw was played on Monday at Wimbledon, before more than 3,000 spectators. E. Renshaw won the first set by six games to two ; then W. Renshaw won the second and third sets each by six games to three ; E. Renshaw won the fourth by six to four, making two sets all. In the last and deciding set, W. Renshaw won four games straight off, then E. Renshaw two games, W. Renshaw the seventh, E. Renshaw the eighth, and the ninth, finishing the match, was won by W. Renshaw.

— A young officer named Vere, whilst playing at lawn tennis at Bedford, suddenly drew a pistol from his pocket, shooting a young lady through the heart, and himself through the head. In both cases death was almost instantaneous.

18. Judicial Committee of the Privy Council refused leave to appeal against the sentence of the Calcutta High Court, committing native editor of the Bengalee newspaper to prison for two months for contempt of Court.

— The foundation stone of the Institute of Science, Art, and Literature at York, laid with full masonic honours by the Prince of Wales.

— The Wexford election resulted in the return of Mr. W. K. Redmond (Nationalist), by 307 votes over the O'Connor Don, who polled only 126, notwithstanding the supposed support of both Liberals and Conservatives.

18. Archbishop of Canterbury presided at a meeting at Willis's Rooms, in support of a scheme to establish intermediate day schools upon Church of England principles.

21. Lord Penzance gave final judgment in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, which had been before the public for about fifteen years. Mr. Mackonochie, who was accused of unlawful ritual, whilst incumbent of St. Alban's, Holborn, had exchanged that cure for St. Peter's, London Docks. Lord Penzance pronounced the deprivation of Mr. Mackonochie from all ecclesiastical promotions in the province of Canterbury, and condemned him in the costs. Mr. Mackonochie made no answer or appearance.

21. The Wimbledon meeting of the National Rifle Association closed, the following being the winners of the principal prizes:—

	Points	Highest possible score
With the Martini-Henry rifle:—		
Queen's Prize, First Stage, Part I. { Captain Long } . . . . .	96	105
Queen's Prize, First Stage, Part II. } 2nd Renfrew } . . . . .	183	205
Queen's Prize, Second Stage.—Gold Medal, &c. } Sergeant Mackay, 1st Sutherland } . . . . .	79	105
(Captain Long scoring 78)		
Alexandra.—Sergeant Peat, 2nd V. B. W. Surrey Army and Navy Challenge Cup, First Stage.—	66	70
C. P. O. Hawking, H. M. S. Cambridge } . . . . .	61	70
Second Stage		
With the Snider rifle:—		
St. George's Challenge Vase.—Private Wilson } Queen's Westminster } . . . . .	32	35
(After shooting off ties with Lieutenant Gibson, 6th Aberdeen, and Sergeant M'Lay, 5th Lancashire.)		
Windmill.—Private Lloyd, 2nd Hants . . . . .	35	35
Prince of Wales's.—Sergeant Lawrence, 1st } Dumbarton } . . . . .	80	105
Snider Association Cup.—Corporal Taylor, 1st } Stirling } . . . . .	35	55
With any rifle:—		
Albert, First Stage.—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. } Harford, 1st V. B. Leicester } . . . . .	117	125
Albert (Jewel), Second Stage.—James Wilson, } Ulster Rifle Association } . . . . .	66	75
Wimbledon Cup.—Lieutenant Whitehead, 1st } Lancashire } . . . . .	69	75

*Matches.*

Snider:—		
China Cup.—Forfarshire . . . . .	357	500
Chancellor's (University) Plate { Oxford . . . . .	653	840
} Cambridge . . . . .	635	
Ashburton (Public Schools) Shield.—Charterhouse	405	560
With Martini-Henry:—		
Kolapore Challenge Cup.—Mother Country . . . . .	698	840
(Canada, India, and Channel Islands competed.)		
United Service Challenge Cup.—Volunteers . . . . .	694	840
National Challenge Trophy, Scotland . . . . .	1805	2100
Any rifle:—		
Elcho Shield { Ireland . . . . .	1,600	1,800
} Scotland . . . . .	1,589	
} England . . . . .	1,564	
Vizianagram Cup { Commons . . . . .	361	400
} Lords . . . . .	351	
International { British Team . . . . .	1,951	2,590
} American . . . . .	1,906	

In the three short ranges the American team scored 1,078, and the English 1,070.

22. An attempt made by three Frenchmen to cross the Mediterranean from Marseilles to Algiers in a balloon. The wind at first carried them towards Corsica, off the coast of which island they narrowly escaped drowning. Having lightened the balloon by throwing away all their apparatus, provisions, &c., they rose suddenly to a great height, and finally descended in safety near the Tuscan village of Brescia.

24. Captain Webb, who in 1875 successfully swam across the Channel from Dover to Calais, drowned in attempting to swim the Niagara rapids. At four o'clock, having been rowed out to the middle of the stream in a boat, he dived into the river at a point opposite the "Maid of the Mist" landing, swimming leisurely down the river, and in six minutes reached the rapids under the Suspension Bridge. At this point his speed increased, and the rushing water carried him up and down with a swing-like motion, until he was whirled into the vortex formed by the under-streams from the Horse-shoe Falls. At one time he was lifted high on the crest of a wave, and at another sinking into the deep trough, but apparently still swimming with ease and confidence. Once he was drawn under by the current but rose again to the surface at a distance of 150 yards. From this point his speed increased every moment until he reached the edge of the whirlpool on the American shore. Webb was swept into the neck with frightful speed; rising on the crest of the highest wave, his face towards the Canadian shore, he lifted his hands and was then precipitated into the gulf. For a moment his head appeared motionless above the eddies; and then he sank and was seen no more. The distance from the Suspension Bridge to the entrance of the whirlpool is a mile and a quarter. Captain Webb had traversed it in five minutes. His body was recovered four days subsequently about five miles below the rapids.

26. This day, the Feast of S. James, patron saint of Spain, 1,300 copies of the Gospels burnt in the Custom House at Barcelona, on the ground that their sale could not be authorised without a violation of the Constitution.

— The "Summary," a condensed edition of the *Times* newspaper, price one halfpenny, published for the first time.

27. In the Nuremberg Chess Tournament the first prize was awarded to Herr Winawer, the second to Mr. Blackburne, the third to Mr. Mason.

28. At Perth Station, while one portion of the London express was standing at the ticket platform, the second portion dashed into it at great speed. Eleven persons were injured, though none fatally, whilst many were much bruised and shaken.

— Peterborough Cathedral narrowly escaped being burnt, a fire having broken out in the partially-demolished Lantern Tower, and spreading with great rapidity to the wooden scaffolding. An alarm was promptly raised and the fire extinguished before any serious damage was done to the Cathedral fabric.

— Ten men convicted by the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh on the charge of rioting at Strome Ferry, the "riots" being violent displays of zeal against the anti-Sabbatarian practices of the railway officials.

— The town of Casamicciola, on the island of Ischia, almost entirely

destroyed by an earthquake ; the actual loss of life, never accurately ascertained, exceeded two thousand persons ; whilst almost the whole population was rendered homeless. In fifteen seconds all was over. The ground, it was said, rose and fell like the sea during a storm with a rushing noise. Two villages in the neighbourhood suffered slightly, but those on the opposite side of the island were unconscious of any disturbance.

29. James Carey, the informer by whose aid the murders in the Phoenix park were brought home to so many of the accused, shot on board the steamship *Melrose Castle*, between Cape Town and Natal by a passenger named O'Donnell.

## AUGUST.

1. The Parcel Post came into operation, the minimum charge being 3*d.* for parcels not exceeding 1 lb., and the maximum weight 7 lbs. for which one shilling was charged.

— A papyrus offered by Mr. Shapira to the British Museum, purporting to give an authentic account of the journeyings of the children of Israel in the wilderness, differing in certain respects, chronological and geographical, from the accepted text of Deuteronomy. Mr. Shapira stated that he first heard of the fragments in July, 1878, from some Arabs, who told him at Jerusalem of some little black fragments of writing, smelling of asphalt, in the possession of an Arab in the neighbourhood of the Arnon. They were said to have been found by some Arabs, who were hiding in a rocky cavern at a time of persecution, in 1865, and who believed them to be talismans. During the next month about three dozen columns were brought to him, and he wrote at the end of September to Professor Schlottmann, who, on seeing a copy, pronounced them forgeries, and asked the Consul at Jerusalem (who bore the ominous name of Baron von Münchhausen) to prevent the writings from being made public. Shapira accordingly placed them in a bank at Jerusalem, but finding that Schlottmann's objections were based on mistakes in copying he re-examined them, and the Consul at Beyrout, Professor Schröder, pronounced them to be genuine. They were taken to Leipzig in the course of the summer to be photographed, and Dr. Hermann and Professor Guthe believed in them, the latter intending to write about them. The Trustees of the British Museum, to whom the manuscript was offered for 10,000*l.*, referred the question of genuineness to a number of scholars, who unhesitatingly declared the writings to be clumsy and modern forgeries.

Sir Claude C. de Crespigny and Mr. J. Simmons left Maldon (Essex) in a balloon at 11 p.m., and two hours and a half later lost sight of the shores of England, sailing at an altitude of about 10,000 feet. At about 6 a.m., having meanwhile shot up to a height of 17,000 feet, they sighted land, and soon afterwards safely descended close to Flushing, the actual distance, about 140 miles, having been accomplished in less than six hours.

3. Rev. Dr. Barry, successively Head Master of Leeds and Cheltenham Schools, Principal of King's College, London, Canon of Worcester and Westminster, appointed Bishop of Sydney and Metropolitan of the Australian Church.



3. At Goodwood the principal races of the week were thus decided :—

Goodwood Stakes, 2½ miles.—Sir F. Johnstone's Corrie Roy, 5 yrs. ; 9 st. (5 mins. 2 secs.)

Sussex Stakes, New mile.—Duke of Hamilton's Ossian, 3 yrs. ; 8 st. 5 lbs.

Stewards' Cup.—Sir G. Chetwynd's Hornpipe, 6 yrs. ; 8 st. 9 lbs.

Goodwood Cup, 2½ miles.—Mr. J. Johnstone's Border Minstrel, 3 yrs. ; 7 st. 5 lbs.

Chesterfield Cup, 1¼ mile.—Duke of Hamilton's Vibration, 4 yrs. ; 8 st. 1 lb. (2 mins. 15 secs.)

— After a trial lasting over six weeks, the whole of the fifteen Jews accused of the murder, or of complicity in the murder, of a girl Esther Solymosi, acquitted. The story, as illustrative of the state of public feeling towards the Jews in Hungary, was as follows :—Esther Solymosi, a poor little servant maid, was sent by a rather harsh and scolding mistress on an errand to the village of Tisza Eszlar one Saturday morning in April 1882. She was seen as late as one or two o'clock in the afternoon ; but she never returned to her mistress's house, and after that day was never again seen alive. Whether she got into the Theiss by accident or foul play, or plunged in to escape hardships and ill-treatment, never transpired ; but it was made clear that a body which six weeks later bumped up against some rafts one summer evening, as the raftsmen, "not more drunk than usual," were lounging on their great stages by a waterside village a little further down, was that of the unfortunate girl. The body was dressed in her clothes, and had on the foot a characteristic mark ; so that in spite of the decomposition of the face many witnesses identified it. But long before this a rumour had got about that the Jews had killed Esther in their synagogue for a sacrifice. For some reason the girl's mother encouraged the idea. It became an article of popular faith, and was taken up with the greatest energy by the judge or magistrate of the district and his various subordinates. And now comes the darkest part of the story. A Jewish boy, Moritz Scharf, some fourteen years of age, was prevailed upon, apparently by threats and cajolery, to fabricate a circumstantial account of the way in which his own father, the keeper of the synagogue, with other Jews, had enticed Esther into the temple, and then and there had cut her throat and drained off her blood. And to this story, in all its details, knowing well enough that if credited it would consign his father to the gallows, Moritz Scharf continued to adhere with a persistency and determination that under the circumstances are nothing less than appalling. The district magistrate Bary had fully made up his mind that the crime should be fastened on the Israelites, but the discovery of the body in the Theiss was far from settling the matter. The theory put forward was that a double crime had been committed ; a second girl had been put to death by the Jews, and the raftsmen had been bribed to tow it down the river and pretend to pick it up below Tisza. The raftsmen were arrested, and at first denied all knowledge of the matter. But Bary and his subordinates and assistants were violent and threatening ; a certain amount of torture was applied, and more was promised ; and several of the witnesses were at length frightened into making a sort of confession. And in this way sufficient evidence was supposed to have accumulated to allow the various Jews who were said to have committed the murder, as well as the men who had received the body, to be put on their trial at the provincial criminal court at Ny-regyهازar.

6. At an early hour before dawn two regiments about 800 strong

stationed at Balajoz mutinied and proclaimed the Republic. They were joined by a few hundred civilians, and for a time gave rise to much uneasiness. The prompt and energetic measures of the Spanish Government speedily checked the progress of the movement.

6. A mass meeting, held in Trafalgar Square to support Mr. Bradlaugh's claim to take his seat, very largely attended.

— An attempt made at Coventry to receive the Godiva pageant. The procession was made up of men in armour, representatives of various trade societies, and triumphal cars. Lady Godiva (Miss Maud Forrester), preceded by her jester, rode on a grey horse, followed by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and a crowd of distinguished personages, from Edward the Black Prince to Mary Queen of Scots, who had in any way been associated with Coventry during their lifetime.

7. Queen's proclamation issued in the West African Settlements authorising the annexation of a strip of coast line at British Sherboro, by which the British Colonial possessions obtained an uninterrupted stretch from Sierra Leone to Liberia. The territory annexed was to extend about half a mile inland.

8. Five Irishmen tried at Liverpool on the charge of conspiracy to disturb the Queen's authority in Ireland by destroying houses or public buildings by means of dynamite. After a prolonged trial four out of the five were found guilty and sentenced to penal servitude for life.

— The Emperor of Austria went to Ebensee to meet the Emperor of Germany, and to escort him to Ischl. On leaving, the latter expressed his doubts that they would meet again.

— The Luther commemorations which were carried on throughout the year at various places connected with the Reformer's life commenced at Erfurt. The historical procession arranged to represent Luther's arrival in that city (April 6, 1521), on his way to attend the Diet at Worms, traversed Erfurt, and thence proceeded to Eisenach and the Wartburg.

— Serious anti-Semitic riots took place at Buda-Pesth, and at various places in North Hungary.

10. The governor of Salonica seized by brigands in his own town, carried off to the mountains, and held to ransom; which was ultimately paid by the Turkish Government.

11. Princess Lorka, daughter of the Prince of Montenegro, married to Prince Karageorgewitch, the Servian Pretender.

12. A colossal statue, by the sculptor Barrias, commemorative of the siege of Paris, 1870-1, unveiled at Courbevoie.

14. At Southall Park, a private lunatic asylum near London, a fire broke out in one of the wings of the building, and, spreading rapidly, destroyed nearly the whole mansion, built by Sir Christopher Wren. The proprietor (Dr. Boyd) and his son lost their lives in attempts to provide for the safety of the patients, two of whom were burned to death, as was also one of the servants.

15. Disturbances took place in Agram, in consequence of the official placards on public buildings being printed in Hungarian as well as Croatian.

Similar displays of anti-Magyar feeling took place in various parts of the Banat.

15. The premises of the Penny Benefit Bank in Bloomsbury Street were wrecked by a crowd of the depositors, augmented apparently by a number of street loungers. Books and papers were scattered about, and the desks and fixtures smashed to atoms. A plaster bust of the supposed founder of the concern was pelted, and the fury of the mob was increased on finding a large cash-box empty. Although the interior of the premises was wrecked, the police did not interfere.

— At Wheal Agar Mine, near Redruth, Cornwall, as the gig was bringing to the surface a load of miners, the rope broke, and the "skip" ran violently back to the bottom of the shaft, killing twelve of the occupants.

17. During the excavations carried on by the French school at Athens in the island of Delos, a private house was discovered near the theatre of Apollo. A court surrounded by pillars and twelve rooms were thus far revealed, the floor of the court of beautiful mosaic, containing flowers, fishes, and other ornaments, and in the middle of the court a cistern full of water.

— Captain Molesworth delivered to the Balloon Society a lecture on the proposed Jordan Canal. From Malta to Port Said was 1,130 miles, and from Malta to Acre 1,245 miles, making a difference in that respect of 116 miles, but the idea was to cut a canal which would be twenty-five miles from Acre to the valley of the Jalud, and thus to obtain access to the valley of the Jordan. The canal would be about 33 ft. deep, so that it would take the largest ships; it would be about 200 ft. wide, and therefore would allow vessels to pass each other freely; there would be no necessity for any locks, because when water was let in the water of the Dead Sea that of the Mediterranean would practically be on the same level to the Gulf of Akabah, and so on into the Red Sea. The difference of distance would be more than compensated for by saving of time, the estimated rate of travelling being sixteen miles an hour, against four or five in the Suez Canal; so that there would be a saving of about two days. A company had been formed, and the cost was estimated at 8,000,000*l.*, but if it amounted to 20,000,000*l.* the advantage would still be greatly in favour of the shipowners. The expense of maintaining the Suez Canal was enormous, while in the case of the Jordan Canal it would be next to nothing, as there was a natural valley nearly ten miles wide, and no wash.

— Duke and Duchess of Connaught opened a new park 27 acres in extent, presented to the town of Grimsby by Mr. Heneage, M.P.

18. At Sligo Mr. Lynch (Home Ruler) elected by 1,545 votes, against 983 given to Mr. O'Hara (Conservative).

— A serious strike broke out in the Ashton-under-Lyne cotton district, the masters insisting upon introducing the Blackburn list of prices, and the operatives strenuously resisting the movement. About 8,000 hands, or about one-third of the whole number employed, went out.

— Pope Leo XIII. addressed a letter to the Cardinals Antonio di Luca, Giov. Batt. Pitra, and Hergenrother, complaining of the unfairness with which the past history of the Papacy had been treated by authors, and an-

nouncing that the treasures of the Vatican Library, hitherto kept secret, would be placed at the service of historians for literary investigation.

18. At Holloway, a burglar discovered in the act of breaking into a house took to flight, but, finding himself closely pursued, he turned and fired several times with a revolver, wounding three people seriously.

19. In France the second ballots for the Departmental Councils showed an aggregate net gain of 139 seats for the Republican party. In only nine out of the ninety councils the anti-Republicans formed a majority.

20. Indignation meeting held at Richmond (Surrey), on account of the inadequacy of the water-supply. After an expenditure of 60,000*l.* in sinking an Artesian well, no water had been obtained.

— Serious riots between the Roman Catholics and Orangemen took place at Coatbridge, near Glasgow.

21. A severe tornado passed over Minnesota. Telegraph-posts and houses were blown down in large numbers. At Rochester 300 buildings were destroyed, 200 more injured, and 26 lives lost. Hailstones measuring 10 inches in circumference fell at various spots in the track of the storm. A railway train was lifted off the rails and completely wrecked, thereby injuring eighty persons.

24. Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England, accompanied by Mr. C. Russell Q.C., and other members of the English Bar, arrived at New York on a visit to the United States, as guests of the Bench and Bar of that nation.

— At seven o'clock, A.M., a singular match for 5*l.* a side began on the farm of Mr. George Melsome, Beacon Hill, near Amesbury, and lasted all day in broiling hot weather. The contest, which was under the auspices of the Church of England Temperance Society, was the result of a bet at a public meeting at Salisbury between Mr. Terrell, a Wiltshire farmer, and Mr. Abbey, an Oxfordshire farmer and lecturer for the Society. The object of the trial was to show which could do most work in the harvest field, the former drinking beer and the latter water only. Mr. Terrell won by 3 r. 21 p., "pitching" 20 a. 2 r. 7 p. to Mr. Abbey's 19 a. 2 r. 26 p. It was proposed to present the winner with a gold medal. So great was the strain on him that at five o'clock he was taken to a wood and anointed.

25. Parliament prorogued by Royal Commission.

— Hon. C. H. Strutt (Conservative) returned without opposition for East Essex, in the place of Colonel Ruggles-Brise, who retired on account of ill-health.

26. A deplorable and, as it would seem, perfectly inexcusable collision occurred about forty miles S.S.W. of the Eddystone, between the Newcastle steamship *Woodburn* and the French steamer *St. Germain*. The latter was bound from Havre to New York with 462 passengers and a crew of 122 men. The *Woodburn* (Captain Howe) was returning home from Madras *via* Suez; but having been disabled in a gale she had put into Lisbon for repairs, and was coming to London in tow of the tug *Recovery*. The night was fine and starlight, and the sea perfectly even. The French ship was sighted two or three hours before the collision, and there is no explanation why it occurred. The *St. Germain* steamed into the *Woodburn*, which was so seriously injured that she went down in three minutes, and of the eight-and-twenty souls on board only eleven were saved. The captain, the chief officer, the second

engineer, and the only passenger, Michael Bryne, a military man, were amongst those who perished. The loss of life would have been greater but for the promptitude of the tug, which lost no time in picking up the men who were clinging to spars, for the French vessel did not get out her boats till an hour afterwards. She was so badly injured that she transferred a large number of her passengers to the tug, and put into Plymouth. An examination of the *St. Germain* revealed injuries far more serious than her own officers had imagined, and it was marvellous that she reached Plymouth.

27. The volcanic eruptions in the island of Java are thus described by an eye-witness, who, though escaping with his life, lost all his property :—“ On the 26th, loud reports and detonations were heard from the direction of Krakatau, and towards evening the sea became unusually agitated, the water assuming a colour of inky blackness. No apprehensions, however, were entertained for the safety of the town, and nothing occurred during the night. At 6 A.M. this morning Mr. Schint went down to the beach to look after the mooring of his boats. While engaged in this work an immense wave, about 30 mètres high, swept without the slightest warning over Anjer, completely ruining the place, and penetrating inland to the distance of about two miles. Mr. Schint only saved his life by jumping into one of his boats, which was close at hand; seven of his family, however, were among the victims of this flood. The few survivors made their way as best they could inland; but, to add to the horrors of the scene, the atmosphere grew pitch-dark, and boiling mud fell in showers. At about 10 A.M. a second wave, supposed to be higher than the first (though its height could not be estimated, owing to the darkness), again swept over the place. By this time, however, most of the survivors from the first wave had gone inland. The coast of Java from Maoek on the north to Java's third point on the south-west has completely changed its configuration, the sea having encroached to the distance of about half a mile inland. Thousands of cocoa-nut palms have been destroyed, and banian-trees two hundred years old have been completely uprooted and swept away; large masses of coral weighing 400 to 500 picols each have been carried four miles inland; and behind Anjer a large lake of salt water has been formed.” Captain E. Tidmarsh, of the ship *Bay of Naples*, arrived at Singapore on September 18, reports :—“ We anchored here (Singapore) to-day, ninety-six days from Penarth, of which twenty-four were occupied from Sunda. On arrival there (on August 21) ashes were teeming in torrents, so I stood south for twelve hours, then came north again, but found things getting worse. Accordingly stood south once more until weather settled. All one day it was as dark as the grave, and pumice-stones and ashes were still coming down. On getting to the Straits came through a bank of ashes, and could only force the ship half a mile an hour (thus taking five hours). When once I got into clear water, I was all the remainder of the day sailing through dead bodies of men and women. Was two days off Anjer, which is a heap of ashes.”

28. The report of the Board of Trade on Railways for 1882 issued, showing that the number of miles open in the United Kingdom was 18,457, an increase of 282; and the total capital expended 767,899,570*l.*, an increase of 22,371,408*l.* The receipts were—Passengers, 28,796,813*l.*, an increase of 104,814*l.*; goods, 37,740,315*l.* (increase 939,315*l.*); and miscellaneous, 2,839,996*l.* (increase 177,996*l.*); total, 69,377,124*l.* (increase 2,222,124*l.*) Working expenses, 36,170,436*l.* (increase 1,270,436*l.*); net earnings

33,206,688*l.* (increase 951,688*l.*) ; average dividend, 4·32 per cent. (decrease 0·01) ; *litt*o, on ordinary capital, 4·73 per cent. (increase 0·07). The capital is made up as follows :—

	£	
Ordinary . . . . .	283,574,000 . . .	Or 37 per cent.
Guaranteed and Preferential . . . . .	295,050,000 . . .	Or 38 per cent.
Loans and Debenture Stock . . . . .	189,275,000 . . .	Or 25 per cent.

The following table represents the sources from which the revenue from passenger traffic is derived :—

Source of Revenue.	1882	1881	Increase in 1882	Decrease in 1882
First-class . . . . .	£3,753,000	£3,804,000	—	£51,000
Second-class . . . . .	3,417,000	3,445,000	—	28,000
Third-class and Parliamentary . . . . .	16,381,000	15,377,000	£1,004,000	—
Periodical tickets . . . . .	1,610,000	1,521,000	89,000	—
Excess Luggage, &c. . . . .	3,636,000	3,545,000	91,000	—
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>£28,797,000</b>	<b>£27,692,000</b>	<b>£1,105,000</b>	<b>—</b>

## SEPTEMBER.

1. The contest for Rutlandshire, the first for forty-two years, resulted in the return of Mr. J. W. Lowther (Conservative) by 860, over Mr. Handley (Liberal), 194 votes.

2. Staglitz, a suburb of Berlin, was the scene of a frightful railway accident. Whilst a crowd of people were crossing the line to get into a local train, the mail train dashed through, killing thirty-nine people and seriously injuring many others.

3. Comte de Chambord (Henri V.), after lying in state at Frohsdorff, buried with great solemnity in the Cathedral of Gortz, by the side of the bodies of Charles X., Duc d'Angoulême, and the Duchess of Parma. In consequence of the refusal of the Comtesse de Chambord to recognise the Comte de Paris as head of the re-united houses of Bourbon and Orleans, no princes of the Orleans family attended the funeral—the place of chief mourner being occupied by Count Bardi, the Comte de Chambord's nearest male relative. In the funeral cortège were about 700 Frenchmen, including not only Legitimist noblemen and gentlemen, but deputations from French working-men's societies.

4. At the Shire Hall, Taunton, Mr. Lowell, the American Minister, unveiled, in the presence of a large assembly, a bust of Henry Fielding, the novelist, who was born in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury.

5. A disastrous hurricane passed over the island of Dominica, uprooting the largest trees of the forests, carrying destruction through the villages, and inflicting damages estimated at 100,000*l.* on Roseau, the capital of the island. During the continuance of the hurricane blinding rain, vivid lightning, and a constant roll of near thunder prevailed.

8. A serious outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease showed itself among the cattle in various parts of the country. In the first week of July the returns

showed only 1,828 animals attacked; in two months these had risen to 28,599, fresh outbreaks having occurred in 1,402 places.

10. Trades Union Congress opened at Nottingham under the presidency of Mr. T. Smith, and continued its sittings throughout the week. In the course of the proceedings Mr. Frederic Harrison delivered an address on the Trades Union movement. The engineers had increased from 33,000, in sixteen years, to 50,000; and the carpenters from 8,000 to 20,000. The tailors, whose union did not exist in 1867, numbered 13,000. The income of the various societies had doubled, and five of the unions had spent 2,000,000*l.* in six years. It would be impossible to calculate how much they had saved the country in money in times of distress, and how much they had done to allay the irritation which arose in those times; for instance, seven societies, whose reserve amounted to 750,000*l.*, spent less than 1 per cent. of their income upon strikes.

13. Bank rate of discount reduced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.—proportion of Bank's reserve to liabilities by  $46\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Bullion, 24,122,381*l.*; reserve, 14,481,191*l.*

— Second series of the Luther festival celebrations commenced at Wittenberg, when the Crown Prince of Germany opened the "Luther Hall," formed of the saloon and six rooms of the house in which the Reformer had lived for thirty-eight years.

— Captain Simmons and Mr. Small, a local photographer, made a balloon ascent from Hastings, descending safely on the following day at Cape la Hogue.

14. Cortachy Castle, eight miles north of Forfar, the seat of the Earl of Airlie, but in the occupation of the Earl of Dudley, destroyed by fire. A large portion of the castle had been rebuilt within the previous ten years at a cost exceeding 50,000*l.* No lives were lost, but a large quantity of furniture belonging to both the owner and occupant was burnt, and many of the family pictures.

16. M. L'Hoste, the French aeronaut, after several ineffectual efforts to cross the English Channel, left Boulogne at 5 P.M., and descended at Smeth, near Ashford, about 11 P.M.

17. Mr. Gladstone, in company with Mr. Alfred Tennyson and others, having gone round the Orkneys, &c., in the steamship *Pembroke Castle*, suddenly arrived at Copenhagen, where he entertained the Czar and Czarina, the King of Greece, the King and Queen of Denmark, and many of their relatives, then on a visit to Copenhagen.

— Miss Booth arrested and imprisoned at Neuchâtel for having held services of the Salvation Army in a wood about five miles from the town.

19. The British Association assembled at Southport, where the President of the year, Professor Cayley, delivered the inaugural address, almost exclusively devoted to mathematics and mathematical speculations.

20. A tramcar, propelled by electricity contained in a Faure's accumulator, successfully run in Paris. Thirty miles were traversed in about three hours by the car, usually drawn by three horses.

21. The *Jewish Chronicle* announced that the colony of Roumanian Jews at Samaria in Palestine, the most promising of the settlements of repatriated

Jews, had collapsed, and that the closing of the Agricultural School at Jaffa, founded with the same object, would probably follow.

21. The ten Strome Ferry rioters, sentenced at the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh to four months' imprisonment, liberated after having served half their term.

22. At Port-au-Prince, Hayti, the negroes broke out into riot and pillaged the foreign merchants. The disorders at length ceased on the threat of bombardment by foreign men-of-war lying in the harbour.

— The *Lancet* contained the account of an old woman at Aubérine-en-Royans, between Valence and Grenoble, who had reached 123 years without any infirmity except slight deafness. According to her marriage certificate, she completed in the previous January her 100th year since marriage. She had been a "cantinière" under the First Empire, and had had two sons killed at the battle of Friedland and in Spain. She lives almost exclusively on soup made with bread, to which is added a little wine and sometimes a little brandy. Dr. Bonne, the doctor of the district, stated that she was never ill.

24. About 10 A.M. a fire broke out in one of the sequestered buildings of the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, in which 770 fully-charged war rockets were stored. For a time a general feeling of panic pervaded Woolwich and the neighbourhood, upwards of 550 rockets rushing over the adjoining country to a distance of nearly five miles. There were many hairbreadth escapes, a great deal of damage was done to buildings; but the shipping in the river escaped, and only two lives—those of a man and a boy working in the store-room—were lost.

— Father Anton Anderdy, a native of Brieg, Valais, elected to be Vicar-General of the Jesuits, to assist Father Beckz, whose great age (89 years) rendered him incapable of undertaking all the duties of his post. The Provincials of the Order were summoned to Florence, and at the first voting Father Anderdy was chosen by a large majority, and the selection approved by the Pope. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland in 1848, and from Piedmont in 1849, Father Anderdy, then 34 years of age, had gone to the United States, where he officiated for two years as Rector at Green Bay.

26. The Derby magistrates fined the landlady of the "White Swan" public house in that town for selling, and the sexton of the parish church for being found in possession of, wine during prohibited hours on Sunday the 16th. The wine had been required for sacramental purposes, and was not paid for at the time of purchase.

— Strike of weavers at Ashton-under-Lyne terminated by a compromise, after having lasted eleven weeks.

27. The Princess Beatrice, on behalf of the Queen, opened a park presented by Miss Duthie, of Ruthreiston, to the city of Aberdeen.

— Rev. G. A. Shaw, the English missionary arrested at Tamatave, and imprisoned for nearly two months by the French naval authorities off the coast of Madagascar, addressed a crowded meeting at Exeter Hall, and gave an account of his sufferings and treatment.

28. The National Monument of Germany, erected on the Niederwald, overlooking the Rhine, unveiled by the Emperor in the presence of 80,000



spectators. The colossal statue, said to be an idealised portrait of the artist's daughter, represents Germania as a woman in a girdle-bound robe, her left hand resting on the hilt of a drawn sword, and her right holding a laurel-wreathed Imperial crown. The bronze figure alone is about 36 feet in height, and with the pedestal and socket measures about 80 feet. The artist was Johannes Schilling, of Dresden, and the founder of the statue Von Miller, of Munich. The total cost of the monument was estimated at 1,196,000 marks, part of which was raised by public subscription, and the rest from a Parliamentary grant.

28. An electric tramway from Portrush to Giant's Causeway—a distance of about six miles—opened by Earl Spencer. The electricity employed was generated by machines at Walk Mill on the river Rush.

— At the Pittsburg, U.S., regatta, the English sculler, Geo. H. Hosmer, won the final heat in 20 mins. 3 secs., over a course of three miles. The other competitors were Ten Eyck and W. Priddy.

29. The election of the Lord Mayor for the ensuing year took place at the Guildhall. The Court of Common Council by an almost unanimous vote sent up the name of Alderman Hadley, the next in rotation for the post of Lord Mayor. The Court of Aldermen, however, by a slight majority, decided in favour of Alderman Fowler, M.P., whose name, as a mere formality, had been sent in by the Livery.

— King Alphonso of Spain, who had been invited to pay a State visit to Paris, reached the French capital about 4 p.m., where an enormous crowd, estimated at 200,000, awaited him, lining the streets from the railway station to the Place de la Concorde. As soon as the King appeared he was received with yells and hisses, and a scene of indescribable confusion ensued. His offence in the eyes of the Paris populace was his acceptance of the Honorary Colonelcy of an Uhlan regiment in the German army—the regiment in question happening to be temporarily stationed at Strasbourg.

## OCTOBER.

2. The Pittsburg Exposition building, on the Alleghany river, totally destroyed by fire, together with the contents, estimated at a million dollars.

— The Church Congress met at Reading, under the titular presidency of the Bishop of Oxford.

3. Burnham Beeches, purchased by the Corporation of the City of London for a public recreation ground for ever, dedicated by the Duke of Buckingham, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and other members of the Corporation.

4. The Manchester election resulted in the return of Mr. W. H. Houldsworth (Conservative), 18,188 votes, over Dr. Pankhurst (Independent Radical), 6,216.

— Norwegian State trials commenced with the impeachment of Mr. Selmers, Minister of State.

6. The Bicentenary of the establishment of the first German settlement in the United States celebrated with great festivities, especially at Philadelphia

in the district still known as Germantown. In the year 1683 thirteen German families had, at the persuasion of William Penn, sailed from London for the New World.

7. A mass meeting at Neuchâtel, attended by 8,000 persons, demanded the expulsion of the Salvation Army from the Swiss canton, and passed a unanimous vote of confidence in the Cantonal Government.

— The Pope at St. Peter's gave audience to a great Italian pilgrimage, numbering ten thousand persons. About one-half of the pilgrims were priests and peasants belonging to Rome or the neighbourhood, but the remainder came from distant parts of the Peninsula.

8. The Lanarkshire miners working in the Larkhall district, to the number of over 1,000, went out on strike for increased wages.

— According to the final statistics of the last census, the number of foreigners resident in France had risen from 379,829 in 1851 to 1,000,090 in 1881, of whom the Belgians were the most numerous, 432,265; then the Italians, 240,733; the Germans were 81,986; Spaniards, 73,781; Swiss, 66,200; and English, 37,000.

9. At Newmarket, the Cesarewitch Stakes, 2½ miles, won by Mr. G. Lambert's Don Juan, 3 years (5 st. 10 lbs.), defeating twenty-one other horses. Time, 3mins. 59½ secs.

10. A disaster similar to that which had happened three years previously occurred to the Severn tunnel. On the Monmouthshire side of the tunnel, under the land, springs were known to exist. Into one of these the workmen had the misfortune to break, and the water poured in so fast that they had to flee for their lives—some seven or eight hundred of them—but all escaped, and the only loss of life was that of three of their eight ponies.

11. Statue of Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor of London in the reign of Queen Mary, unveiled at Coventry. Sir J. White was founder of Merchant Taylors' School and principal benefactor of St. John's College, Oxford, and bequeathed large sums of money to Bristol, Nottingham, Gloucester, Warwick, Coventry, and other places.

12. The State Council of Neuchâtel issued a decree expelling Miss Booth and all foreigners suspected of an intention to organise meetings in support of the Salvation Army.

13. A ladies' school at Warsaw, founded by the Duke of Leuchtenberg, and under the patronage of the Empress, searched by the police, and the head mistress and eight of the pupils arrested, the former while letters were being delivered to her at the post-office which were found to contain Nihilist writings from Switzerland. More seditious documents were found in the house, to which many Russian noble families sent their daughters, and the Government are said to have looked upon the school as a powerful means of Russifying Polish aristocrats.

14. The Emperor of Austria visited Szegedin to inspect the city, which had been practically rebuilt since its destruction by the floods of 1880. Three thousand new buildings, of various sizes, had been erected, and upwards of thirty million florins had been expended in laying out the new town.

15. The Erythrean peninsula, near Smyrna, visited by an earthquake, which laid in ruins Chesmet and the neighbouring villages. Upwards of a

thousand lives were lost, and 20,000 people were rendered homeless. The shock was felt at Chios, and much damage caused throughout that island.

15. The International Geodetic Congress met at Rome. In the course of its proceedings, Dr. Hirsch, of Neuchâtel, proposed the adoption of the meridian of Greenwich, with a view to the unification of longitude and time. After reference to a Committee and subsequent discussion, this proposal was adopted.

17. During the gale and the abnormal high tides, the Severn rose fifty feet, the waves sweeping over the lofty railway pier at New Passage. Between 8 and 9 P.M. a tidal wave rolling in from the Channel swept over Coldecott Marsh, where there was a shaft of the Severn tunnel, in which eighty men were working. Some were able to escape in time, but the majority found their retreat cut off, and, after spending the night in great peril, were ultimately rescued with the loss of only one life.

18. Very high tides reported all round the coast ; in the West and South-West a heavy gale blowing at the same time drove the sea far inland, inflicting serious injury to buildings and overflowing large tracts of country. The Irish coast also suffered, Cork and Waterford sustaining much damage.

— The remains of William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, removed from the vault in Hampstead Church, Essex, and deposited in a sarcophagus in the Harvey Chapel attached to the church. The principal part of the ceremony was assigned to Sir Wm. Jenner, the President of the College of Physicians, who was accompanied by the most distinguished medical men of the day, either acting as delegates from the various medical bodies, or individually rendering a mark of respect to the illustrious Harvey.

19. An explosion took place at the Wharnccliffe Carlton Colliery, near Barnsley, involving the loss of twenty lives. Most of the deaths were due to suffocation from after-damp.

— The workmen engaged in digging the foundations for the new piers of the tower of Peterborough Cathedral came upon traces of masonry, which were subsequently identified as the remains of a Saxon monastery built on the spot in 655 A.D.

20. Three shocks of an earthquake in quick succession, and a fourth after a slight interval, felt at Gibraltar, their direction from north to south. No serious damage was done.

22. Count Stephen Batthyany shot in a duel with Dr. Rosenberg, a barrister of Buda-Pesth. The cause of the quarrel which ended fatally was the Count's wife, Fräulein Schorberger, the daughter of a wealthy banker, whom Dr. Rosenberg had married according to the rites of the Jewish Church some time previously. Her parents were aware of the ceremony having been gone through ; but endeavoured to have it pronounced void, took their child to Paris, and married her at Wiesbaden on 16th to Count Batthyany. Dr. Rosenberg at once went in search of the bridegroom, who for a long time refused to fight with Dr. Rosenberg on the ground of the latter's social position ; but a jury of honour having decided that Dr. Rosenberg was entitled to satisfaction, the meeting took place. Two shots were fired by each of the combatants without effect ; at the third Count Batthyany fell dead, the bullet having entered his temple.

24. According to an official return of the Company of Jesus, it appeared

that the five provinces into which the order is divided comprised 11,058 members, as priests, professors, and coadjutors. Of these France claimed 2,798; Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, and Holland, 2,165; Spain and Asia, 1,933; England and the United States, 1,895; and Italy, 1,558.

25. The first Cabinet Council of the Recess held.

29. An International Trades Union Congress assembled at Paris, and continued to hold meetings throughout the week. To the English delegates were accorded the posts of honour in spite of their total divergence from the views of the foreign workmen. The latter desired State intervention in trade disputes, whilst the former recommended association and self-help.

30. Two explosions took place on the Underground Railway about 8 P.M.; one between Praed Street and Edgware Road (7.52 P.M.), and the other between Charing Cross and Westminster Bridge (8.5 P.M.) By the latter, which occurred just behind a train entering Charing Cross Station, no injury was done to life or limb, but a portion of the tunnel was wrecked, and much damage done to property. By the former, which took place just after the train had started, the occupants of the last three carriages were seriously injured, and the rolling stock and part of the station wrecked. Although no arrests were made in spite of the large reward offered, the police obtained sufficient evidence to connect the outrages with the Fenian party.

— Mr. Michael Davitt addressed a crowded meeting at St. James's Hall on the "Land for the People." His speech was well received, and the reception accorded to the speaker was most enthusiastic.

— The goods steamer *Holyhead*, belonging to the London and North-Western Railway Company, came into collision in a fog with the German ship *Alhambra*, twenty miles off Holyhead. The German ship sank almost immediately, seven out of twenty-two of the crew being saved by the steamer's boats. After a short interval the steamer also foundered, but all her passengers and crew, except one sailor and a boy, were picked up by a passing schooner, and brought into Holyhead.

— Great failures in the cotton trade reported from Liverpool; the liabilities of the head of the cotton "Corner," Mr. Morris Ranger, being estimated at above half a million sterling.

31. The Fisheries Exhibition at South Kensington closed with great ceremonial by the Prince of Wales. The total number of visitors to the Exhibition, from May 14 to its close, was 2,703,051, exclusive of over 20,000 present on the opening day.

— At Wittenberg and Worms the 366th anniversary of Luther's protest against the Papacy celebrated with great pomp, the principal incident being a historic procession from Luther's Oak at Wittenberg, and the performance at Worms of a play representing the chief acts of the Reformer's life. At various other places in Germany with which Luther had been connected there were fêtes.

— A fire broke out in a large cotton warehouse at Savannah, ultimately spreading over an area of half a square mile. Three hundred houses, chiefly of wood, belonging to the negroes, and cotton bales to the value of a million dollars, were destroyed. Not more than ten lives were supposed to have been lost, but upwards of 1,500 persons were rendered homeless.

## NOVEMBER.

1. The annual Municipal elections throughout England and Wales resulted generally in favour of the Conservative party, they gaining 84 seats as compared with 56 won by the Liberals. The Irish Nationalists were beaten by the Liberals at Liverpool; the teetotallers were victorious at Doncaster, Hull, and Dewsbury; whilst at Godalming the supporters of electric lighting defeated the gas adherents.

— Riots occurred at Londonderry, in consequence of the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Dawson) visiting that city with the object of delivering an address on the franchise question. His visit was supported by the Nationalist party, but strongly opposed by the Orangemen of the place and neighbourhood, who occupied the Corporation Hall when the lecture was to have been delivered. In the riot which ensued a carpenter and a boy were shot.

— The Bishop of Lichfield, in a letter to his clergy, announced the establishment of the "Pastoral Order of the Holy Ghost," a new ecclesiastical union "for the higher fulfilment of the office and work of a priest."

— The army of Hicks Pasha, 11,000 strong, despatched by the Khedive of Egypt to disperse the insurgent force of the Mahdi, and to subdue the Soudan, utterly destroyed near El Obeid, above the Fifth Cataract. The army was led by a treacherous guide into a narrow defile where the guns were useless. After three days' fighting, worn out by thirst and fatigue, it was incapable of further resistance, and was massacred to a man. A number of English officers, Mr. O'Donovan, the Merv correspondent of the *Daily News*, and about 1,200 Europeans of various nationalities, were among the killed. One man only escaped.

2. A fire broke out at the Drapers' Hall, Throgmorton Street, by which the dome of the roof was almost wholly destroyed, and much damage done to the rest of the building.

3. The polling for the election of the Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh resulted as follows:—Sir Stafford Northcote, 1,035; Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, M.P., 983; Emeritus Professor Blackie, 236.

— A great fire broke out at 5 A.M. at Messrs. Lyne's timber yard, Haggerston, and continued to rage for upwards of sixty hours with but little abatement. An enormous mass of timber prepared for firewood caught fire, and the efforts of the firemen to extinguish the burning mass were quite ineffectual. Nearly thirty houses in the neighbourhood were rendered uninhabitable by the heat and from the danger of the falling embers.—Almost simultaneously a great fire broke out at Glasgow, destroying the premises of Messrs. Wylie & Co., cabinetmakers, and extending to many of the surrounding buildings.

4. A statue to Alexandre Dumas, the work of Gustave Doré, unveiled in Paris, on the Place Malesherbes, in presence of a large assemblage of distinguished artists and literary personages.

5. The funeral of Fräulein Wegner, the *soubrette* of the Wallner

Theatre at Berlin, celebrated with extraordinary pomp. The Emperor was represented by his Private Secretary ; the Intendant-General of Theatres, the leading members of the Berlin theatrical companies, accompanied the procession, which was received at the cemetery by a crowd of 20,000 persons.

5. A serious fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Pewtress, export packers, Cannon Street and Laurence Pountney Hill ; and another at High Street, Kingsland, by which twelve houses and their contents were destroyed.

— At Rome the excavations in the neighbourhood of the Forum brought to light the celebrated Atrium Vestæ, with inscriptions in honour of three of the Vestales Maximæ. The whole of the buildings, sculptures, &c. discovered dated from about the fourth century of the present era.

6. A detachment of the Egyptian army, 500 strong, sent to restore order in the Soudan, completely routed by the insurgents at Tokkar. Lieutenant Moncrieff, British Consul at Suakin, was amongst the killed, fifteen persons only escaping from the Bedouins, who pursued the conquered troops for days.

7. A terrible colliery explosion, involving the loss of sixty-seven lives, took place at Monkfield Colliery, near Accrington.

— Excavations at Taplow Court, near Maidenhead, resulted in the discovery of a "Viking's" tomb. Of the body scarcely any recognisable traces were discovered, and the iron spear and sword by his side crumbled to dust on being touched, but the gold ornaments were found to be in a high state of perfection.

— Sir Henry Mildmay, Lord of the Manor of Burnham, Essex, obtained an injunction to restrain a fisherman from parting with, damaging, or destroying a whale, thirty-five feet long, which the latter had caught in the river Crouch, and had exhibited to the public.

8. Sir Moses Montefiore's birthday, by the Jewish calendar (8th Chesvan), and his entry upon his hundredth year, celebrated at Ramsgate with great rejoicings. Congratulatory messages sent by the Queen and other distinguished persons.

9. The speakers at the Lord Mayor's Banquet at the Guildhall, in addition to the members of the Ministry, included the French Ambassador (M. Waddington), who spoke in English, and M. de Lesseps.

— Of the mayors elected throughout England and Wales, the Liberals claimed 106, and the Conservatives 99, whilst in 16 cases no political opinions were given. At Romsey both the nominees declined to accept office if elected ; whilst at St. Ives there was a tie between the outgoing mayor and a new candidate. Each candidate having in the first instance voted for himself, the outgoing mayor's right to give a casting vote in his own favour, and thereby reseating himself, was challenged.

10. The 400th anniversary of Luther's birth celebrated in various parts of England and Germany, and by the Protestant communities of France and other countries.

12. The Lord Mayor notified that the use of the Mansion House for a lecture on Luther by the Hofprediger Stöcker, president of the Anti-Semitic Committee of Berlin, would be withdrawn.

— A fire, originating in the principal hotel, occurred at Shenandoah,

Pennsylvania, a flourishing mining town, which was almost completely destroyed and 1,300 persons rendered homeless.—On the same day a terrible fire broke out at a large clothing manufactory at Charleston, in which several lives were lost.

12. A collision took place at Maryhill Station, near Glasgow, a passenger train running into a half-shunted mineral train. Thirteen persons were injured, and much damage done to the rolling stock.

13. The Colston Festival at Bristol was celebrated by the annual banquets—the “Anchor” being attended by the Earl of Northbrook, Mr. S. Morley, M.P., and the leading local Liberals; the “Dolphin” by the Duke of Beaufort, Right Hon. James Lowther, M.P., and many other distinguished Conservatives.

— The Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh went in state to Croydon, to lay the foundation stone of the new wing of the Croydon Hospital. This was the first official visit paid to Croydon by Royalty since the days of Queen Elizabeth.

— The Union Canal between Edinburgh and Glasgow burst near Murchiston, rapidly filling up the cutting just completed for the Edinburgh suburban line, and spreading across the fields towards Leith. Considerable damage was done to property, but no lives were lost.

— The Raglan Music Hall, Union Street, Borough, totally destroyed by fire. The fire was not observed until 5 A.M., at which time there were only two caretakers on the premises, both of whom escaped.

14. The Corporation of the Trinity House entertained at a grand banquet M. de Lesseps, Mr. Chamberlain, and others interested in shipping and commerce.

— The Duke of Cambridge took the chief part in presenting the old colours of various Scottish regiments to the authorities of St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

15. A strike, with the approbation of the trade union, made at Leicester against the employment at their own homes of Jews in the boot and shoe trade. The union delegates sustained their views, although many of the principal employers in the trade were Jews.

— Herr Tisza, the Hungarian Prime Minister, announced his intention of introducing a Bill for the legalisation of marriages between Jews and Christians.

— The election for the Lord Rectorship of the Glasgow University terminated as follows:—Right Hon. Professor Fawcett, M.P. (Liberal), 797; Marquess of Bute (Conservative), 690; Professor Ruskin (Independent), 319.

16. At Paris, a youth named Currieu, by trade a baker, armed with a revolver, forced himself into the reception-room of the Ministry of Public Instruction, demanding to see M. Jules Ferry, the Prime Minister, and declaring himself commissioned by a secret society at Lille to assassinate the members of the Government.

17. The Theatre Royal, Darlington, burned to the ground early this morning. A performance of the “Ticket-of-Leave Man,” concluding with a display of fireworks, had been given on the preceding evening.

18. The steamer *Parisot* burnt on the Mississippi river. The fire was discovered just before daybreak, and the ship at once run ashore, the majority of the crew escaping in their night-clothes. The ship and cargo,

including 3,564 bales of cotton, valued at 250,000 dols., completely destroyed.

19. The piercing of the Arlberg Tunnel, commenced in 1880, brought to a conclusion in two years less than the contract time. The tunnel, which is the third great boring made through the Alps, is 6 miles long, as compared with the Mount Conis, 7½ miles, which took 13 years to complete, and the St. Gothard, 9½ miles, which took 3 years to pierce.

21. Shortly after midnight Edward Weston the pedestrian left Westminster Bridge on his undertaking to walk fifty miles every day for a hundred days, Sundays and Christmas Day excepted, and to lecture each day in support of the Temperance cause.

22. The Rectorship of St. Andrews University conferred upon the United States Ambassador, Mr. J. Russell Lowell, by 100 votes, against 82 polled by Mr. Gibson, M.P. for the University of Dublin.

— The vacancy for the city of York occasioned by the death of Mr. Leeman (Liberal) filled by the return of Sir Fred. G. Milner, Bart. (Conservative), by 3,948 votes, against Mr. F. Lockwood, Q.C. (Liberal), who polled 3,927.

24. A school of art, under the direction of Mr. H. Herkomer, A.R.A., opened at Bushey (Herts), having for its object the more systematic training of art students on the principle of association.

26. "Evacuation Day," the last of the series of centennial ceremonies in the United States which commenced in 1876, celebrated by a great public display, especially at New York, whence on this day the British troops in 1783 were finally withdrawn. A statue of Washington was unveiled in front of the building in Wall Street (New York) where Washington took the oath as first President.

— The interment of Sir William Siemens took place at Kensal Green Cemetery, preceded by an imposing funeral service in Westminster Abbey, at which representatives of the various scientific bodies, the Royal family, the Cabinet, &c., attended.

— Prince Prisdang, Envoy of the King of Siam, invested, at his residence in London, with the rank of Phra Wongs Th'oe. The insignia termed of the Golden Vases accompanied the golden diplomas, which were brought by a special mission from the King. They consisted of a plate of gold on which were inscribed the name and honours of Prince Prisdang, the decorations of the family order and of that of the Crown of Siam.

27. Henry Watters, a stockbroker, tried for complicity in the "River Plate Bank frauds," which had led to the theft by the manager Warden, and their disposal on the Stock Exchange by Watters, of bonds to the value of 120,000*l.* Both the accused were found guilty (Warden on 24th), and sentenced to twelve years' penal servitude.

— The "Birds" of Aristophanes performed in the original Greek at the Theatre Royal, Cambridge, by members and undergraduates of the University; the chief part of Perithetos was performed by Mr. James, of King's College, and among the others those of Euelpides (Mr. Newton), and of the Hoopoe (Mr. Pryor), were most appreciated.

30. The elevation of Mr. Alfred Tennyson (Poet Laureate) to the peerage as Baron Tennyson announced.



30. At New York, the Windsor Theatre, in Bowery Street, burned to the ground, the flames extending to the adjoining Hartman's Hotel, which was also destroyed. The audience had just quitted the theatre when the fire broke out.

— The sale of the Beckford Library, having occupied forty days, spread over a period of eighteen months, brought to a close. The total sum realised was over 73,500*l*.

— The House of Lords, sitting as a Court of Appeal, gave judgment in the case of *Dobbs v. Grand Junction Waterworks Company*, laying down the principle that the "annual value," not the actual rent paid by a sub-tenant of premises, was to be the basis of the water-rate assessment.

## DECEMBER.

1. The trial of O'Donnell, lasting two days, for the murder of the informer Carey brought to a close at the Old Bailey. The jury retired at seven o'clock, and, after an absence of nearly two hours, brought in a verdict of guilty. O'Donnell, on being removed after sentence, struggled violently, protesting loudly against his fate.

2. Serious riotings took place at Newry and at Wexford. At the former the Nationalists attacked the Orangemen, and at the latter the Roman Catholics sacked a theatre where an evangelistic service was being held.

3. Binns, the hangman appointed in succession to Marwood, censured by the prison authorities at Liverpool for his conduct at the execution of Henry Dutton, whose pulse did not cease until eight minutes after the bolt had been withdrawn.

— Five hundred farmers, representing the greater part of the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny, gave notice prohibiting hunting over their lands by the Curraghmore hounds.

4. The offer of the Speakership, in succession to Sir Henry Brand, G.C.B., made to Mr. Goschen, by whom it was declined in consequence of his defective eyesight, which the doctors pronounced incurable.

— The case of *Priestman v. Whalley*, which involved the validity of the propounded will of a Mr. Whalley, of Leominster, closed after fourteen days' trial before Mr. Justice Manisty and a special jury. The will was declared to be a forgery, and a compromise made with the next-of-kin declared to have been obtained by fraud.

— The remains of Captain T. B. Hanham, who had died in the previous week, cremated in a private furnace attached to his house at Maniston, near Sturminster Newton, Dorset. In about a couple of hours the coffin and body were completely destroyed, without causing the least inconvenience to the neighbours.

5. At Constantinople a terrible fire broke out in the Haskieni quarter, inhabited by Jews and Turks. Six hundred houses, four synagogues, thirty shops, and a Greek church were destroyed.

6. At Brussels, during the sitting of the Chamber of Representatives, a

fire broke out in the building known as Palais de la Nation, and, rapidly extending, destroyed the Chamber, the library, and many of the adjoining offices. One gasman was killed and two firemen injured. The cause of the fire was the gas, which ignited the framework of the cupola. The building had been erected in 1778 by Maria Theresa for the Brabant States. The damage done was estimated at over 12 millions of francs. The Charter of 1830 and all the State papers relating to the establishment of the Belgian Independence were destroyed, and the country was thus left without a Constitution.

7. At Rome, in the fields behind the Castle of St. Angelo, a duel fought with the sword between Signor Nicotera, a former Cabinet Minister, and Signor Levito, Secretary-General of the Interior, in consequence of an insult offered by the former. Signor Nicotera thought himself aggrieved by the decoration of a man who had libelled him, and took very violent means of expressing his displeasure, spitting in the face of Signor Levito in public. Both combatants were wounded, but Signor Nicotera only slightly. Signor Nicotera's original intention had been to challenge the Minister of the Interior, Signor Depretis, but, on account of his age, he had sought redress from his subordinate. The combatants fought so desperately that, after both were wounded, their seconds had great difficulty in putting a stop to further fighting.

8. A white elephant, purchased by Mr. Barnum from the King of Siam for 40,000*l.*, left Rangoon by the steamer *Tenasserim* for London, *en route* to New York.

10. The gold medal and travelling studentship of the Royal Academy for historical painting awarded to Mr. W. Mouat, London, and that for sculpture to Mr. W. Bates.

— The Czar while out hunting met with a serious accident, the horses having run away and overturned the sledge, and the Czar, it was stated, had received a violent contusion of the right shoulder, injuring the ligaments. No news of the accident transpired for ten days after its event, when it was ascribed to Nihilist design and attack.

11. The Upper House of the Hungarian Diet rejected by 109 votes to 103 the Bill proposed by the Ministry for legalising marriages between Jews and Christians.

— According to a Parliamentary return, the cost of promoting and opposing local Bills before Parliament, from 1872 to 1882 inclusive, amounted to 4,664,874*l.*, thus apportioned :—Railway Bills, promoting, 2,502,557*l.*, opposing, 807,068*l.* ; Gas, promoting, 302,572*l.*, opposing, 44,085*l.* ; Water, promoting, 312,366*l.*, opposing, 65,045*l.*

— At a banquet given at the Rotunda, Dublin, Mr. Parnell was presented with a cheque for 37,000*l.*, the outcome of the Parnell Testimonial Fund, in recognition of his services to Ireland.

— The New Zealand Shipping Company's ship *Tongariro* arrived at Port Chalmers in forty days nine hours' steaming, the fastest passage from England to New Zealand on record. It was the ship's maiden voyage.

12. Some hours before daybreak a terrific gale swept across England from west to east, doing considerable damage in the southern suburbs of London, but still more in the Midland counties and in the south-west of Scotland. A portion of the stone wall of Lincoln Cathedral was blown

down, together with numerous factory chimneys at Leeds, Huddersfield, and Manchester, and churches at Glasgow and the neighbourhood ; whilst round the coast great loss of property and life occurred, including a large fleet of Dublin herring-boats. At Manchester, where five lives were lost, a surgeon in the act of setting a woman's arm, broken in the gale, was struck by a piece of falling chimney entering the room—his thigh was broken, and he survived only three days.

12. The election at Ipswich, consequent on the death of Mr. J. C. Cobbold (Conservative), resulted in the return of Mr. H. W. West (Liberal), by 3,266 votes, over Sir W. Charley (Conservative), 2,816.

— Order in Council issued, fixing the duration of the Long Vacation from August 13 to October 23, a reduction of ten days in its length.

13. Lord Granville accepted, on behalf of the City Liberal Club, the statue of Mr. Gladstone, by T. Onslow Ford, presented by Mr. B. W. Currie.

14. At Philadelphia (U.S.) a detachment of the Salvation Army arrested for noisily conducting their street services. The judge ordered that the Army might use the steps of the Old State House for praying, preaching, and singing, but must not parade the public thoroughfares, beating drums, &c.

— The Standard Theatre at New York, where Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan's operas had been first produced in America, caught fire just before the commencement of the performance, and in a few hours scarcely anything but the walls remained.

— The greater part of the temporary buildings in the Great Square of Alexandria destroyed by fire.

15. Herr Hlubeck, the Police Superintendent of Florisdorf, a suburb of Vienna, murdered on his return from a meeting of Socialist working-men.

— Judgment given on the application for a new trial in the case of *Belt v. Lawes*. Mr. Justice Manisty was satisfied with the verdict and damages awarded (5,000*l.*) ; Mr. Justice Denman found no ground for disturbing the verdict as against the weight of evidence or misdirection of the judge, but thought damages should be reduced to 500*l.* ; Lord Chief Justice Coleridge thought the damages excessive, and that there had been a gross miscarriage of justice in the first trial.

16. The Spanish mail steamer *San Augustin* (2,948 tons), having on board four passengers and seventy-eight officers and men, burnt in the Bay of Biscay on her voyage from Corunna to Liverpool. Three boats were lowered and filled, but in consequence of the heavy sea only two boat-loads were rescued by passing ships.

17. Patrick O'Donnell, a bricklayer by trade, convicted of the murder of James Carey the informer, hanged in Newgate. Efforts had been made in the United States and elsewhere for a reprieve ; but the law was allowed to take its course. O'Donnell died without making any statement with regard to his associates (if any) in the murder.

18. Joseph Poole executed in Richmond Gaol at Dublin. He was a prominent Fenian, and was sentenced to death for the murder of James

Kenny in Seville Place, a brother Fenian who was suspected of having given information to the police.

18. The anniversary of shutting the gates of Derry celebrated with considerable ceremonial, in spite of the restrictions imposed. The effigy of Lundy the traitor was burned by a mob, although every effort had been made by the authorities to prevent the introduction of the figure into the city.

— A fire broke out at the Royal Dockyard at Lisbon, destroying, amongst other things, the training brig *Camoens*.

19. Trieste new harbour works, which had been fifteen years in progress, and on which upwards of three millions sterling had been expended, completed.

20. Wilhelm Wolff and Edouard Bondurand, charged with having in their possession explosives for an unlawful purpose, with the object of blowing up the German Embassy, after repeated remands, committed for trial.

21. The trial of ten persons concerned in the dynamite outrages at Glasgow concluded; the five ringleaders were sentenced by the Lord Justice Clerk to penal servitude for life, the remaining five for seven years.

22. Shocks of earthquake, accompanied by subterranean rumblings, experienced at Lisbon, doing but little damage.

— A number of the working-men of Derby went to Hawarden Castle to present to Mr. Gladstone a dessert service of Derby china, specially designed and manufactured for the occasion. The service was produced by the Derby Crown Porcelain Works, under the superintendence of Mr. Richard Lunn, the art director of the factory. The characters reproduced on the porcelain were from sketches made by Count Holtzendorff, and represented Derbyshire scenery.

23. At Brussels the Magasins du Printemps, on the Boulevard du Nord, totally destroyed by fire.

— At a meeting of the Holy Synod and General Assembly of the Orthodox Greek Church, held at Constantinople, the Greek Patriarch Joachim III. resigned his office, in consequence of the attitude of the Porte towards the privileges of the Greek Church.

24. Centennial anniversary of the resignation of George Washington of his command of the United States army celebrated as a general holiday throughout the Union.

— The Great Western Railway Company's mail steamer *South of Ireland*, running between Weymouth and Cherbourg, went ashore during the fog on the Kimmeridge rocks, about fifteen miles off Weymouth. No lives were lost, but the cargo was much injured.

26. Riot occurred at Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, between the Roman Catholics and Orangemen of that place. Four men were killed and a number of them seriously injured.

— According to the *Vienna Presse* the Grand Duke Nicholas Constantinovitch, for some time living in exile in Turkestan, made an attempt to escape into India. He was closely pursued and overtaken by General Alramoff, and brought back to his place of confinement.

27. Dickens's "Old Curiosity Shop," being 14 Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, ordered to be demolished by the Board of Works as in dangerous condition. For some years it had been used as a storehouse for waste paper.

28. About 500 Paris students met at the Salle de l'Ermitage to consider what steps should be taken to obtain redress from the editor of a newspaper, *Le cri du Peuple*, for an article insulting the student body. Four of the number were selected to demand from the editor of the paper reparation by arms.

29. The chief of the Russian secret police, Colonel Soudakin, and his principal assistant, an officer of the gendarmes, found murdered in a room of a house on the Newsky Prospect.

— The Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, on whom a sentence of deprivation had been pronounced by Lord Penzance on July 21, resigned the living of St. Peter's, London Docks, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners having ceased to pay the stipend from the date of the judgment of the Court of Arches.

30. The parish church of East Hanningfield, near Chelmsford, of which a portion dated from the sixteenth century, totally destroyed by fire, the east window alone being preserved.

— The remains of the Austrian General d'Aspre brought from the cemetery at Padua, placed with great ceremony in the heroes' vault of the Ruhmeshall at Wetzdorf, beside the bodies of Radetzky and Wimpffen, his companions in arms.

31. Failure announced of the firm of A. and H. Brogden, ironmasters, &c., with liabilities of nearly a million and a half.

— A demonstration made against a Jesuit missionary whilst preaching at St. Johannes' Kirch, at Vienna; a panic ensued, and many people were severely injured in attempting to leave the church.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1883.

### LITERATURE.

IN the front rank amongst the books of science which have appeared during the year a place must be accorded to a **Manual of Pathology**, by Joseph Coates, M.D. (Longmans), a closely but clearly printed volume of 900 pages, illustrated by 339 excellent woodcuts, many of which are original, while others are copied from well-known and acknowledged home and foreign authorities. The work covers the whole field of pathology, and, judging from the treatment of the subjects of micro-organisms, tumours, Bright's disease, and diseases of the nervous system, is well up to date (1883), and the newest discoveries and theories of pathologists are stated in clear and intelligible language, and entirely without bias. Recognising the natural connection which exists between physiology, histology, general pathology, and pathological anatomy the author has added very much to the value and interest of the work as a text-book and work of reference by introducing a concise account of the healthy structure and functions of the various organs of the body, which serves to show more clearly the pathological condition induced by disease. The addition of general pathology—usually dealt with in works on surgery or medicine—brings pathological anatomy and histology into direct connection with the practice of these two branches of the healing art, and this practical tendency of the book is still further emphasised by occasional references to the action of therapeutical agents. In the absence of special references to authorities it is difficult to say which parts of the work are based on the author's investigations; but while advantage has obviously been taken of all sources of information, every section bears the stamp of his individuality, and in this respect the work is more original than any text-book on pathology in the English language. No separate chapter is devoted to a description of the rougher operations of the *post-mortem* room, nor to the delicate and complicated manipulations of preparing and staining objects for the microscope, although descriptions of the latter kind are to be found in various parts of the work, especially in the chapter treating on parasites. Dr. Coates' Manual is a valuable addition to English medical literature, and it is a work which will be very acceptable to physicians and surgeons, as well as to medical students, as containing a lucid account of the position of the science as it now stands, and as indicating the direction in which further observation is desirable, and likely to prove profitable to the pathologist.

Among the volumes of travel which every year seem to increase in number, and vary greatly in importance, **Across Chryse** (Sampson Low) holds a

prominent place. It is a record of a journey of exploration, undertaken by Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, Executive Engineer, through the South China borderlands from Canton to Mandalay, for the purpose of considering trade extension with Indo-China. The author disclaims literary pretension, stating that his narrative was written on the ground; and certainly the freshness of the descriptions justifies his excuse.

It is a most readable book of travels, and though the minutiae of detail are sometimes excessive and mar the proportion of the picture, the same excuse which Mr. Colquhoun made for his literary imperfections must perforce avail here. The interest to those who are not naturally lovers of geographical narrative will centre in the views on trade extension set forth in chapters 17 and 18 of vol. ii.

In these he describes the products of the Shan and Yunnan countries, their population, and absence of communication; and sets forth his views as to the railway system possible, and the especial importance of opening out new markets, considering the pressure of the French on Tonquin. The comparative value of the different trade routes is of course a matter of dispute between the few who have special knowledge of the district, but the necessity of opening up the Shan country, now that British Burmah has increased so enormously in trade and population, is admitted by all; and Mr. Colquhoun's detailed experience ought to go far to settle the question as to the most practicable scheme. The great want of British Burmah seems to be population, and he considers that Chinese and Shan immigration should be looked to instead of that from India. To promote this there must of course be safe thoroughfares, and the particular one he advocates, from the Irawada Delta through the south-west frontier, would have the advantage of opening up the richest part of Yunnan, which faces British Burmah, as well as Northern Siam and the independant Shan country. The two questions Mr. Colquhoun set himself to solve on his journey were, what present trade is there, and what prospective trade will there be, if proper communications are constituted, and, from which quarter and along which route can such communication best be effected; and the elucidation of both these is to be found in the present volumes. The geography of Indo-China, with the exception of the French expedition in 1868, and Mr. Baber's in 1876, has been the subject of hardly any important investigation. The idea of finding a practicable trade route occurred to Mr. Colquhoun in 1879, when second in command of the Government of India mission to Siam and the Shan States. He travelled through 2,000 miles of unexplored country, with a friend, Charles Wahab, who has since succumbed to the fatigues it entailed, and the only financial help he had came from the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. The narrative of his experience and observation apart from its special purpose is very pleasant reading, and likely to interest many in a subject they would otherwise avoid. We must not forget to mention that there are over 300 illustrations of dress, manners and customs, architecture and scenery, mostly from original photographs and sketches.

**The Land of the Lion and Sun** (Macmillan) is the title of a book on Persia, written by C. J. Wills, M.D., late one of the medical officers of her Majesty's Telegraph Department in Persia. It is the record of fifteen years in that country, spent at Teheran, Hamadan, Kermansha, Julfa, Ispahan and Shiraz, with one interval in 1876, when the writer came home, married, and returned with his wife. He found it however no place for ladies, and gave up his appointment in 1881. The book is full of the usual descriptive narrative

of the country and its inhabitants, and, as Persia is comparatively untrodden ground, much of this has considerable novelty for the reader.

The subject of the fast opening commerce with Persia might well have taken a more important part in the author's narrative instead of being relegated to an appendix of three pages. The chief necessity before it can be well established seems to be the opening out of the Kerun River—the route viâ Ahway to Ispahan and Teheran. The demand for cotton, cloth, sugar, &c., all being satisfied by Russia, the idea seems to be that it is through Russian influence that Persia steadfastly keeps her country closed to English enterprise. Mr. Wills recommends in addition to the opening of the Kerun River that, instead of only having native agents at the great commercial centres, we should have English consuls to protect trade and administer justice.

In **The Orkneys and Shetland** (Stanford) Mr. Tudor has been fortunate in finding nearly a fresh field on which to exercise his energies. More interesting islands would be hard to find than these—rich in the relics of a pre-historic past, with a special history of their own extending over six centuries, possessing a coast scenery which for grandeur of form and beauty of colouring cannot be surpassed in the British Isles, and affording in the Northern groups the most interesting fields of study possible to the geologist and mineralogist. It is the attempt to do justice to these numerous points of view from which the islands can be considered that has made Mr. Tudor's book of more interest for the historical and archæological student than for the general reader of books of travel and geography. He first traces the history of the islands through their Pictish or pre-historic period, then as independent dependencies of the Norwegian crown, and finally as annexed to the British crown and administered or rather oppressed by the Stuarts. Of the fishing and agricultural life of the crofters, their superstitions and language, the author gives a most detailed and interesting account, while the geology and flora of the islands are treated in separate chapters by specialists in each subject. The geography of both Northern and Southern groups is carefully gone into, and the book is freely illustrated with maps and drawings of subjects of archæological and pictorial interest. Mr. Tudor has been long known to the "Field" by his papers on the Orkneys and Shetland—the result of his frequent sojourns in these islands—and in the present volume has brought their past and present condition before the reader with exhaustive industry.

It ought to tempt many people to vary their summer holidays, and especially anglers to try their luck in the Shetland lochs.

A book of similar kind and importance is Mr. Griffis's account of **Corea the Hermit Nation** (Allen). He gives an historical outline of the country from before the Christian era to the present year, and an account of the political and social life of its people. His record is not one of personal experience, but Corean and Japanese life have much in common, and with the latter Mr. Griffis has ample acquaintance. "Corea has for centuries successfully carried out the policy of isolation. Instead of a peninsula her rulers have striven to make her an inaccessible island and insulate her from the shock of change." Yet from Corea Japan got much of her art, letters and civilisation, and though more allied to the Japanese than to the Chinese in language, politics and social customs, Corea is different from either.

The land of morning calm, as the inhabitants call their country, was first entered by Europeans in 1627, when a Dutch crew was cast ashore; and their



report of what they met with was long treated with the same contempt as were Polo's stories of his wanderings. Divided into eight provinces Corea is governed by a king under the suzerainty of China, which subjected it in 1236. He appoints his successors at pleasure, the present dynasty having lasted since 1392. Political parties, we learn, are of great power, and the nobles have gradually compelled the royal princes to take up a position of absolute political neutrality. A state of feudalism exists, but serfdom is gradually declining, and the spirit of association which is abroad everywhere prevails among the Coreans of all classes, so that they combine for independence and form powerful trades unions. Social life, however, is at the lowest ebb. Women have no existence except as instruments of pleasure or labour. They are absolutely nameless, and are called simply "the sister" or "the daughter" of such a one; marriage is a matter of negotiation, and the sexes are separated from the age of eight. Of the details of outdoor life and employment, burial, diet and costume, there is ample to interest the student of comparative sociology. Paganism, and superstition, Confucianism and Buddhism prevail, though Christianity entered in the present century with French missionaries in 1835, many of whom suffered martyrdom later on. The last few years have seen the opening up of treaties with Corea by England, America and China, and a new one is about to be made with England by Sir Harry Parkes.

In **North America** (Stanford) Mr. Stanford has issued the last volume of his "Compendium of Geography and Travel," which, taken as a whole, is the most complete series of the kind ever published in England, and must find a place in every library.

This volume is not so exhaustive as that on Asia. Both Professor Hayden, who has undertaken the "United States," and Professor Selwyn, who has had charge of "Canada," have given too much space to the physical aspects of the respective countries: the result is a less well-balanced account of the different departments than is to be found in the other volumes. Thus Professor Hayden subordinates in an undue degree the historical and political account of the United States to their geological and physical aspects, and barely deals at all with the commercial aspects of the country; while Professor Selwyn makes it very evident that his particular hobby is that Canada is the best country for immigration that the world offers. But of course such books as this are among those that always want constant revision, and it will be easy in subsequent editions to bring this volume up to the level of the others. This series is intended to be a companion to the atlas, and the maps are consequently plentiful and thoroughly well executed.

**The Golden Chersonese** (Murray) is the title of Miss Bird's last account of her wanderings in the Malay peninsula. We find the same picturesque description and power of depicting natural scenery that mark her other writings, and her knowledge of the flora of different parts of the world enables her to give plenty of local colour to her account.

Her writing is always fresh and characterised by humour and enthusiasm for her subject, and there is no more pleasant companion to an imaginative expedition to the Tropics than this experienced traveller.

Spain comes in for recommendation to the tourist through the pen of Mr. Gallenga, in his **Iberian Reminiscences** (Chapman and Hall), but he might have made a much better book about it than he has done, if he had not circumscribed his aim. His object is not, he says, to make a historical

or political work, but "to give sketches of the country; to blend the description of localities with remarks on national peculiarities; to bring men and things of Spain before English readers." His sketches are mostly very amusing, and especially his account of the Carlist War.

He does not give a very flattering picture of the Spanish people, but he is probably very just when he says, "they are better than their Government." He thus sums up the social character of the nation and its rapidly increasing improvements:—"There must needs be not a little private virtue to withstand the constant scandal of so much public corruption. The people have had enough of riot and racket to feel what a blessing a little quiet living might be, if it could be obtained, no matter under what régime. There has been undeniable advance in the security and well-being of the country under Alfonso's rule. Fields and vineyards have been unusually productive in spite of long droughts and sudden floods. The mining industry has made rapid progress, the Spaniards acknowledging that the foreign capitalists who have taken them in hand benefit the country and themselves. Public works are pushed forward with fresh energies, and some of the great cities, especially Madrid and Barcelona, are so enlarged and embellished as to have become almost unrecognisable."

Mr. Hare's *Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily* (Smith, Elder and Co.) will take a first place among guide books of the year, though as a guide book—and such it is though vastly superior to most—a map is an indispensable companion, and its absence seems a curious omission.

Mr. Hare pursues the same system as that to which his readers are accustomed—copious extracts from well-known writers enliven his own easy, pleasant narrative, and pictures among the text, really well done, are not the least agreeable feature in the book. The scene of Mr. Hare's excursions this time has been particularly tempting to quotations, and accordingly we find Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and all classic authors who have described Italian nature and the agricultural life of the people, laid under contribution, while "Eustace's Classical Tour," Grote, Milman, Symonds, Ampère, De Staël, and many French and Italian authors, yield frequent extracts. Mr. Hare is certainly at his best in his account of the Italian peoples, their temperament and social manners and customs, as may be seen in his introductory chapter and his chapter on Naples and Sicily. Here, as elsewhere, he is chatty and amusing, while his cultivated taste and knowledge of books enable him to excel in fertility of illustration and comparison. No doubt it would be easy to pick out mistakes of detail, and each reader will find omission of what he considers to be more important than many facts given in the topical matter. Thus it seems strange that Mr. Hare should fail to mention in connection with Naples the most successful educational effort in Italy—Madame Schwabe's schools. That such institutions should spread and prevail seems to be the only chance of the regeneration of the Italian people.

It is doubtful whether he will tempt many tourists to leave the beaten track and try Calabria, which Mr. Lear failed to do in his "Journal of a Landscape Painter," written now thirty years back, for the nature of the inhabitants, want of decent accommodation, and unsanitary state of the villages will more than counterbalance the beauty of the scenery and the picturesqueness of the costumes. Sicily is gradually attracting more and more visitors, as it gradually reforms its local manners and extends its civilised habits; and only when Calabria does likewise will it be likely to be patronised by the Englishman in search of health and holiday.

Mr. and Mrs. Macquoid's book **About Yorkshire** (Chatto and Windus), without pretending to be a guide-book, will be a pleasant companion to those who mean to wander over the most interesting county in England. For there is no county which combines so definite a history, so many cathedrals and churches, such a variety of castles and abbeys, so much splendid moor and coast, with so interesting a people.

It is a gossipy book, interspersed with numberless illustrations drawn by Mr. Macquoid and fairly engraved, and full of legendary lore, some of the stories being very well told.

Another point in its favour is that it is not overwhelmed with historical and ecclesiastical information, which might easily have proved a snare to anyone writing about Yorkshire.

Miss Gordon Cumming gives us a record of six months spent **In the Hebrides** (Chatto and Windus). She is one of our pleasantest writers on home and foreign travel, and thoroughly understands the art of being picturesque without being sentimental.

The Scotch legends and folk-lore that cling about the Northern Islands are told with graceful sympathy, and the many curious customs that prevail among the fishing population meet with humorous representation, especially the lengths to which their sabbatarianism will drive them.

The book is full of all sorts of interesting matter well told, and ought to tempt many to these western isles for a holiday, though the illustrations are by no means up to the level of the rest of the book.

**Norfolk Broads and Rivers** (Blackwood) is another holiday book, but written especially from the point of view of the sportsman. In truth, as Mr. Davies shows, there is no better playground in England than the lakes and rivers of East Anglia, none easier of access or more cheaply to be enjoyed. The engravings printed on copperplates direct from negatives of the author's photographs are most happy in their effect, and greatly add to the attractiveness of the book. Of course, there is a great deal about fishing and cruising and wildfowl, about eels and otters and decoys, and all the natural history connected with the locality.

It is, in fact, full of the detail of sport and picnic life which, when well told, is so alluring to the holiday-maker, and who of us is not a holiday maker, at least in imagination? Summer and winter, the Norfolk lakes and rivers have plenty to offer to the sportsman, though, unfortunately, like all other places of the kind, they are rapidly getting overrun.

The reviewer of books of travel and adventure has the same feeling about the sameness of the material he has to get through as the reviewer of works of fiction. The manners and customs of natives, however admirably portrayed, the flora and fauna of the Tropics, however brilliantly described, the superstitions of Eastern countries, the hardships undergone by the enterprising traveller—all have a tendency to run in grooves, however diversified the experiences, or however various the scenes described. The tendency now to illustrate books of travel with marvellous representations of native costume and implements, &c., a little lightens the task, for they engage the eye and take off the mind from the round of descriptive phraseology which repeats itself with little variation for page after page. Of such illustrations Mr. Thurn's book **Among the Indians of Guiana** (Kegan Paul) contains a fair number; there are woodcuts of all kinds, of blow pipes and fire sticks, darts, drums, flutes, shields, earrings, pottery, and all the illustrative stock in trade of a confirmed narrator

of travels. Not that Mr. im Thurn's book is more in need of such adornments than other books of the kind, for his narrative is not dull or badly related—it is merely one of many of the same type. He spent two and a half years in British Guiana, from 1877 to 1879, and returned to England at the end of that time. He found English lanes and woods and rivers pleasant enough, he tells us, in fine weather, but with gloomy days his longings for “the deep shadows and broken lights of the gigantic tropical forests, for the sunlit waters of the broad rivers and the rolling limitless savannas” returned to him, and he went back in 1881. The present volume contains much anthropological matter of great interest concerning the Red men, and the chapters on Indian religion and folk-lore are particularly good.

Two large volumes record the ill-fated *Voyage of the Jeannette* (Kegan Paul), compiled from the ship and ice journals of her Commander George De Long by his widow. This narrative is introduced with a brief sketch of the Commander of the Expedition, and an account of the preparations for the voyage to discover the North Pole, which began in July 1879, after which the story of that voyage is continued in the words of Lieutenant Long; for besides the ship's log, he kept a full journal during the voyage, and continued the record after the ship was abandoned in June 1881, after drifting two winters in the pack ice. Then came the dreary march over the frozen ocean, the discovery of Bennett Island, where Lieutenant Long left a record reporting all the original number of eight officers and twenty-five men complete and in good health. From this island they proceeded in their three boats to the Siberian Islands, from whence they set out again to the mouth of the Lena river; but the boats were separated in a gale, and only one of them, with Long and a party of thirteen, landed. Then begins the record of disaster, in the month of October; eight of the party died from exhaustion and starvation while trying to reach a settlement on the Lena river. Lieutenant Long, when too weak to do more himself, sent two seamen on a relief expedition southward to Ku Maick Suika, apparently twelve miles away, with only one river to cross; but the chart was insufficient, the distance was much greater, and a later one shows that there was really a native settlement close to the point where the cutter first landed. How these two men eventually fell in with natives and reached their destined place after terrible sufferings, how they came upon Melville, who commanded one of the boats that disappeared in the gale, and how relief expeditions for Long and his few companions were at once organised, we cannot describe here. Their efforts were eventually rewarded so far that they found the bodies of Long and the others with him; but the fate of the second cutter with Lieutenant Chipp in it has never been discovered.

Like our neighbours over the water, everyone here is writing their reminiscences. There is a fashion for autobiography, and though it is undoubtedly the most interesting form of biography, it certainly runs a chance of being overdone at the present time. Mr. Hall gives his *Retrospect of a Long Life from 1815—1883* (Bentley), and as he has been an active man in the profession of letters, it is full of personal anecdote, gossip, recollections and portraits of well-known figures. He began life as a reporter, and his book opens out with sketches of statesmen and orators—the Duke of Wellington, Canning, Sir Charles Wetherall, Lord Palmerston, Earl Russell, and many others being included. His connection as editor with various magazines and reviews affords much amusing talk. “John Bull,” “The Morning Journal,”

“The New Monthly Magazine,” were temporarily under his management, and the “Art Journal” long afforded him scope for energy and activity.

The critical judgments of the men of letters he knew will offend the reader as much or even more than did those of Mr. Carlyle in the “Reminiscences,” according as the undoubted genius of the latter may be in his opinion an excuse, or the reverse, for his harshness of expression. Mr. Hall frequented Lady Blessington’s “evenings,” knew Lady Morgan and Miss Martineau, Landor, Coleridge and Lamb, Wordsworth and Barry Cornwall, Crabbe, Bowles and Rogers, so that his recollections might be of considerable significance, but many of these not disfigured by bad taste add nothing new to our estimate of them. Perhaps the best part of the book is that on Ireland which the author knew thoroughly, and which he writes about with much humour and instructiveness.

Carlyle literature has already attained to an important magnitude, but with the publication of *Mrs. Carlyle’s Letters* (Longmans) public interest in the subject has probably reached its climax. Mr. Froude, as editor, has acquitted himself well in a difficult matter, and though many of the domestic details—the struggles with dirt and servants especially—might have been advantageously omitted, the two volumes form very pleasant and interesting reading on the whole. Mrs. Carlyle will henceforth stand out as one of the most interesting women of our time, who, though not endued with original intellectual powers, and overshadowed by the presence of the rugged figure whose personality overwhelmed her at every turn, had so much native strength of character, wit, and resource that she made a mark for herself wherever she went. She had further so great a natural gift of expression and humorous sense of the incongruities of life that many of her letters are worthy to rank among the best of those of her countrymen.

Mr. Anthony Trollope’s *Autobiography* (Blackwood) is very different to the morbid analysis and personal criticism that the public has been accustomed to of late under the title of autobiography. Anything that contrasts more sharply with Carlyle’s *Reminiscences* than Trollope’s story of his life cannot well be imagined. It is the record of a healthy mind with a keen delight in outside life, a sound judgment and an unprejudiced perception as to the writer’s own character and attainments. But one of the chief charms, in these days of artificial writing, is the extreme simplicity and lucidity of the style. He says somewhere in this memoir—“A man who thinks much of his words as he writes them will generally leave behind him work that smells of oil.” Of course the facile invention with which he threw off novel after novel, and which he inherited from his mother, must inevitably result in great ease of style, and in none of his works is this more apparent than in this record of his life. There is no more pathetic chapter to be found in anybody’s reminiscences than that in which Trollope tells how his mother, having had her home broken up for the fifth time, in poverty at Bruges, and over fifty years of age, wrote novels for the support of her family by the bedside of her dying son, while she did all the work of a day and night nurse to a sick household.

It is the unvarnished simplicity of the narrative that takes hold of us; there is no appeal to our emotions either there or where he describes his own miserable boyhood, and the sufferings that he endured uninterruptedly until he obtained his travelling surveyorship in the Post Office. Besides his personal history, with its marked transition from extreme poverty to prosperity, his love of hunting, and aspirations after a literary fame which he

began to achieve only at the end of efforts extending over ten years, he makes many observations on subjects which are more or less always with us as food for discussion and literary criticism, and on which his opinion is well worth having, such as international copyright, the art of writing novels by taskwork, competitive examinations, the novelist as teacher, dishonest criticism, and the like. His judgments on his contemporaries are always kindly, and many still living will be touched by his appreciative mention of them, and their intercourse with him.

Lord Ronald Gower has published his *Reminiscences* (Kegan Paul) at the age of thirty-eight, and if he had waited longer it is probable that many things now included would have been omitted. There is not much of permanent interest in the book, and the two bulky volumes might have been more satisfactorily reduced to one small one. There are a great many names of dukes and duchesses, a great many records of fashionable entertainments, and a great deal of personal narrative about his own attainments, which appear to have been remarkable from his earliest childhood. A more modest estimate of himself, and better taste in the stories about the celebrities of all kinds whom he has known, which have something of the "society" journal flavour about them, would have produced better things, for the author has wit and a power of graphic writing. But it is doubtful if these volumes will reconcile any one to the habit of keeping a journal uninterruptedly from the age of eight years.

*The Diary of Mr. Henry Greville* (Smith, Elder and Co.), edited by the Countess of Enfield, extends over the period between 1832—1851, and differs from the memoirs of his elder brother Charles in being entirely free from the scandal which occasioned so much criticism. It must be added, however, that they contain no material of equal importance, for Henry Greville, though attached to the embassy at Paris during part of the time, did not live in the political world to anything like the same extent, and the interest of his diary lies in his acquaintance with the best society of France and England. It would be curious to estimate how many books of gossip Talleyrand has served to enliven indirectly by records of his conversation and epigrammatic talent. Here he is one of the chief figures, while the Duke of Wellington, next in importance, comes out to live once more in the hearts of his admirers. To those who have lived in or about the time that this record covers it may bring many pleasant recollections, and the course of French politics and society during the Republic will be easily retained by means of the judgments of the leading Frenchmen, noted by Mr. Greville in his conversations with them.

In *Biographical Sketches* (Kegan Paul) Mr. Kegan Paul collects six essays on Irving, Keble, Rowland Williams, Newman, Maria Hare, George Eliot, which he has contributed to various magazines and reviews during the past twenty years. They are pleasant reading, and have much of the freshness of personal anecdote and reminiscence about them.

No biography of the present year is likely to attract more attention than that of *Edward Palmer* (Murray), Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, who met with so tragic a fate in his expedition to the deserts in order to insure for us the good will of the Bedouins in the Egyptian War. Mr. Besant has done his task well and sympathetically, and though many may wish to have more information about Palmer as an Orientalist and explorer, and a more complete and familiar study of the man in every way, the picture as it stands out boldly, full of life and colour.

No man has ever possessed more varied gifts than Palmer, or had a more striking personality, but it is the latter which will attract to him the majority of readers. As a linguist he was supreme, writing and speaking brilliantly in a dozen tongues, but to the qualities which made him a successful student were joined the usually opposite ones which gave him so remarkable an influence over his fellow men, and which caused him to be selected for the secret mission which he conducted so admirably and which ended so fatally. He possessed skill in acting, versifying and mesmerising, and could express himself with graceful ease in any language at the shortest notice, qualities which made him a delightful companion and a sympathetic friend.

So flexible a mind, such diversity of taste, so many incongruous qualities, such eagerness and fulness of vigour, turned what might have been the uneventful prosaic life of a student into an existence of such varied interest that it seems to be removed altogether from our own age and nation. Mr. Besant sums up his work in a few graphic words :

“It is the history of a man who was a great scholar but never a book-worm ; a great linguist, yet never a pedant ; a man of the pen and the study, yet one who loved to go about, observant, among his fellow-men ; a man sequestered, as all real students must be, from the common struggles and selfish interests of most men, yet one who could sympathise with and see the better side of those struggles ; one to whom there were no ranks, grades, or distinctions of men at all—a true republican ; to whom men were interesting or dull, curious, attractive or the reverse, according to their qualities and not their position ; who was prepared to love a prince as much as he might love a pauper, and was ready on occasion to esteem a bishop as much as he might a gipsy tramp.”

Professor Burrows, in his *Life of Lord Hawke* (Allen and Co.), besides a personal biography of the great Cornish admiral, gives an account of the English wars in the reign of George II., and of the state of the British Navy at that time. He undertook the task, he tells us, from a feeling that, notwithstanding the great actions of Ushant and Quiberon Bay, with which Hawke's name is connected, the position assigned to him in history is far beneath what it should be, and a desire to set his reputation on a level with his services. That Hawke's career suffered from its identification throughout with that of the Whig party is possible, but that the want of posthumous appreciation he has met with is to be explained by that, or the depreciation of his contemporaries, among whom Walpole must be included, Professor Burrows by no means satisfactorily proves. The victory of Quiberon during the Seven Years' War was really the only engagement in which Hawke won decisive glory, the Rochefort expedition was ruined by delay and want of agreement between his colleagues, and the battle with the French off Ushant just missed success through the want of co-operation of one of his captains. In addition to this, Hawke was often at odds with the official world, though beloved by the public and his sailors, whose comfort he was always endeavouring to ensure, with the result that honours came tardily, and when he was already advanced in life. Professor Burrows' narrative will not rank with the “*Life of Nelson*” and other favourite histories of heroes for detail, and it has entered too minutely into the history of the British Navy, but it gives an interesting account of that quarter-of-a-century when the aggression of France and Spain obliged England to enter into the defensive war which led to the acquisition of her present empire.

A volume by Lieut.-Colonel Charles Townshend Wilson on **The Duke of Berwick as Marshal of France** (Kegan Paul) is a supplement to one written a few years since called "James II. and the Duke of Berwick," and takes up the narrative where the first leaves off, dealing with the years from 1702-1734. The Marshal's autograph memoirs form the basis of the book, and his celebrated defence of the Alpine frontier of France, though told at much length, is full of interest.

Colonel Townshend has written the book in the hopes that a record of memorable campaigns throughout the war of the Spanish succession, of the amplitude of resource displayed, and the stratagem and subtlety of tactics displayed in those days may be an interesting, as it is an important study to the military student. "Apart from the cause and effect of the war," he continues, "the surpassing genius of Marlborough, the overthrow of the ill-directed armies of France, and the sudden resurrection of the defeated soldiery when inspired by an able chief, yield lessons of great worth to officers of all ranks. The patience as well as the courage of the rank and file, who performed their duty without a hope of reward, and amid hardships undreamt of in our luxurious age, the dread execution done by muskets and well-wielded broadswords, compose a series of subjects not to be lightly regarded."

The **Diary and Letters of Philip Henry** (Kegan Paul), edited by Mr. Matthew Henry Lee, are not of much interest except to those who feel inclined to study Nonconformity under the Stuarts. Philip Henry was a Puritan and Royalist, who, as he writes in one of the most taking pages of his Diary, saw the beheading of Charles I., and his letters and records are full of the quaint triviality of detail that fills so much of the writing of his contemporaries, in whom was no sense of perspective of any kind. As a picture, however, of the Puritan ideal of life and of its narrow religious concentration, it is not without importance.

Professor Vambéry is well-known to Englishmen, not only as a traveller and philologist of great reputation, but as a steady supporter of the civilising influence of this country in the East. His **Life and Adventures** (Fisher Unwin), written by himself, is a thoroughly lively and attractive record of a career full of romance and spirit. His independence commenced at twelve years of age, when he was turned adrift to commence his fortunes, his mother having married again and got a fresh family to support. A love of wandering, a marvellous power of languages, and dauntless energy and spirits set him rapidly on the way to fame. One could wish that such a small part of the book had not been devoted to his faithful struggles, the greater part being taken up with his ten years of Eastern journeys. Only a thorough acquaintance with the various languages and habits of the people that he lived amongst in Central Asia could have enabled him to pass safely through the dangers and hardships he endured. His well-known journey to Khiva and Bokhara has been already described by him in his "Travels in Central Asia," but appear here again as a necessary part of his biography. Having been told that his geographical and ethnological discoveries would meet with due recognition only in England, within two weeks he effected a sudden transition from the wilds of Asia to London Society, where he became the lion of the season of 1864. Of his reception by Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Roderick Murchison, of Lord Strangford's wonderful talent in Oriental languages, he speaks with much appreciation. To satisfy an eager London public who were deluging him with invitations and demands for



photographs and autographs, he wrote his first book of adventures, "Travels in Central Asia."

"Only those who for months and years," he says, "have moved about freely in the open air, and who have learnt to appreciate the charms of a continually wandering life with all its existing adventures—only those will know with what unspeakable pangs and sufferings a former traveller can shut himself up in a room, from which he sees only a small bit of the sky, and sit down and write conscientiously for hours every day for weeks and months." In three months from the time of its commencement he had revised the proof-sheets of the book.

Englishmen will turn with especial interest to his views on Russian advance in Asia. While admitting that the leading men of the day in Eastern matters are thoroughly up in Eastern questions, he expresses much surprise at the popular ignorance on the subject, and explains the fact 'that a nation so superficially informed of the real condition of the East should play such a mighty and influential rôle in that part of the world,' by the fact that the 'masses are everywhere led.' After showing what advantages Russia enjoys over England in her easy assimilation of the semi-civilised and barbarous Asiatics to the spirit of the bulk of the Russian people, and in the similarity of modes of thinking and acting, in superstitious and general views of life which Russians have with Orientals, he thus sums the difference between the two agents of our modern culture in the East :—

"Russia conquers in order to Russianise and to absorb all the various nationalities in the large body of the Russian people, whilst England conquers in order to civilise, to give the unhappy nations in Asia, for a while, an education, and to let them afterwards loose, matured in liberal institutions, able to take care of themselves." At the age of thirty-two Professor Vambéry settled down with a modest salary in the chair of Oriental Languages in the University of Pesth, where he continues to prosecute his linguistic studies with great zeal.

Two volumes of the five which are to recount the life and contain the letters and literary remains of **Lord Lytton** (Kegan Paul) have appeared and bring us down to the twenty-eighth year of his life. The bulk of the biography would have been greatly lessened, and with considerable advantage, if the son had allowed his father's personal account to be presented to the public without all the supplementary matter, much of it worthless and uninteresting, which he has interwoven in it with the object of illustration. He says, "the main purpose of the book is to illustrate my father's life by his works, and his works by his life." But this would have been just as possible if the autobiographic sketch had been presented complete in itself and the illustrative matter relegated to separate volumes. Further on in the Preface, the author thus adequately describes the character of the life he has given to the public: "The individuality I have attempted to describe was many-sided. Of a life so long, so variously active and unceasingly laborious, a life touching at so many different points literature, society, and politics, and coupled with a character so complex and so uncommon, no true picture could be given by a few rapid strokes, however skilfully applied." The first volume contains the autobiographical account of Edward Bulwer's childhood and the narrative of his school and college days, in which autobiography is mingled in the way above commented on, with supplementary and illustrative chapters, finishing with his *Wanderjahre* and episode

with Lady Caroline Lamb, who, not content with having formed a liaison with Lord Byron in her youth, attempted in middle life to secure Bulwer also.

The autobiography ended when Bulwer was twenty-two, and the second volume takes up the narrative of his life in the midst of his visit to Paris, where he met the beautiful Miss Wheeler, on whose account he broke with his mother, who had made him promise not to marry without her permission. That promise he broke, for in 1827 he married at the age of twenty-four, and the estrangement between mother and son was complete. With his married life begins his laborious career of professional authorship, for, his allowance having been stopped, he had to support his family entirely. During the first ten years of his married life he produced twelve novels and two poems, and journalistic and historical work as well. It is not surprising that the necessary separation of husband and wife entailed by this constant toil, laid the seeds of trouble that later on bore fruits of bitterness. The second volume closes with Bulwer's entrance into political life in 1831, at the age of twenty-eight. It is impossible, of course, to judge of the book while so small a portion of it only has appeared; but Bulwer's life and personality were so full of interest, his energy was so inexhaustible, his character so attractive and popular, his place in the literature, at least of fiction, so well defined, that the attention of his own century cannot fail to be secured for an individuality so exceptional.

**The Life of Lord Lawrence**, by R. Bosworth Smith (Smith, Elder, and Co.), is a notable book. The story of Lord Lawrence's life must ever be of use to his countrymen, and the manner of its telling is worthy of the subject. Mr. Bosworth Smith has more than fulfilled all expectations, and has made so judicious a use of the large quantity of letters and documents placed in his hands, that there is not an uninteresting page in the volumes before us. Opinions we imagine will always differ as to the wisdom of Lord Lawrence's frontier policy in India. "Masterly inactivity" has had its sturdy champions and bitterly hostile critics in the past, as it will surely have in the future, but we think no one has ever placed Lord Lawrence's policy in a clearer or more favourable light than his present biographer, and from the advantages he has possessed perhaps no one can ever speak more authoritatively as to what Lord Lawrence's views really were. One other subject inseparably connected with Lord Lawrence's life and work is much dwelt on in these volumes, namely, the relations which existed between Lord Lawrence and his no less gifted brother Henry. The subject is a delicate one, and Mr. Bosworth Smith is entitled to all praise for the impartiality and gentleness of his allusions. The brothers differed so vitally on many of the great questions which came before them for decision that a partial estrangement sprang up between them—an estrangement which happily ended before Sir Henry's untimely death at Lucknow.

Mr. Smith does full justice to Sir Henry Lawrence's character, and indeed to our own mind the finest passage in the biography is the description of his death. We cannot but wish that the elder brother's biography had yet to be written, and by Mr. Bosworth Smith. The existing work written many years since is not, we think, worthy of the man. However that may be, we lay down these volumes with a feeling that Mr. Bosworth Smith is as fortunate in his subject as is Lord Lawrence in his biographer.

**A Life of Lord Lyndhurst**, from letters and papers in possession of his family by Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B. (Murray). This work has for

some time been anxiously expected not only by Lord Lyndhurst's many friends and relations, but also by those who desired to read the history of the man as he really was, and not as he appeared to Lord Campbell's distorted imagination.

The volume before us well repays a careful perusal. If the interest is not sustained throughout, this is no fault of the biographer, whose hands have not been altogether untied, but who has been compelled somewhat to subordinate the literary merits of his work to the absolute necessity of dealing seriatim and in detail with Lord Campbell's serious and, as we think, unfounded charges.

Another difficulty which Sir Theodore Martin has had to face lies in the paucity of trustworthy materials for framing his narrative of Lord Lyndhurst's life, work, and character.

In the preface he tells us that "Lord Lyndhurst destroyed almost every letter or paper of a confidential nature which could have thrown light upon his official life, or his relations with the leaders in society or politics with whom he was intimately associated."

These disadvantages are great and obvious, but in spite of them the biography is probably as complete as it was possible to make it.

The most serious charge against Lord Lyndhurst—that of political tergiversation—has, we think, been satisfactorily disproved. In his early years, at a time when the French Revolution had unhinged the minds of many of the nobler spirits of his day, he may have given utterance to sentiments and opinions of which he afterwards disapproved, but from his first entrance into public life, his career was as steady and consistent as that of any public man of his time.

His domestic relations were uniformly peaceful and happy. Very touching is the following picture of the old man, at a time when his sight had failed him, and he was consequently dependent on those around him : "He (Lord Lyndhurst) was in his easy chair, with a grave, almost a solemn expression on his face, so intent on his employment that my presence was unnoticed. Before him, the Church Prayer Book held open by both her small hands, stood his youngest daughter of seven or eight years of age, hearing him repeat the prayers, and now and then prompting and correcting him. The old man, the judge and statesman, and the little child so occupied, made a picture that could not be seen without bringing tears to the eyes. He liked no one to hear him his lessons, he said, but his little girl."

Sir Theodore Martin may well be congratulated on the success of his work; more especially when we take into account the inadequate materials which were at his disposal.

**The Life of Major-General Sir Henry Marion Durand, K. C. S. I., C. B.,** of the Royal Engineers, by his son, H. M. Durand, C. S. I. (Allen).

Some allowance perhaps should be made for a son who undertakes to write his father's biography, but honesty compels us to state that the work before us is not satisfactory. It is, to use the biographer's own words, "roughly and imperfectly put together," and it contains a mass of undigested papers, correspondence, essays and minutes, which the most hardy critic would find it impossible to wade through.

Forty years of Sir H. Durand's life were passed in India, and there, too, his life's work was carried out. When the accident happened which caused his death, in 1870, he was but fifty-eight years of age, and was then holding the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub, an office second in importance

only to that of the Governor-General himself, and he had previously held other important appointments. Yet we are told by his biographer that Sir Henry's life was one long record of failure and disappointment. What is the explanation of this apparent anomaly? To our mind it lies in the fact that Sir Henry Durand seems to have shown an instinctive opposition to his official superiors. He quarrelled with Sir W. Macnaghten, with Sir H. Maddock, with Lord Hardinge, and with Lord Dalhousie in India, and with the War Office and the Court of Directors in England, and he did his best to quarrel with Lord Mayo, who had offered him the amalgamated Agencies of Central India and Rajputana, by returning him an answer which was little short of an insult. With Lord Ellenborough alone he seems to have worked with ease and satisfaction. Although therefore we cannot altogether agree with Mr. Durand in the view he takes of his father's career, we still find much to admire in the character of the man himself. Imbued as he was with strong religious convictions, and showing throughout his life a single minded devotion to duty, he set an example which the present generation of Indian officials might find it useful in many respects to copy. Even when he was most in conflict with those in authority over him, they expressed a sincere respect for him personally, and we imagine that in the whole of his career he made few personal enemies.

The work will, doubtless, be more widely read in India than in England, but in both countries there must be many still living who will find much in it to interest them even when they least agree with the views and opinions expressed.

The progress of scholarship in Eastern studies is marked by Sir William Muir's *Annals of the Early Caliphate* (Smith, Elder, and Co). It is a continuation of the author's "Life of Mahomet," and tells the story of the spread of the religion which he founded through the first four Caliphates, that is to say, from A.D. 632—680, the date of the final triumph of the Omezzud dynasty, after which the history of Islam becomes part of the history of the world. In Sir William Muir's own words—"he seeks to trace the special causes, natural, tribal, and spiritual, which moulded the faith, created the expansive power, and guided its onward progress. The object is to float the bark of Islam over the rapids and devious currents of its early course, until becoming more or less subject to ordinary human influences it emerges on the great sea of time." Two things are observable in this important book. Firstly, the finish and ease with which a subject so outside the range of popularity is given to the public; and secondly, the local colouring which makes the story living, and takes it out of the region which makes large demands on historical perception to bring it near to the imagination.

The authorities being entirely Arabian and the tradition solely Mahometan, much judgment was necessary to separate historical fact from local mythology. Yet each of the different personages that stand out in the epoch of Asiatic history is made prominent by his individuality, and the character of the Arab race during this its chivalrous and pre-decadent period—when it reflected the purity of life that distinguished the founder of its religion—is drawn with a skilful and sympathetic hand.

Mr. Ewald's record of the *Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart* (Chatto and Windus), the young Pretender, has passed through another edition. This account of the last Jacobite insurrection was suggested to the author while making a calendar at the Record Office of the State papers of

the reigns of the first two Georges. There he came upon papers of much interest concerning the rebellion of 1745, and soon found that the mine of information about the rebellion and the hero of the enterprise was practically an unworked one.

The Stuart papers now at Windsor Castle have been incorporated in a "Life of the Pretender," by a German, Karl Klose; but the State papers of the Italian States, which include the letters of John Walton, then agent of the English Government at Rome, and which afford much material for the early portion of the life of Prince Charles, have never before been made public. The latter chapters of his life are based on the correspondence and valuable despatches of Sir Horace Mann, then English envoy at Florence, and edited in 1845 by Lord Mahon for the Roxburghe Club, but like all the editions of that club, quite inaccessible to the public. The result of Mr. Ewald's efforts is a most interesting account of the young prince's romantic life.

Colonel Malleon, whose acquaintance with India and Indian affairs has been proved in his former writings, now gives us **The Decisive Battles of India from 1746—1846** (Allen). To most readers many of the names which illustrate the conquest of India during the hundred years treated of by Colonel Malleon will be unknown.

But the way in which the author describes the successive steps by which the English, after subduing their European rivals, conquered one after another the several native races, will be found related in a manner worthy of his reputation for intimate knowledge of Indian history, and cannot fail to interest though written in some respects from a military point of view. The eleventh chapter, which deals with a history of the Sikhs, is of especial value, and, like the rest of the book, shows a most careful consultation of original documents and contemporary writings.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of Mr. Wallace's book on **Egypt** (Macmillan), which offers the most complete account the public has yet had of the national movement, and the occupation of the country by British troops, which resulted from it. The letters written to the "Times" constitute the basis of the book; but they have been so much enlarged and so well connected that the book as a whole bears few marks of its journalistic origin. Most of us are a little tired by this time of the incidents of travel and the description of foreign manners and customs with which the now frequent book of travels is filled for the benefit of the tourist-by-*imagination*, apparently a largely increasing class. For once all this is absent, and we have instead a graphic account of the Fellah and of the actual condition of the people, which will remind the reader of the author's delightful pictures of Russian peasant life.

But the chief interest of the book is political. One turns at once to Mr. Wallace's account of the rebellion, and his views as to the difficulties that beset the Egyptian Government, and our own responsibility in the matter. This last he considers to be very great, since, had we not destroyed the national party, it might, he thinks, have done something to procure order and government; but having done so, we are bound to remain in the country until we have effected what we have prevented being done by other hands. "If we have not resolved to create something like permanent order in Egypt," says Mr. Wallace, "why did we go to Egypt at all? If we did not mean to create really good government, why did we destroy the national party, which had a far better chance of preserving order of some kind than

the Khedive whom we reinstated. . . . The time for considering the question as to whether we should undertake the work of Egyptian reorganisation was in the early part of last year, before we overthrew the Arabi dictatorship, and before the destruction of Alexandria. It is rather late in the day now to have conscientious scruples, and very foolish to imagine that by shirking our duties and responsibilities we can make for ourselves a reputation of disinterestedness and generosity."

On all the difficulties of the Egyptian question, Mr. Wallace has ample to say deserving of the fullest attention, and the vigour and clearness of his writing ought to tempt many to become acquainted with the subject.

Mr. Loftie deserves much credit for his boldness in undertaking so big a subject as the **History of London** (Stanford)—a task which he has accomplished with great success. It is appalling to think even of the mass of material—historical and antiquarian—that it must have been necessary to sift with discrimination in order to obtain the desired result. To deal with a town that in 150 square miles has the largest population of any known centre, and the history of which extends over twenty centuries, in a way that is to satisfy the historical student, the typographical antiquarian, and at the same time that vague person known as the general reader, is, one would think, an awe-inspiring labour. Yet Mr. Loftie has made a very interesting book throughout, and in the treatment of some distinct subjects, such as the growth of the corporation and the development of guilds, has achieved considerable success. Such studies will be hailed with pleasure, now that all these institutions are threatened with reform and spoliation.

The first volume deals with London proper, the second with Westminster, the Tower Hamlets, and the northern, western, and southern suburbs. The maps are numerous and excellent, and without them, indeed, it would be impossible to follow the growth and modifications of the city. Mr. Stanford has spared no pains in co-operating with Mr. Loftie to produce a work which will suffice for the subject for many years to come.

The Socialist and Revolutionary movement in Russia would attract the attention of our nation far more than it does were Russia not so far removed not only geographically, but also socially and politically. It has, too, been rendered impossible by the Russian Government that those should write who have a real acquaintance with the matter; for a faithful subject of the Czar would soon find himself in Siberia who undertook to enlighten Europe as to the real springs of the movement. It is only from the "illegals," as the suspected are termed, or from the exiled, that information of any historical value can be expected. It is surprising that out of so many exiles as there must be, so few have undertaken to write anything on the subject, and accordingly the account in **Underground Russia** (Smith, Elder, & Co.) of one who, Mr. Lavroff tells us in the preface, has served in the ranks of the revolutionary movement, and, as one of the founders of its secret press, has been among the most energetic actors in its various phases, is entitled to consideration. M. Stepaniak gives us an animated picture of the struggle; of the heroism of the combatants, and their sense of an historic mission; of the inutility of repression, and of the revolutionary propaganda set forth by the Terrorists. The most interesting part is perhaps the introduction, which sketches the development of modern Nihilism, or Terrorism, out of the earlier Nihilism of 1860, which was in fact an intellectual movement, the fundamental principle being freedom of thought in all directions, high education and occupation alike for men and women, and free intercourse between both.

This movement, growing out of the ideas developed in Western Europe, gained its day at once and firmly, and it is in consequence of this that Russian men would nowadays lay down their lives for Darwin, and that Russian women leave their country to study Medicine at Zurich. It prepared the ground for the Socialism of 1870, which got its final impetus on the one side from the Paris Commune, and on the other from the insurrection in Poland, ferociously stifled as it was by Alexander II.

After this the Propagandist movement proceeded apace, helped on by the personal enthusiasm of young men and women of the most aristocratic families, and by the devotion of the whole Russian youth, who, mowed down by the Government, only arose with fresh vigour to go forth to martyrdom again. In the part of the book called "Revolutionary Profiles," we get sketches of many of these men and women and of their work, which may well convince us that Russian blood has in it, more than that of any other nation, the true seeds of heroism, zeal, and devotion. As Stepniak himself says, "were the Government not in flagrant contradiction with society, such a struggle would be absolutely impossible," and the fact that the whole of Russian society longs ardently for certain political rights, such as freedom of speech in the press, national representation, and the inviolability of subject and domicile, makes it hardly possible that the Government will conquer in this struggle between liberty and despotism.

The legitimate requests of the nation, which are appended in the document issued by the Executive Committee after the murder of the Czar in 1881, show that Nihilism is constructive as well as destructive, and as such is more likely to succeed than the mere overthrow of power of the French Commune; independently of which, in the administrative corruption everywhere prevalent and the economic position of the people, it has allies whose power it is difficult to overestimate.

Madame Novikoff has written an account of **Skobelev and the Slavonic Cause** (Longmans) which is likely to interest many readers, from the romantic character of the hero, and from the easy way in which she relates his military exploits. It has of course no pretension to be written for soldiers, but is merely intended as a sketch to give the English an adequate impression of the man whose personal character and achievements raised him almost to the rank of a demigod in the eyes of the Russian people. He came of military parents and grandparents, his father being distinguished in the Russo-Turkish war, in which he fought side by side with his son. His first campaign was in Central Asia, where he went in 1869, being attached to General Abramoff's expedition to Bokhara. In 1873 he took the desert route to Khiva, in command of the advanced guard of Colonel Lomarkine's column, exploring 400 miles in twenty-nine days, and performing exploits of daring and hardihood which, like everything else in his life, were extremely romantic. But it was the Russo-Turkish war undertaken by Russia for the defence of the Slavs which first brought him European fame. The story of how he crossed the Danube on his horse to show that it was possible for the army, while his father looked on expecting every moment to see his son succumb, is only one out of the many sensational events which distinguished his campaigns. This audacious act it was which gave him the brigade of Cossacks, for he had gone out as a supernumerary only, attached to the Grand Duke Nicholas's staff. After the passage of the Balkans, which ended the Turkish war, his next and perhaps the best conducted of all his campaigns was that against the Tekkes, in which he captured Geok Tepé.

A born leader of men he endeared himself to his soldiers by his courage and simplicity, and thought for their interests, so that to be a Skobelevet was the object of every soldier's ambition. The second part of the volume is devoted to Skobelev's political and constitutional views, and many arguments in favour of Slavonic federation, of which he was a firm adherent. *Mdme. Novikoff* is very emphatic in her assertions that Russia neither desires to absorb nor administer the Slavs, but merely to call the different Slav groups from slavery into an independent and social existence; and a fourth point on which she is very explicit is that Russia's opposition to Austria is merely on account of her not sharing these views as to the independence and autonomy of subject races.

It is curious to pass from *Stepniak's* book to the views of the needs of Russia set forth by *Mdme. Novikoff*, and of the way in which Government fulfils its functions at St. Petersburg. She complains with some truth that we welcome all anarchists, while we should be much surprised were Russia to extend shelter and protection to Irish murderers; and finds in the conduct of Irish affairs, arrest and seizure of papers, ample analogy for the conduct of her country in the matter of Nihilism.

*Mr. Skene* has written his recollections **With Lord Stratford in the Crimean War** (Bentley and Son) in a book which is full of amusing and interesting personal narrative. *Mr. Skene* himself served in the army in his youth, and finally adopted the diplomatic service, where he was intrusted with many secret missions to the Crimea, and eventually became a member of the British Embassy at Constantinople. It is the anecdotes in this volume which will prove most attractive, but there is much admirable comment on the international politics of the time. The main interest centres round the figure of Lord Stratford himself, who occupied a prominent position throughout the whole war, and whose influence over the Sultan and his staff is strikingly exemplified in many of the stories told.

*Professor Seeley* is the most luminous writer of history in our day, and his two courses of lectures on **The Expansion of England** (Macmillan) should be in everybody's hands now that the question of England's relation to her Colonies is always being attacked by the Liberal party. "History," says *Professor Seeley*, "while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object. That is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future;" and again, "In history everything depends on turning narrative into problems. . . . Now modern English history breaks up into two grand problems, the problem of the Colonies and the problem of India." It is in the consideration of these two problems that the author sets an example of how history should become practical. Admirable is his account of the different colonial systems, and the exposition of his view that our own colonial system should be regarded as an extension of the State, now that science has almost annihilated the obstacles of distance. Not less directly and impressively he narrates how we conquered India, why it is impossible to withdraw our government from a country which is dependent on it, and unable to evolve out of itself any stable government, and the natural advantages that England and India derive from their connection. As a permanent expression of the writer's views on the great questions of the day, one regrets that the lecture form has been retained, but they will probably appeal thus to a larger public, and the vividness and reiteration that result may be more beneficial than if the sound reasoning and judgments contained in the book



were presented in a less popular form. Nor does the rhetorical character disguise any appeal to sentiment or prejudice; generalisations are boldly made, but the arguments on which they rest are given step by step, and the appeal is always to reason and reflection.

Mr. Ransome treats of the **Rise of Constitutional Government in England** (Rivingtons) in a small volume of 250 pages intended to show that constitutional history need not be either long or dull to the ordinary reader, who finds much more than he wants in the great books on the subject. Thus the author has confined himself solely to the growth of the present relations between the Sovereign, the Ministry, the two Houses of Parliament, and the people, which he puts before the reader in a plain narrative form.

This book hits the mean between a text-book for examinations and the larger constitutional histories of Stubbs, Hallam, and Sir Erskine May; and the chapters on the rise of party government and the reform of Parliament show how well the author has succeeded in making his subject interesting.

**Don John of Austria**, or Passages from the History of the 16th Century, 1547-1578 (Longmans), is the title of an important work by the late Sir Stirling Maxwell, Bart. He has not lived to carry it through the press, but had he done so, he would assuredly have been satisfied at the character of the two magnificent volumes in which the results of his prolonged and energetic labours are embodied. He set himself throughout a high standard of execution, and had at his command an extensive library of Spanish literature which enabled him to treat in a masterly manner many points which had previously been the subjects of debate and controversy. "During the long series of years spent in the preparation of this work, the author spared himself no pains in bringing together a body of illustrations which should enable the reader to form a life-like idea of the age in which Don John for a few years played a prominent part, and of the chief personages who, like him, were actors in the great drama. To these portraits the author added a large collection of engravings, illustrating the armour, weapons, art, workmanship, medals, the naval and military equipments, the galleys, frigates, and ships of the 16th century, together with a number of ornamental alphabets obtained from the works for which they were designed, and of devices throwing light on the manners, employments, and amusements of the age. Nearly the whole of these illustrations are embodied in this edition of his work."

The first volume of this book which tells the story of the high-spirited and short-lived prince whose brief career is associated with the first serious check given to the power of the Ottoman Turk, deals with the youth of Don John, the Morisco rebellion, and the War of the Holy League; the second embraces an admirable account of Don John's administration of the Netherlands to his death in 1578. It is too important an historical work to be dealt with in the limits of a notice like the present, but its exhaustiveness and careful attention to every detail that an author can accumulate in a work, to the perfection of which he brings his whole mind and heart, will make it a final expression of the history of the time.

**The History of the Indian Mutiny**, by T. R. E. Holmes (Allen).— We think a very strong justification is required for the publication of another work on the Indian Mutiny.

Sir J. Kaye and Col. Malleon have already given to the world histories detailed and minute enough for the student as well as the general reader, and we do not think Mr. Holmes has added much to the general stock of information on the subject.

Two matters, however, connected with the uprising in India are described with freshness and novelty—we refer to the author's account of Mr. William Tayler and his dismissal from the Commissionership of Patna, and his narrative of the career of Captain Hodson, so widely known in connection with the Cavalry Corps which he raised and brought to the highest state of efficiency, and which bore his name.

Mr. Holmes warmly espouses Mr. Tayler's cause, and evidently considers that his dismissal from the Commissionership was an act of very gross injustice, but we think he weakens his case by attempting to prove too much, and his references to the Authorities at home are not characterised by that moderation of language which we should have expected. Still, although we are not prepared to agree with all that the author says on this subject, we have certainly always held the opinion, which a perusal of the volume before us only confirms, that Mr. Tayler, at a great crisis in the history of our Indian Empire, did good and loyal service to his country, and that the withdrawal order for which he was dismissed from his post was, at the worst, an error of judgment which any man might have committed, and for which, if he deserved censure at all, he certainly did not deserve such harsh treatment as was meted out to him.

With the author's view of Captain Hodson's character we are inclined to agree. Those who have execrated his conduct most in reference to the shooting of the young Princes of Delhi were perhaps least able to appreciate the position in which he was placed at the time, and the passions which the atrocities of the Sepoys had aroused in the breast of nearly every European in the country. It is not wise to look too closely at acts of this kind, committed at a time when a life and death struggle, such as the Mutiny was, is in progress. We have heard very awkward stories of the late Afghan war which we should be sorry to see reproduced, and which, if true, were at least as indefensible as the conduct of Hodson at Delhi.

Mr. Holmes gives us very copious references to authorities, and several maps and plans, but the map of India to face page 1 is not by any means up to the mark.

The *English Men of Letters Series* (Macmillan) continues to add to its number, and maintains as a whole the high standard of the preceding issues. Mr. Dobson has written admirably of *Fielding*, and in no instance has the editor been more happy in the biographer to whom he has assigned his author. Mr. Dobson delights in the period to which *Fielding* belongs, and has devoted great research to untangle the misleading traditions based on Murphy's "Essay" and the unauthenticated productions of both *Thackeray* and *Sir W. Scott*. Thanks to Mr. Dobson, *Fielding's* individuality now stands out clear—revealed as it is to a great extent in his work when not dulled by the imaginings of two clever critics who have invented a portraiture for which there is no authority. Brilliancy of criticism or subtlety of thought is not found, but *Fielding* can afford better than anyone to dispense with these, and in accuracy of detail, truthfulness of touch, and sound vindication of fame, the 18th century novelist has everything to gain.

Mrs. Oliphant's *Sheridan* is a less happy production, though the biographical part is well done; but Mrs. Oliphant does not always distinguish between gossip and fact, and lays a hard finger on the weakness of her hero. It is chiefly a result of the evident want of sympathy between the author and his biographer. "Sheridan's view of life," she says, "was not a profound one. It was but a vulgar sort of drama, a problem without any

depths—to be solved by plenty of money and wine and pleasure, by youth and high spirits, and an easy lavishness which was called liberality, or even generosity, as occasion served.” Sheridan was no hero, he had many of the excesses of his age, and others too, more strictly personal, but few will think his character adequately gauged in the above lines. If not a man of profound individuality, his life was yet free from blemishes which stained the career of many contemporary politicians; he was an orator of no mean fame, as is seen in his speech at the trial of Warren Hastings, and his plays have made a mark in literature which no later tribunal has been able to efface. Another “Series” has been started though not exactly on the lines of the preceding one, with the intention, no doubt, of doing honour to the sex which has no place in Mr. Morley’s gallery.

**The Eminent Women Series** (Allen), edited by Mr. Ingram. Six volumes of this series have been issued during the past year, and none will regret the appearance of any one of these little biographies, though it is difficult to understand how Mary Lamb and Margaret Fuller can justly be included by the terms of the title.

Miss Blind in her contribution of **George Eliot** has done a difficult task with much tact and delicacy. The portrait has been carefully studied and represented with feeling and appreciation; the criticism, too, is above the average, and commends itself by no attempt at being far-fetched. It cannot, of course, be taken as any final expression of George Eliot’s life and genius, but is not likely to be superseded as far as it goes. Miss Robinson has worked up her material for a life of **Emily Brontë** into a picturesque narrative, which will be acceptable to all lovers of Brontë literature. Although anecdote and narrative about the Brontë family have been frequent since Mrs. Gaskell’s *Life*, they are scattered up and down the pages of journalistic and magazine literature, and there was every excuse for resuming such fresh information as had been got together on the subject.

Miss Thomas’s volume on **George Sand** is not wholly satisfactory. A large proportion of the book is taken up with analyses of her novels which are useless to those who have not read the books, and unnecessary to those who have. Further, George Sand’s novels do not lend themselves to analysis, for it is the character-drawing by means of dialogue in which her force consists. Another point in which Miss Thomas’s treatment is inadequate is in the account of the personal episodes of her heroine’s life. The relationship of both Musset and Chopin is slurred over in a very vague way, and leaves us in no better position to judge of her character in the matter than we were before we read the narrative. But there is much in the book that is very pleasant and readable: a complete absence of pretension and a straightforward style contribute to this, and if Miss Thomas had drawn more largely on the “*Histoire de Ma Vie*,” she would have made it more interesting still.

Mrs. Howe contributes a biography of **Margaret Fuller**, the woman who typifies Boston during the early part of this century, and whose strong and interesting personality has been made known to us through Emerson and Channing. In 1839 she threw herself into the Transcendental movement and edited its organ the “*Dial*”; visited Brook Farm too, where the new religion was being tried in a practical experiment. Her conversation, her lectures, her independence gave her a name in Boston, though it would appear as if even that enlightened city fought rather shy of her originality. But Transcendentalism to be tolerable must be of the highest quality, and

neither what she wrote nor the record of her conversation show that Margaret Fuller ever attained to the necessary height.

But what we deny to the intellectual side of Margaret Fuller, we amply accord to her as a woman of moral nobility and fearlessness. The latter years of her life were filled with such self-sacrificing work in the cause of Italy, and her end was so tragic, that a kind of halo enshrines her name. She will be remembered for her character and personal influence in society, rather than for her gifts either of writing or conversation, and Mrs. Howe would have done well to have seen this.

Mary Lamb's life could not have been confided to better hands than Mrs. Gilchrist's. The record of that simple pathetic history with its background of deep tragedy, but uneventfulness of circumstances and action, is touched with a sympathetic simplicity and affection, and the slight handling is just what is suited to the subject.

Miss Zimmern's sketch of Miss Edgeworth is pleasant and lively, and has the good fortune to be the first complete account given to English readers.

"All critical work nowadays," says Mr. Gosse in the preface to his *Seventeenth Century Studies* (Kegan Paul), "must be done on the principle of the coral insect. No one can hope to do more than place his atom on the mass that those who preceded him have constructed," and accordingly his object has been, he continues, "to do for some of the rank and file of seventeenth century literature what modern criticism has done on a much larger scale for Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden." The rank and file includes Lodge, Webster, Rowland, Herrick, Crashaw, Cowley, Otway, and the matchless Orinda. In the case of writers so divergent as are many of these, it would seem somewhat misleading to give them a unity which embraces them as a century of writers seems to do, and the unity of this division is especially a fictitious one as far as the seventeenth century goes, for the writers that belong to it were far more individual than were those of the Elizabethan or Augustan periods. However this may be, these writers were much in need of some critical introduction to the ordinary reader, and the only drawback is that, with the exception of Cowley and Herrick, those who are drawn to the study of their works, as all will be who read Mr. Gosse's able and attractive criticism, will have much difficulty in getting a first-hand acquaintance with them. There is one defect that arises from this working on the principle of the coral insect, and that is that the sense of proportion—the discrimination that distinguishes between what is enduring and vital in literature, and what has been passed by because it is often of merely historical interest—is lost sight of; and where the full light of criticism and concentration of mind is turned on the lesser stars, they assume proportions quite out of keeping with their position in the intellectual heavens. Such, we think, is the case with some of the writers treated by Mr. Gosse, and we regret that he did not keep to his original intention of including Donne in the series, to the exclusion of, say, Sir George Etheridge, or Webster, for he was vastly more typical of the satires and vices of seventeenth century literature, and his personality was as interesting as any in the book.

That the writing of these essays has been spread over more than ten years, is a proof of the careful method of Mr. Gosse's work—a method which appears indeed in its solid worth and well-digested information; and that he has become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of this transition time

between the two great epochs of English literature, may be seen in the essay on Herrick—that charming figure in an artificial age who, notwithstanding the conceits and affectations of the time which are to be found in his poems, as in those of all the writers of the period, yet always attracts one by his pure lyricism and exquisite fancy, and is the choicest product of that fantastic age.

From the character of his criticism, and the new information of a narrative kind that Mr. Gosse has been able to bring to many of his essays, they will undoubtedly become a permanent contribution to the literary history of a period not as yet overdone with criticism.

Mr. Myers reprints the *Essays Classical and Modern* (Macmillan) that he has contributed to magazines during the last few years. Of these the classical were certainly worth preserving, but we do not think that his estimates of George Eliot, George Sand, Rossetti, or Victor Hugo will be of long-lived fame. We are weary of everyone offering their quota of criticism to the great contemporaries in modern literature. It is too much like the succession of buns offered by the enthusiastic public to the elephant at the Zoological Gardens. It almost produces indigestion even to the on-lookers.

Yet the catholicity of taste shown in the range of these essays is found also in the writer's treatment of the diverse subjects in his selection. For the idealised sentiment of George Sand, the blending of sense and soul in Rossetti's scepticisms, and the sound and fury of Victor Hugo's storm-like utterances, he has abundant sympathy, and to each and all of these there is applied much fine critical analysis and literary expression.

But in ancient literature Mr. Myers achieves most success, because he deals with that aspect of it less touched on by professed scholars. This is shown in the subjects he selects for treatment, and in the case of Virgil in the point of view he elects to emphasise. The three essays on Greek Oracles, Virgil, and Marcus Aurelius, show that he prefers the atmosphere of transition, when the old world life was hovering on the brink of the more modern feeling introduced by Christianity, when the sense of new problems was beginning to vex the unintrospective life of ancient civilisation.

Mr. Myers's learning and scholarly knowledge of all authorities bearing on his subject is very marked; he writes out of a fulness both of material and ideas, and this makes his essays for the most part well worth preservation.

It would be interesting to observe what proportion of the published books of the year have first done duty in some form or another as journalism. Under the title of *Five Great Painters* (Longmans) Lady Eastlake has reprinted her essays on Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, and Albert Durer, originally contributed to the "Edinburgh" and "Quarterly" Reviews. We cannot help comparing the one on Leonardo with that by Mr. Pater in his *Renaissance Studies*; in the first we get biographical detail pleasantly told, and a good deal of personal criticism and moral reflection; in the last a luminous criticism of the great master's mind as seen through his work; we feel that the last word has been said about the Gioconda with the unfathomable smile. "It is a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions." If Lady Eastlake never rises to any great firmness or fineness of touch in matter of criticism, there is much admirable comment on the characteristics and art tendencies of the

age to which the subjects of her studies belonged. Those on *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are, we think, the truest in appreciative feeling.

Miss Thackeray writes in the pleasant way which has become so familiar to us of four women, three of whose names, at least, have become household words. Sketches of Mrs. Barbauld, Miss Edgeworth, Mrs. Opie, and Jane Austen, are collected under the title of a *Book of Sibyls* (Smith, Elder, and Co.). Anything more unlike a sibyl than either of these ladies it would be difficult to imagine, but there seem to be no principles at all concerned with the nomenclature of books. Miss Thackeray, with her feeling for English home life, and what one may call the triviality of domesticity, is quite in her element in writing of these characteristic figures of the simple, quaint, but somewhat prim journalism of the end of the last century. We all know with what lightness of touch and mingled sentiment she deals with the age which we have outstepped, and which consequently has just that dash of pathos about it so attractive to the mind, and these four studies have given her a field to which her handling is especially suited.

Mr. Ashton has continued his reading in seventeenth century literature, and gives us a collection of its *Humour, Wit, and Satire* (Chatto and Windus). He has had to prune as well as select carefully what can be produced at the present day, but the result is a very amusing store of humorous prose and poetry, illustrated with woodcuts of the time. Matrimony comes in for a large share of abuse, and offers a frequent butt for ridicule; the poetry has far more wit in it than the prose as a rule, at least its jingling ballad measure helps on the humorous sense. One of the ballads called "The Poor Man pays for all," is a perfect example of the doctrine of modern socialism.

*Studies in a Mosque* (Allen), by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, is a collection of essays bound together by the common subject in which the author is so much at home, i.e. Islam in its various phases. The treatment is slight, they being intended for the general reader, and the chapters on the Koran and Mohammedanism are not intended for an exhaustive study; but elaboration has been purposely left aside with the result of commending Arabian religion and philosophy to the public in a manner especially attractive and popular.

The poetry of the year has not been of a remarkable character. It appears to become easier and easier to rhyme well—to be delicate in the choice of words and sentiments—to have a cultivated taste and a considerable power of expression. The result is many volumes of respectable verse that reflect the atmosphere of the age; but the real poetry—the poetry which springs into being and is not made—is as infrequent as ever. Mr. George Meredith's *Poems and Lyrics of the Joy of Earth* (Macmillan) will probably appeal to a limited number of readers, though he ought to attract a wide public, if only from the title of his book, inasmuch as he has the distinction among nineteenth century poets of finding that there is any joy in earth, and that it is not all—

"Girt about with shadows . . .

All the world is wearied east and west,  
Tired with toil to watch the slow sun wheeling  
Twelve long hours of life's laborious quest."

We are so accustomed to the sentiment embodied in these lines that when anyone boldly asserts that he is going to sing its exact opposite, we are at once aware of an extra alertness of the critical faculty to see how he

will do it, and if he possesses the necessary instrument for his supreme attempt.

It is the nature of this instrument that will limit Mr. Meredith's public, for his metrical expression is often extremely rugged, and the thought occasionally seems to have got into poetic form by chance, when it would have been unified with the style in free and vigorous prose. The poetic material is there—experience of life, strong emotions, vividness of imagination—but sometimes it is the instinct of melody that is wanting to give these due shape and embodiment; at other times the instrument itself is present, but the technicalities of metrical art have not been mastered.

It is a fair test of any poetry to see whether the thought which it expresses could exist equally well apart from its metrical setting. Much of Mr. Meredith's verse will not stand this test, and it is more than conceivable—it is obvious—that many lines and even stanzas would be better in a prose form. But this is not true of many of the vivid pictures represented, among which may be mentioned "The Orchard and the Heath." The following lines instance the healthy impersonal way in which he treats Nature, and are also a good example of his best and most melodious expression:—

"Was never voice of ours could say  
Our inmost in the sweetest way,  
Like fonder voice aloft, and link  
All hearers in the song they drink:  
Our wisdom speaks from failing blood,  
Our passion is too full in flood,  
We want the key of his wild note  
Of truthful in a tuneful throat,  
The song seraphically free  
Of taint of personality,  
So pure that it salutes the suns,  
The voice of one for millions,  
In whom the millions rejoice  
For giving them one spirit voice."

No one could deny the right to metrical expression to the author of these lines to the skylark, together with the one entitled "Love in a Valley," the finest poem in the book.

It is not likely that the greater number of those who read Mr. Swinburne's *Century of Roundels* (Chatto and Windus) will recognise the successful triumph over difficulties that he has achieved. Of all forms of verse invented by the French poets of the Renaissance, and patronised by their modern imitators, the Roundel is the one that most fetters the poetic expression of thought, and can only be wrought successfully by one in whom language is indissolubly connected with thought, and not a garment to be fitted on as occasion requires. It cannot be denied, though it may not be possible to assign a reason for it, that certain forms of verse are suited to one language more than to another, and that the attempts to naturalise the lighter rhythms and metres in which French poets are so successful, have not generally succeeded with our own versifiers. Mr. Swinburne is happy in very many of the roundels he gives us, though not in all; and it is to be hoped that his success will not prompt others to make a like attempt, for what is possible to the master is not necessarily so to the disciple, and a *rondeau* must not fall far short of perfection to be admissible at all. It

does not appear why Mr. Swinburne, in restricting himself to the necessities of the *rondeau*, should have taken the form of eleven lines, rather than that of thirteen or fourteen which prevailed in France in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and was patronised by Charles d'Orléans and Voltaire. His disposition of the eleven lines is the same throughout, but much variety is attained by the different number of feet they contain.

As an experiment this last achievement must be considered successful, but it is not a form of verse that suits the especial and important characteristics of Mr. Swinburne's genius. The laws of the *rondeau* are too restrictive, and though we get the delicate appropriateness of word and metaphor, and the fine instinct that prompts the union of sound and sense that we always look for in his poetry, we do not get, nor is it possible to get the rush of emotion and impetuous diction that signalise the finest passages in *Tristan and Isolt*.

In *Jocoseria* (Smith, Elder, and Co.), the latest volume of Mr. Browning, the author's somewhat aggressive personality is not so marked as in some of his former works, though there is no apparent intention of consulting the comprehension of the public.

That individuality which isolates Mr. Browning from preceding literary tradition is best seen in this collection in the poem called "Jochanan Hakkadosh," in which the meaning and intention of the part are too faintly hinted at, too vaguely suggested to be interpreted at all by the reader of average intelligence. But then Mr. Browning hardly ever writes for that—in his eyes—contemptible personage, though we may perhaps consider the lyrics as sops to appease the discontented Cerberus of the ordinary cultivated public.

The suggestive in poetry is one of its most delightful characteristics, but for it to delight there must be a continuity in the thought or idea or feeling suggested, it must not arise from such unintelligibility that the suggested thought or idea is apt to be replaced by a distinctly different one in the next line, productive of much wearisome bewilderment to the reader.

But it is the smaller poems in this volume, like the smaller poems in all else that Mr. Browning has issued, which build up the permanent monument to his fame.

Lyrical poetry may not stand on the same footing as the lyric or the dramatic monologue, in which a deep philosophy is often colloquially expressed, but unless those larger and more important forms, in which poetry under Mr. Browning's hand most delights to embody itself, be not lucid and attractive, it is to the lyrics that after generations will turn, and it is the songs that will stamp themselves on the mind of posterity. The wisdom of the world alters; it needs a different expression almost for every different age, but love and death, joy and sorrow, aspiration and disappointment are the permanent feelings common to all ages and all creeds. That Mr. Browning's lyrics can never be surpassed for representation of the permanent with what is atmospheric in nineteenth century feeling has been long acknowledged, but a few pieces like the following in the present volume serve to emphasise the fact:

" Wanting is—what?  
Summer redundant,  
Blueness abundant,  
— Where is the spot?



Beamy the world, yet a blank all the same,—  
 Framework which waits for a picture to frame :  
 What of the leafage, what of the flower ?  
 Roses embowering with nought they embower !  
 Come then, complete incomplection, O come,  
 Pant through the blueness, perfect the summer !  
 Breathe but one breath  
 Rose beauty above,  
 And all that was death  
 Grows life, grows love,  
 Grows love !”

**Old-world Idylls** (Kegan Paul) are to a great extent a selection of Mr. Austin Dobson's former volumes, now out of print, and suggested by a similar collection made in America, where he has much reputation. His originality consists in his turning to the eighteenth century for inspiration. He has studied its sentiment, its manners, and its tone until he has its archæology at his fingers' ends, as may be seen in the "Ballad of Beau Brocade." But he reproduces French social life of the same age as well as English, and his trifling is almost more suited to French *vers de société* than to our own. Whether a poet is necessarily born, not made, may be a matter of dispute ; but that the writer of *vers de société* can certainly not become one by effort may be substantiated by the fact that no one attempts it. Mr. Dobson is supreme in the delicate, half-grave, half-gay character of this kind of writing—witness the humour of "A Love-letter," "Tu Quoque," and "An Autumn Idyll."

It is needless to say that the world which Mr. Dobson reproduces for our benefit is not the world of great passions, or even deep feelings—and that consequently these never form the basis of his verse, but the lighter moods in which the emotions are played with more as a pastime than in any seriousness find ample reflection in his verse. His essays in the old French forms show his mastery over versification, and it is sometimes a relief to pass from his reproduction of the eighteenth century spirit, with its point, love of conceit, and intellectual acuteness, to the more simple and genuine poetry of sentiment expressed in these forms. "The Story of Rosina" shows that though Mr. Dobson can confine his verse to the most limited measure, he can equally at will give variety and movement to his language, and that though he can pick and pursue his words at pleasure, they have sometimes a rush of freedom quite unexpected. Take for example the last stanza—

“As for Rosina—for the quiet sleeper,  
 Whether stone hides her, or the happy grass,  
 If the sun quickens, if the dews bewep her,  
 Laid in the Madeleine or Mont Parnasse,  
 Nothing we know—but that her heart is cold,  
 Poor beating heart ! And so the story's told.”

Mr. Lewis Morris is eminently a popular poet, and his "**Songs Unsung**" (Kegan Paul) is his eighth offering to the public.

It is not difficult to strike the key-note of his success—if success is to be estimated by the number of editions to which his works run. He is above all things a didactic poet. He takes classical love, and interprets it to an

audience which demands before anything else that their poetry shall teach a moral lesson. What Mr. Besant does as a novel-writer for the novel-reading public, Mr. Morris does as a poet for the readers of poetry.

To most of us the application of ancient mythology to modern problems is by no means agreeable, and we look upon such attempts as a diversion of the literature of power into the especial province of the literature of knowledge—but it is not so for those, and they are many, to whom life is a complex many-sided problem, and who look upon the object of all literature as so many efforts to provide a solution of that problem. The “New Creed” and “Suffrages” are excellent illustrations of the poetic nutriment provided for this class of minds.

But to turn from the object of Mr. Morris’s poetry to its form, he boldly disregards that unity between the poetic idea and its setting to which so many writers cling and attach primary importance. Some thoughts are, according to them, essentially adapted to sonnets; this subject-matter to narrative, that to epic verse. To such limitations Mr. Morris pays no heed, and one is often tempted to think whether, with all his feeling for his art, he is not moved by the didactic purpose he has in view. Mr. Morris’s well-deserved popularity permits and invites plain speaking. His high moral aim and wide sympathies with all modern effort and struggles entitle him to win the hearts of the public into whose wants he enters; but, nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his reputation has a wrong basis so long as it rests on his poetic faculty instead of on his ethical purpose, and that it will be as the Teacher of Truths rather than as the Singer of Songs that he will be known to future readers, and students of English poetry.

The theological works of the past year are not important, though their quantity remains undiminished.

Dr. Blunt’s *Reformation of the Church of England* (Rivingtons) takes a prominent place among them—it is the second volume, dealing with the period from 1547–1662—the first having been published so long back as 1869. The book is eminently a popular one, and the author’s style makes the subject thoroughly interesting. The chapter headed “Five Years of Ultramontaniam under Mary” is one of the most interesting, and the account of the Puritans of the Reformation age concise and graphic.

A few lines, summing up the influence of Cranmer, will give a fair specimen of Dr. Blunt’s manner of treating his subject:—“Happily for the Reformation, Archbishop Cranmer was not a Presbyterian by birth and country, and so was not so distinctly a foe to the Church of England as some of her later rulers have been; but his associations by marriage and friendship influenced him most mischievously in that direction, and in the last two years of his ecclesiastical rule he gave to the English Reformation an impetus towards Puritanism which endangered its Catholic character, alienated its Catholic supporters, and led to strifes and controversies that polluted the land with blood for a century. It is hard to look upon such a man otherwise than as one at whose door must be laid the guilt of many a slain body and many a lost soul.”

The *Lectures and other Theological Papers* of the late Dr. Mozley (Rivingtons) are taken from the Lectures delivered by him in the Latin Chapel, Christ Church, as Regius Professor of Divinity. The broad treatment of religious questions so important in the present state of the Church is met with nowhere so frequently as in the writings of Dr. Mozley.

These papers cover a wide range of subject. Physical Science and Theology, the scope and method of the dogmatic office, the Jewish and heathen conceptions of a future state, are among the matters treated of in these addresses; while more doctrinal subjects, such as the Eucharist, Original Sin, and the Athanasian Creed, also find a place.

Though hardly equal in attractive eloquence to some of the sermons which the Author gave the public in his lifetime, these posthumous remains will be welcomed by the large circle of readers to which he was known as a preacher as results of his thought on many of the subjects of controversial and semi-religious interest which he was unable to treat from the pulpit.

**Practical Reflections on the New Testament** (Rivingtons), by a clergyman, is introduced by Canon Liddon. "Its principle," he says, "is to extract from the sacred text personal improvement, warning, encouragement, edification, as distinct from any of the many other uses which may undeniably be made of it." Each verse is taken separately and is printed in italics, and is followed by a few remarks printed in ordinary type. The author desires his "Reflections and Commentary to be taken as subordinate to the text of Scripture which they are meant to illustrate, and in harmony with the doctrines of grace as held by the Church." We cannot say that either this system of treatment of the Scriptures, or the way in which it is carried out in the present instance, commends itself to us, but there are many, no doubt, who, rather than trust their own interpretation of the New Testament, will gladly welcome such aids as the author affords.

**Thoughts upon the Liturgical Gospels**, by Dean Goulburn (Rivingtons), is a book of the same kind, but worked out much more in the large, and stamped with the thoughtfulness and devotional tone which have always characterised the writings of the Dean of Norwich. He thus describes its object: "My aim has been to furnish the devout Churchman with a single holy thought for every day in the year, founded on the Gospel of the Day." In these days of hurry, when every home has its allotted task, it is only in this way, the author thinks, that the duty of meditation can be performed; but he has also in view making this book of use in family worship. Prefixed to these two volumes containing the Gospels from the first Sunday in Advent to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity, is an Introduction on their origin, history, and the modifications made in them by the Reformers and by the Revisers of the Prayer Book, and the proportions in which they are drawn from the writings of the four Evangelists.

Messrs. Rivington also issue three small volumes—and more are, no doubt, to follow—of **Selections from the Writings of Doctor Fusey, Canon Liddon, and John Keble**. The editor, whose name does not appear, is responsible for the extracts selected, though he has of course obtained permission for their publication. The selections, varied in length, and arranged under different heads, may be taken as decidedly characteristic of the three men who represent in the most distinguished way the Anglican section of the Church. We may hope that the other branches of the Church—the Evangelical and the Broad Church parties—will also in the future have their representatives in this edition, which from its size and arrangement of material will often commend itself for devotional reading when larger works requiring more time and sustained attention would be left unread.

**Rosmini's Five Wounds of the Holy Church** (Rivingtons) intro-

duces us to the founder of the most recent order in the Church of Rome. The contents of the book are not so mystical as its title. "It is founded on an analogy between our Lord's natural Body crucified through weakness, and His mystical Body of the Church pierced by the sins and errors of men in the ages of Christian history. The five main evils of the contemporary Italian church correspond, in Rosmini's view, to the Five Wounds of the Hands, Feet, Side, of the Divine Redeemer," and are the division between the people and the clergy in the act of public worship, the insufficient education of the clergy, the disunion of the Bishops, the nomination of Bishops by the lay power, the enforced infringement of the full rights of ecclesiastical property. The English Churchman, as Canon Liddon says, will find himself frequently divergent from Rosmini, who is an unhesitating Ultramontane, and has naturally no belief in the Reformation and the necessities of Church corruption that brought it about; but notwithstanding this, the Church may fairly benefit from this instructive and suggestive little treatise on the shortcomings of its Italian Catholic neighbour, for there is plenty that is analogous in its own condition and defects. It is useful, too, as introducing Rosmini to English notice in his capacity as a religious writer, for up to the present time he has been chiefly known as a mental philosopher whose views as to the nature and origin of ideas, though following along the lines of Kant and Fichte, are yet divergent.

**A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the Tracts for the Times** (Rivingtons) is a reprint of a work published in 1843, connected with the Oxford movement of 1833. Sir William Palmer has now reissued it with an introduction on the events of the Church that led up to the Tractarian movement, and a supplement to the narrative which brings it down to our own time.

A very important contribution to the historical method of treating religious subjects is to be seen in the **Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah**, by Dr. Edersheim (Longmans). It is a very successful attempt to represent the life and teaching of Christ in all its surroundings of place, society, popular life, and intellectual or religious development. Since Jesus of Nazareth was a Jew, spoke to and moved amongst Jews in Palestine, knowledge of Jewish life and history is a primary requisite to a comprehension of Gospel history. It is the background of a picture of Christ, without which the chief figure becomes not only isolated but in a measure incomprehensible.

The archæological detail brought together in order to illustrate this point of view shows immense learning and industry, and is combined with much facility of narration.

The author has had in mind also an illustration of the Gospel narratives as well as a vindication—a vindication, because a full portraiture of Jewish life reveals the historical truths of the Gospel scenes, and gives a reality to their substance and spirit—an illustration, because the Rabbinic quotations offer every detail of the views and pursuits of the leading people in Church and State in Palestine, the character of popular opinion, the proverbs and customs, and daily life of the country.

But Dr. Edersheim has had also in view a defence of the faith in meeting such objections as may be raised to the Gospel narratives, and chiefly that criticism known as the 'mythical theory,' which represents the Gospel stories as the outcome of the ideas and expectations of the time, which found body in legends that clustered round the life and person of Him who was regarded as the Messiah.

The difficulty connected with miracles presents no impediment to the author, who considers the miraculous to be of the essence of the Divine—the essential element in revealed religion, and the evidential value of miracles to consist in their being instances and proof of the direct communication between Heaven and Earth.

There is much admirable commentary of the Gospels by the way, and the investigation into authorities and the critical importance of previous work has been undertaken with unstinted care.

**His Story of the University of Edinburgh** (Longmans) Sir Alexander Grant undertakes as a birthday present in honour of the tercentenary of that University. Sir Alexander Grant gives an account of its first three hundred years, and the steps by which it has arrived at its present position. There are three separate chronicles of its development in existence, two produced in the early part of this century, and one in 1662, but they are rather memoirs than historical narrative, and there was thus ample scope for Sir Alexander Grant's treatment. It is a difficult matter in presence of City Records, Minutes of the Senate, Records of Commissions, Charters and unprinted documents, to find out a way to make a continuous history that shall prove a readable book as well as satisfactory as a work of reference, and the author has taken the right course in treating the College of Edinburgh, which grew into the University, as an organism, and tracing the development of that organism from age to age in respect of its constitution and educational staff.

The book opens with two preliminary chapters on the Universities of Scotland before the Reformation, and the various attempts of the Reformers to organise University education in Scotland—so much antecedent history being really necessary to solve the problem of the existing constitutional forms, for it was out of the conditions which prevailed at that time that the peculiarities in the foundation of the College had their origin. The first volume deals with the origins and outset of the University from its charter of foundation by James VI. to the development of its four Faculties in 1858.

The second relates the thirty years' war between the *Senatus Academicus* and the Town Council as governing body of the University between 1703 and the Universities Act of 1858, which was a Bill to make provision for the better government and discipline of the University. We turn naturally, in this volume, to the consideration of certain difficulties which have happened within our own time, such as Sir William Hamilton's controversy with the Town Council on the subject of fees and lectures, and the struggle of women to obtain medical instruction from the professorial staff. The first is narrated with much spirit and pertinent remark as to the nature of the dispute, and conduct of the combatants; in the second it is evident that the author's sympathies are not on the side of the ladies.

Sir Alexander Grant has added to the more abstract account of the University appendices which give sketches of the successive professors of the different chairs, an account of the University buildings and finances, and some interesting notices of student life in the early days of the College, which relate in detail the frugality and hard work which have become a proverb in connection with the Scotch student.

The volumes are enriched with some two dozen illustrations of the great men who have been connected with the University of Edinburgh from its earliest times.

To what extent powers of observation can be carried, and what a

different world lies open and revealed to those who see with their eyes and hear with their ears, Mr. Jefferies' books are a continual proof. A very pleasant companion he is to all who love the country, but many such must be put to shame at being made aware how much has escaped them all their lives. Nothing that he has written before will be such a revelation to his readers as *Nature near London* (Chatto and Windus), a collection of fugitive papers originally contributed to the "Standard." We can hardly believe that he is not romancing when he tells us that within twelve miles of town he had for his companions chiffchaffs and willow wrens, nightingales and woodpeckers, hares and squirrels and weasels, all the creatures in fact that are supposed to exist only in the far-away country. He has done well not to define the precise position of this enchanted neighbourhood, which would soon, without this discretion, have lost its famed and feathered inmates. One of the most delightful chapters out of many that are suggestive as well as merely descriptive is a London trout, and that on herbs ought to drive every Londoner to Kew Gardens to make intelligent acquaintance with what, if he ever lived in the country, has probably been familiar to him from childhood. It is curious indeed that from country people themselves one can hardly ever get the name of a bird or flower, and so one often has to put up with an unnamed familiarity with much that one would gladly be able to identify more precisely.

In trees about town the author hits a real blot in suburban taste when he complains of the narrow range in the selection of the trees with which villa gardens are planted, and of the ceaseless repetition of a few foreign shrubs like laurels and rhododendrons, instead of the English trees of our fields and hedgerows, which, like oak and ash, elm and lime, briar and blackthorn, are full of changeful variety for every season.

We have said that the suggestiveness of Mr. Jefferies' writing adds greatly to its charm; he looks at it in a much more human way than that of the naturalist, and is affected by it in thought and feeling, instead of considering it as something external to be marked for classification.

His remarks on the magnetism of London, and its power when near to prevent the sense of peace and rest that the country give, will appeal to many, and in his opinion this alone greatly detracts from the pleasures of the suburbs.

With the last-named book we may couple two others which in a different way testify to the rapid spread of intelligent interest in country things. Mr. Harting's *Sketches of Bird Life* from twenty years' observations of their haunts and habits (Allen and Co.) are jottings which, though wanting in the form which always pertains to Mr. Jefferies' work, yet give pleasure, not from their originality, but from the freshness of observation which has not disappeared in the process of book making. Mr. Harting has written a good deal on natural science in a popular way, and some of his former works have been laid under contribution for the present sketches. The little pictures contributed by Messrs. Wolf, Whymper, Keulemann, and Thorburn are some of the most successful that have been attempted of birds in their haunts, and greatly add to the attractiveness of the book. It is well got up in every way, and as a gift book much more sensible than most that lay claim to that.

Mr. Grant Allen, in *Flowers and their Pedigrees* (Longmans), republishes a collection of little essays which have appeared in the magazines as a first instalment to a future work—a functional companion to the British flora. The idea is to show how and why the different flowers have

come to be what they are, and is full of the most delightful writing, which, though strictly scientific in its matter, is most successful in its popular effect.

In the third series of **Light Science for Leisure Hours** (Longmans) Mr. Proctor has collected a set of papers relating to the great solar eclipses observed since 1688, but a third of the volume contains short papers on questions of the day, vivisection, the American tariff, the increase of the population, and the like, which will ensure its acceptance among readers of the unscientific order.

Mr. Percy Smith's **Glossary of Terms and Phrases** (Kegan Paul) has been compiled with a view of giving the general reader a fair understanding of the text of any work in ordinary English literature. Words are omitted of whose actual signification there is no doubt, also those which imply special knowledge; but there are many more or less scientific, and many more that contain allusions requiring explanation. It is a well-compiled and useful book, and the definition of many American terms will be acceptable to the public in whose favour American literature is advancing so rapidly.

As everybody has a desire to be saved trouble now in their acquisition of knowledge and taste, we suppose that the **Notes on Pictures in the Louvre and Brera Gallery at Milan**, by Mr. Charles Eastlake (Longmans), will be welcomed by many who want to know what to admire, and are not sufficiently sure of their own instinct or education to trust to them as guides in the matter.

The object of these guides is to select the best and most representative specimens of the different schools of painting, and present them in categorical order with simple critical and descriptive notes.

Sketches accompany the letterpress, not claiming any artistic merit; but, like those that illustrate the guides to our annual exhibitions, sufficient to recall the pictures on subsequent reference. The aim of these handbooks is unpretentious and is realised throughout, but it seems out of keeping with the intention of the author that they should be got up with large print and heavy binding, thus making them a considerable addition to a tourist's impediment.

**The School Register of the Merchant Taylors.** Edited by Rev. Charles J. Robinson, M.A. (Farncombe, Lewes).—The increasing requirements of the present age to know as much as possible of its predecessors are most usefully met by works of this nature, and we are glad to see that many of our public schools have already edited, or propose to edit, the "School Lists," which cannot fail to throw considerable light on the origin of many who in later life became famous. It is hoped that in the choice of editors other public schools and public companies may be as fortunate as the Merchant Taylors. Mr. Robinson not only displays the zeal of an enthusiast, but the rarer discretion of a man of tact. His notes, which are numerous, serve really to elucidate the long lists of names, which but for them would be dreary reading for all beside the professional genealogist. By the aid of Mr. Robinson's notes, however, it is easy and interesting to see how the Merchant Taylors' School has from its foundation in 1562 down to the present time contributed to society poets and statesmen, divines and men of letters, besides a goodly array of actors, amongst whom Charles Young and Charles Mathews the younger are not the least distinguished.

## ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

## I. THE FINE ARTS.

**Archæological Discoveries.**—The excavations, conducted by Mr. Wood, at Ephesus, on the site of the Temple of Diana, have only yielded this year fragments of sculpture, chiefly from the pediment at the east end of the temple. Six weeks of valuable time were lost in the spring through the necessity of going to Constantinople in order to obtain a fresh firman. The American excavations at Assos have come to an end, their firman having expired. The last important work done was in the Street of Tombs, the greater part of the plan of which has been made out; many sarcophagi seem to have been opened from time to time, fresh bodies having been put in above those first buried. In the island of Delos, the excavations carried on by the École Française, of Athens, have resulted in various important discoveries. The ruins of a private house of the time of Alexander, which were uncovered near the Theatre of Apollo, included the pavement of a court in mosaics, representing flowers and fish and a tank in the centre. From Greece also the news comes of the discovery of an inscription, which determines the position of the ancient Artemisium. The latest historians have looked for it on the North Eubœan coast, opposite the peninsula of Triberi and the territory of the ancient Olizon. But the newly-found inscription shows that Artemisium lay to the west of Paleokastro, two hours' walk to the north-east of Xerochori. In Rome, the building of new quarters and the improvement of old ones have been an astonishing source of daily discoveries throughout the year. The excavations at the north end of the Forum have been completed, and, in the course of carrying out the scheme of Signor Buccelli for connecting the excavations and monuments of the Forum with the excavations and monuments of the Palatine, many works of art have been found, and various points of great topographical importance have been established. In the course of works undertaken near the church of St. Eusebio, two statues actually standing on their pedestals were discovered—one of Hades, and one of Isis. Two fine bronzes—supposed to have been stolen from the diggings in the Viccolo dell' Atleti—have also made their appearance: one, a fine copy in the candelabrum, discovered at Pompeii, in Diomede's villa; the other, the very tail of the Capitoline bronze horse which was found in 1849 in the same street. The Via di St. Ignazio has also proved an endless mine of art treasures, which have been preserved to us in virtue of their material. This spot was part of the site of the ancient Temple of Isis, and the granite, porphyry, and basalt of which its monuments were formed defied destruction, for such marbles could not be transformed into lime, nor could they be worked anew, they were too hard. Amongst the most important of the Egyptian works of art which have there been unearthed must be reckoned a fine statue of a crocodile in red granite, almost intact; and a magnificent column of grey granite, five metres long and one in diameter, richly decorated with bas-reliefs, representing Isiac ceremonies.

**National Institutions.**—The British Museum.—The buildings are



now completed which are to accommodate the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. The building is in Montague Street. Two floors are appropriated to the department. In the upper story are two galleries leading from the old Bird Gallery—one for the exhibition of prints, the other for that of drawings. The lower story contains rooms for the use of students, for the officers of the department, and for other purposes incident to so important a collection of works of art. The resignation of the keeper of the Prints, Mr. Reid (to whom has succeeded Professor Sidney Colvin), has been a matter of great regret to all art students and frequenters of the Print Room. Mr. Reid entered the Department in 1842, and had devoted his whole life and all his energies to the service of the Print Room. His large and exact knowledge of prints and drawings is unrivalled in this country. He lost no time in turning to account the space which has at last been placed at the disposal of his Department. In the galleries above referred to, he has arranged a series of autotype reproductions from drawings by Raphael, being a small portion of the large body of similar transcripts from drawings by the old masters, which has been added to his Department by Mr. Reid. Amongst his most important purchases during the present year may be cited two beautiful drawings from the Sunderland sale—"The Betrayal of Christ," a work probably of the Cologne School, and the group of "Joseph and Mary arriving at Bethlehem." The British Museum also obtained at the same sale some fine drawings of the School of Basle—designs for glass-painting, with allegorical figures of Justice, &c., and subjects from the Old Testament, inscribed with a monogram.

**The South Kensington Museum.**—Amongst the acquisitions of the year made by this museum may be specially noticed a series of 248 water-colour drawings, illustrating Indian costumes, manners, and customs, executed in Bengal at the end of the last century, chiefly near or in Calcutta, by Balthazar Solvyns, a Flemish artist. Many Limoges enamels of great beauty and rarity were bought from the Blenheim collection. The two principal pieces were a ewer decoration with the "Triumph of Ceres," by Suzanne de Cort, and a dish of black enamel, painted in grisaille by Jean de Cort, with the "Vision of St. John." Several drawings by Dante Rossetti, including the fine study in red and black chalk for the head of "Astarte Syriaca," were bought at the Rossetti sale in May last. At the Hamilton Palace sale, this museum purchased a gilded cabinet of "Vernis-Martin." A Turkish room has been set up near the Damascus Room; near the western entrance to the museum has been erected part of a seventeenth-century house from Cairo, with remarkable carved and perforated woodwork, panels and pierced work in balconies of great elaboration. The new west court was also opened early in spring, and used for the exhibition of a large number of objects of Indian design, chiefly collected for the Art Department by Mr. Purdon Clarke. The most remarkable example was the entire façade in wood of two houses, about thirty-five feet high, carved and painted in colours. This work dated from the seventeenth century, and was brought from Ahmedabad.

**The National Gallery.**—The annual report of the Directors of the National Gallery, published early in the year, records a list of twenty-two purchases, amongst which may be specially noticed:—"The Nativity," by Luca Signorelli, from Celta di Castello, where it was in the possession of Advocate Mancini; "The Virgin and Child enthroned," by Giulio Grandi, formerly in the Casa Strozzi, at Florence; "The bust portrait of

a Man," by Antonello da Messina; "Christ washing Peter's feet," by Tintoretto, from the Hamilton sale; a tempora painting in grisaille of "Samson and Delilah," by Andrea Mantegna, from the Sunderland sale; "Christ at the Pillar," by Velasquez, was bought at Madrid in 1828, by Sir John Savile Lumley, now ambassador at Rome. Amongst the English paintings added to the collection may be cited Cotman's "Wherries on the Yar," a fine example of Blake, and two portraits by Raeburn—one the bust portrait of a man, the other a full-length portrait of a lady. Three collections of drawings by Turner have been lent to Liverpool, Glasgow, and Bradford severally. Mr. Chisholm, who has rendered twenty-nine years' services as Curator, has retired.

**The National Portrait Gallery.**—The most interesting addition to the National Portrait Gallery made during the present year is the portrait of "George Eliot," by Mr. Burton, presented by Mr. Cross and Mr. Charles Lewes.

**The Royal Academy.**—The winter exhibition of the Royal Academy included a large collection of the works of the late Dante Rossetti, and of Linnell, as well as some fine old masters. The National Gallery of Ireland sent portraits of two Venetian gentlemen by Giovanni Bellini and Giorgione; from Lord Wenlock's collection came "The Meeting of St. Francis and St. Dominic," by Fra Bartolommeo; Titian's so-called portrait of "Catherine Cornaro" was lent by Mr. Wilbraham; "Moses striking the Rock," by Tintoretto, was lent by Mr. Butler, who also sent a charming portrait of a "Lady and Child," by de Vos; to Sir H. St. John Mildmay's generosity was due the presence of a fine "Female portrait," by Rembrandt, and an equally powerful, almost noble, rendering of "Susanna and the Elders," also by Rembrandt, was contributed by Sir Henry Lechmere. Amongst the portraits by Reynolds we may single out the "Lady Di Beauclerk" and "Miss Miller," nor must the remarkable series of designs for the windows of new College Chapel (lent by Lord Normanton) be omitted. Of the works of Linnell we must cite "Removing Timber," painted in 1808; "The Landscape with the Haystack;" "St. John the Baptist preaching;" "The Eve of the Deluge;" "The Woodcutters;" and the very noteworthy "Last Gleam before the Storm." Of the portraits by the same painter that of the Rev. John Martin, Baptist minister of Keppel Street Chapel, was the most remarkable. The Rossetti exhibition was in some respects depressing as representing the chief results obtained by one whose powers of conception were of the highest, who possessed in a high degree true poetic sentiments and the rarest natural gifts, but who through physical weakness and wretched training failed frequently to realise his own intentions, and gave sometimes to his noblest imaginings a touch of caricature. "The Altarpiece of Llandaff Cathedral," "Dante's Dream," "Lucrezia Borgia," "Hestena Rosa," were all works which expressed great but irregular force; of the most complete and satisfactory in execution were "The Beloved," "La Giarlandata," and "Veronica Veronese." Amongst the best designs we should name "Bethlehem Gate," executed in 1862, and the romantic "How they met themselves;" but the happy lovers in this last were as woe-begone as their doubles. The spring exhibition showed the usual gathering of works of very various character and merit, in which good portraits were predominant: not only those by Mr. Millais, but a remarkable series by Mr. Holl, and others by Mr. Oules, attracted great attention. Mr. Alma-Tadema exhibited his diploma picture "On the way to the Temple," which is now in the Diploma

Gallery at Burlington House, and a Roman domestic scene entitled "An Oleander." Mr. Boughton's chief contribution was a "Dutch Village Scene." Mr. Poynter's "Cæsar and Calphurnia" was a remarkably able study of moonlight contrasted with artificial light, and his head of "Psyche" one of his most attractive portraits. The subject of The President's "Kittens" was a young girl playing with an odd-coloured puss; the forms tended, as usual, to being lost in over-refinement of surface modelling, but the harmonies of rose-red and tawny hues were very happily found. One of the principal attractions of the rooms was Mr. Orchardson's "Voltaire appealing to the Duke de Sully and his guests, after the horsewhipping which he had been called from the Duke's table to receive at the hands of M. de Rohan's lacqueys." Mr. Val Prinsep's paintings of Indian subjects were noticeable; Mr. Briton Rivière's "Giants at Play"—a group of navvies watching a favourite bull pup—was an excellent example of his talent. The modelling of the men's bodies beneath their clothes was especially noticeable. Nor must we forget Mr. Logsdail's lively and graphic rendering of "The Piazza of St. Mark's," an English version of the leading characteristics of the Impressionist school. Mr. Hook was in great force with three coast subjects and a scene on the bank of a Surrey brook. The most animated, "Catching a Mermaid," showed a boy making fast a line to a figurehead which had come ashore in a cove of dark rocks on waves driven by the morning breeze. Mr. Henry Moore was well represented by "The Last Gleam"—a flash of sunlight after storm falling on lines of orange sand above churned and purple waters. Mr. Oakes, besides two less important landscapes, sent an unusually large and impressive view of one of the tarns of Snowdon, "The Adder's Pool." The studies of seashore by Mr. Brett, and the landscapes of Mr. Keeley Halswelle and Mr. MacWhirter, also excited much interest. Amongst the sculpture, a not very successful statue of the "Queen," by Mr. Woolner, intended to be erected at Birmingham as a companion to Foley's "Prince Consort," stood conspicuous, but Mr. Woolner had some good busts. A pretty bust of "A Child," by Mr. Verheyden, may also be mentioned, as well as Miss Chaplin's beautiful bronze "Flora and other dogs, belonging to Her Majesty the Queen." It remains to be noted that on the retirement of Mr. Cope, R. A., Mr. Frank Holl, painter, was elected an Academician, and that the list of Associates has been opened to receive Benjamin Leader, painter; Thomas Brock, sculptor; and Francis Holl, engraver.

**The Grosvenor Gallery.**—The most noteworthy pictures on the walls of the Grosvenor Gallery during the summer exhibition were contributed by artists already well known. Mr. Burne Jones sent "Fortune," "The Hours," "An Angel," and the portrait of a little boy, "Philip Comyns Carr." Mr. Millais' contributions were "Portrait of the Duchess of Westminster," "For the Squire"—a little country child holding a letter in her hand, and "Portrait of Master Freeman." Mr. Watts' "Portrait of Miss Baring," "The rain, it raineth every day," and four equestrian designs for the "Four Riders in the Apocalypse." Three portraits by Mr. Richmond, and two sea-shore studies by Mr. Whistler, were also amongst the most noteworthy works exhibited. Nor must we close our list without mentioning the names of Signor Costa, Mr. Spencer Stanhope, Clausen, Van Haanen, Fahey, and Britten.

The Winter exhibition was devoted to an unparalleled collection of the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, especially superior to all preceding exhibitions of Reynolds' works in point of variety. The whole world of London society from 1750 to 1790 was represented—royalties, beauties, statesmen,

merchants, actors and parsons, wise men and maidens, old men and children, all figured on the walls. Amongst the most diversely representative of Reynolds' talent at its best may be cited the portraits of "Frederick William, Duke of Gloucester;" "Lady Sarah Bunbury sacrificing to the Graces;" "The Earl of Erroll, High Constable of Scotland;" "Muscipula;" "Antonia Herbert, Countess of Powis;" "Mrs. Abingdon, as Prue in Love for Love;" "Collina;" "Mrs. Siddons, as the Tragic Muse;" "Mrs. Nesbitt, as Circe;" "The Countess of Pembroke;" "The Duchess of Devonshire and her Baby;" "Miss Harris;" "The Duchess of Buccleuch and Lady Mary Scott;" and "Miss Elizabeth Gunning." An unfinished portrait of "The Earl of Bute and his Secretary," lent by Sir Frederick Leighton, was specially interesting, as showing the painter's practice; and the portraits of "Sir Joshua," by himself, painted for the Royal Academy and the Dilettanti Society, must not be forgotten.

**The Society of Painters in Water-colours.**—Two of the most distinguished members of this Society—Menzel and Alma-Tadema—were absent from the exhibition of this year; but Mr. Poynter, a newly-elected Associate, contributed two fine works, "Scourbhullion" and "Loch Luichart;" Mr. Ruskin sent a refined study of the "Duomo, Lucca;" Mr. Boyce, two charming drawings, "Dent du Marais, Auvergne" and "Puy d'Eraigne;" Mr. Goodwin no less than four subjects, one of which, "The Sole Survivor," was a fine study of Tintagel; Mr. Henry Moore's "Off the Start," "Breezy Morning," and "East Coast," were unusually spirited examples of his conscientious talent; Mr. Holman Hunt's "View from the Eastern Slope of Siloam" had remarkable qualities, in spite of its disagreeable resemblance to a mosaic; and from amongst other excellent studies we will cite in conclusion Mr. Powell's hazy "Frith of Clyde;" Mr. Wallis's "Hispano-Moorish Doorway, Toledo;" and Mr. A. W. Hunt's delicate "Trifaen," "Kinloch Ewe," and "On the North-east Coast." In the course of the year the Society elected members:—H. S. Marks, E. J. Poynter, R.A., C. Gregory, H. M. Marshall, J. W. North, and E. F. Brewtnall. Associates:—H. G. Glindoni, Frank Holl, A.R.A., John Burr (President of the Society of British Artists), W. J. Wainright, and J. W. Henshall. The Society lost a member, Mr. Alfred Newton, by death.

**The Institute of Painters in Water-colours.**—The most noteworthy works on the walls of this Society during the summer were Randolph Caldecott's "Full Cry" and "Death of the Fox;" Mr. Hine's studies of atmosphere, "Flood's Hollow" and "Midhurst Common;" Mr. Crane's "Spring;" Mr. Gregory's "Gateway of the Poggio Imperiale;" Mr. Fulleylove's series of brilliant and well-felt studies of "Versailles;" and a remarkable study, "One of the Liris bronzes," by Mr. Elson. The Society elected members:—R. Spencer Stanhope, E. A. Abbey, and Walter Langley.

**The Institute of Painters in Oil-colours.**—We find as exhibitors at this Institute all the names with which we are already familiar in other exhibitions. The best figure subject on the walls was Mr. Alma-Tadema's "Wellknown Footsteps." Mr. Caldecott sent "Fox Hunting;" Van Haanen, "Study of a Head;" Macbeth, "Dog Days;" Mr. Long, "Klea;" Mr. Walter Crane, an attractive picture with the motto "Beauty sat Bathing by a Spring;" and Mr. Fulleylove repeated in oil the fine drawings of "Versailles" we have already mentioned.

**The Dudley Gallery**—became this year The Dudley Gallery Art

Society, and opened in March with over five hundred works, of which we select for mention "The Last Gleam," Mr. E. Ellis; "East Coast of Sicily" and "Kynance Cove, Cornwall," Mr. Brett; "On the River" and "Burnham Hill," Mr. Caffieri; "Summer Sea, Cornwall," Mr. Davidson; and "In Lathom Park," Mr. E. J. Du Val.

**The Burlington Club.**—The Burlington exhibited during the winter a collection of studies by the late Dante Rossetti, which formed an interesting supplement to the exhibition at the Royal Academy. There were many early drawings in pen and ink lent by Messrs. Boyce and Tebbs, and by Miss Heaton, and many designs and sketches. Of these we may name "Lady Lilith," "Return of Tibullus to Delia," "Portrait of Mrs. Morris;" and amongst the smaller sketches that of "Tennyson reading Maud." The same rooms were devoted during the summer months to a collection of etchings by Karel du Jardin and Renier Zeeman.

## II. THE DRAMA.

Speaking generally, the production of new work during the year, though not deficient in quantity, has been scarcely up to the average in point of merit. Mr. Pinero, to whom the public have looked not unnaturally as one of the most rising of English dramatic authors, has been singularly unfortunate. "Girls and Boys" could not be said to be a success, and its successor, "The Rector," produced at the Court at Easter, was withdrawn after a brief career, having failed, in spite of much clever dialogue and skilful depiction of character, to enlist the sympathy of the audience. "Lords and Commons," the author's next effort, was more successful. It was produced at the Haymarket on November 24, with the advantage of a powerful cast, including Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft, Mrs. Bernard-Beere, Mrs. Stirling, Miss Calhoun, and Messrs. Forbes-Robertson, Brookfield, and Bishop. Lastly, "The Rocket," produced at the Gaiety in December, was so feeble in construction and so threadbare in device that it neither deserved nor commanded the success to which the author's previous efforts might entitle him to aspire. "Storm-beaten," a dramatic version by Mr. Buchanan of his novel "God and the Man," was produced with much scenic splendour at the Adelphi in March, the chief parts being filled by Miss Amy Roselle, Miss E. Lawrence, and Messrs. Warner and Barnes. It was well received, and had a fairly successful run. At the Court Theatre, in January, a very pretty little piece called "Happy Returns," by Mr. Arthur Law, was introduced as a *lever de rideau* to "Comrades," and gave Mr. Arthur Cecil an opportunity of displaying, in the part of a retired naval officer, his remarkable power of engaging the sympathies of his audience. In March, Mr. Hamilton Aidé's "A Great Catch" was produced with good promise. The cast included Miss Geneviève Ward, Mr. Vernon, and Mr. Beerbohm Tree, the last-named gentleman making a great hit in the part of Lord Boodle. Mr. Wilkie Collins' "Rank and Riches," brought out at the Adelphi on June 9, had nothing in it to command success, and it obtained none. Mr. Sydney Grundy contributed a piece called "Rachel," which appears to have been founded more or less on "La Voleuse d'Enfants" of MM. Granger and Thiboust. This was produced at the Olympic in April, and on September 8

at the Globe "The Glass of Fashion," described as a new and original comedy by the same author, but somewhat too meagre in plot to fully satisfy the requirements of comedy, achieved a modified success. "The Millionaire," a comedy in four acts, written by Mr. Godfrey, on a novel by Mr. Edmund Yates, "Kissing the Rod," and produced at the Court Theatre on September 27, was far more successful. It was well acted by Miss Marion Terry, Mrs. Beerbohm Tree, and Mrs. John Wood, and by Messrs. Clayton, Sugden, A. Cecil, and Mackintosh, and had a very fair run. "Young Folks' Ways," played at the St. James's in October, was an adaptation of an American story by an American dramatist, Mr. W. H. Gillette, and probably suffered from the fact in appealing to an English audience. The tendency to substitute elaborate expositions of character for stirring dramatic incident has not as yet, at all events, found the same favour here as in the States. In less competent hands the play would probably have failed; but the various rôles, it must be allowed, received full justice at the hands of their several exponents. Mr. and Mrs. Kendal made love as charmingly as ever, and Mrs. Vezin was a good Mrs. Rogers. Messrs. Hare, Maclean, and Alexander played their respective parts satisfactorily, and Miss Webster—a novice—was a creditable Esmeralda. Among melodramas, "In the Ranks," by Messrs. Sims and Pettitt, must be chronicled as a decided success. The scenes were well strung together, and the necessary pathos and fun were judiciously combined. The play had a successful career at the Adelphi in the hands of Miss Isabel Bateman, Messrs. Warner, Beveridge, Ryder, and Garden. "A Sailor and his Lass," at Drury Lane on October 15, was the joint production of Mr. Robert Buchanan and Mr. Harris, and, so far as Mr. Buchanan's share in it was concerned, appeared to be a protest against capital punishment. Plays written with a didactic object generally suffer from the fact dramatically, and this was no exception to the rule. Neither was the scenic arrangement so effective as might have been expected from Mr. Harris's collaboration. Messrs. Wills and Herman's "Claudian," which followed "The Silver King" at the close of the long and successful run of that melodrama at the Princess's, must be classed as one of the most notable productions of the year. The scenery was excellent, and the classical dresses by Mr. E. W. Godwin excited great admiration. Mr. Wilson Barrett, under whose direction the play was produced, himself played the part of Claudian, and the leading ladies' parts fell to Miss Eastlake and Miss Ormsby. A good deal of old work has been revived, in some cases very successfully. At the Haymarket, Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft reintroduced "Caste," probably the most popular of the late Mr. Robertson's plays. The cast was altered in many respects from the original; Mrs. Stirling playing the Marquise, and Mr. David James, Eccles. Both impersonations, as well as the Sam Gerridge of Mr. Brookfield, exhibited much artistic feeling and careful study of detail. The parts of Esther Eccles and D'Alroy were filled efficiently by Miss Gerard and Mr. Conway, and the piece was greeted with as much satisfaction as ever. Mr. Charles Reade's "Dora," an adaptation from the Poet Laureate's poem originally produced some years back at the Adelphi, was revived at that theatre in January; but the lack of dramatic incident barred the way to success, notwithstanding the fine acting of Mr. Warner and Miss Eyre. Messrs. Palgrave Simpson and Merivale's play "All for Her," which had been a stranger to the London boards for some years, was revived at the Court Theatre on the withdrawal of Mr. Pinero's "Rector." Mr. Clayton

as Hugh Trevor, and Mr. Mackintosh as the Spy, were excellent, and Misses Marion Terry and Kate Rorke as Lady Marsden and Mary Rivers were satisfactory. Mr. Burnand's "Artful Cards" was reproduced at Toole's Theatre to an amused audience, as was also "Mr. Guffins' Elopement," in which, as in Mr. Byron's "Uncle Dick's Darling," Mr. Toole's unrivalled command both of humour and pathos assured him a familiar success. Miss Geneviève Ward returned to the Olympic in January, and resumed the character of Stephanie in "Forget-me-not," in which she had secured so great a success here and in the United States. "Nance Oldfield," a little-known play by Charles Reade, was also revived by her in February; and in March the part of "Medea," already known to the London public through the representations of Mme. Ristori and Miss Bateman, gave scope for her strong tragic power, though the company which supported her was not altogether efficient. "The Danischeffs" reappeared at the Court, Mr. Clayton playing his old part of Osip with all his old power. At the Lyceum, "Much Ado about Nothing" kept the stage for a very long time, as did also "The Rivals" at the Vaudeville. In the summer Mr. Irving left London for a lengthy and very successful tour in the States, and before his departure revived two of the plays which will always remain most closely associated with his name, "The Bells" and the "Lyons Mail." On his farewell night at the end of July, Mr. Irving chose Mr. Wills' "Eugene Aram," compressed into one act, and the "Belle's Stratagem." Both were very finely performed, Ruth Meadows and Houseman in the first-named being peculiarly well rendered by Miss E. Terry and Mr. Terriss, while Mr. Irving's Doricourt and Miss E. Terry's Letitia Hardy in the "Belle's Stratagem" were exceedingly clever and complete studies. The ovation accorded to the great actor was, as might be expected, most enthusiastic. O'Keefe's "Wild Oats" and Holcroft's "Road to Ruin" were revived at the Strand, Mr. Compton playing Jack Rover in the first-named piece, and Goldfinch in the second. Mr. Barton was the hero (Harry Dornton) of Holcroft's play. On the opening of the late Novelty Theatre under its new name, "Folies Dramatiques," which took place in March, the "Cloches de Corneville" was revived with a fair measure of success. Among adaptations of foreign work the most conspicuous was Sardou's "Fédora" in May. Mrs. Bernard-Beere, who played the leading part, evidently, and it is believed avowedly, framed her rendering of it on a study of Sarah Bernhardt, for whom it is said to have been written. So far as mere imitation is concerned the English actress undoubtedly succeeded to perfection; and it was generally considered that she had materially advanced her reputation, though some of the critics maintained that she could have done better if she had made a less slavish copy of the French actress, and given a more independent rendering of the part. The Loris Ipanoff of Mr. Coghlan was also variously estimated, though that it was powerful was admitted on all hands. Mr. Bancroft as Jean de Sirieux, and Mr. Brookfield as Gretch, the detective, were extremely satisfactory, while Mrs. Bancroft found in the minor part of the Countess a rôle peculiarly fitted for her talents. The stage arrangements were of the most complete character. The piece had a considerable run, and later on an interesting change in the cast took place, Mr. Bancroft assuming the part of Loris Ipanoff *vice* Mr. Coghlan, while Miss Calhoun succeeded Mrs. Bancroft as the Countess, and Mr. Conway took Jean de Sirieux. The new departure thus marked in Mr. Bancroft's career was unexpectedly successful. The other changes were scarcely improvements, though the

representation of the respective parts would under other circumstances have been welcome. Mr. Anstey's clever novel "Vice Versâ" was successfully dramatised by Mr. E. Rose, who himself took part in the performance. It appeared at the Gaiety on April 9, but was afterwards removed to the Strand, where it had a good run.

Burlesque was well represented at the Gaiety in Mr. Burnand's "Blue Beard, or the Hazard of the Dye" (March 12), in which Miss E. Farren and Miss Kate Vaughan, as Blue Beard and Lili, sang and danced with their customary charm, the latter lady introducing an imitation of M<sup>me</sup>. Sarah Bernhardt. Mr. Terry as Petitpois was an admirable buffoon, and Mr. Henley amused the audience by an imitation of Mr. Irving. "Ariel," a burlesque fairy drama, by the same writer, produced at the Gaiety on October 8, was in reality a burlesque on the "Tempest." It was less meritorious than "Blue Beard," but allowed Miss Farren and Miss Broughton to appear to great advantage in pretty dresses. The scenery was also good, but the dialogue somewhat tedious.

Opera bouffe has lost none of its hold on the public. "Iolanthe," which for want of a better description must be classed with work of this kind, had an enormous run at the Savoy. "The Golden Ring," by Mr. G. R. Sims, with music by Mr. Frederic Clay, was selected for the reopening of the Alhambra on December 3, and was described as a "fairy spectacular opera." The plot is melodramatic with comic interludes. Mr. Clay's music was bright and well scored, the songs were good, and the choruses well written; but the subject scarcely gave him a chance of exhibiting any power he may have as a dramatic musician. The piece was well arranged and mounted, and the various parts well filled by Misses Constance Loseby, Adelaide Newton, Emily Beaumont, Sallie Turner, and Marion Hood, and by Messrs. Aynaley Cook, Gaillard, F. Mervin, Taylor, and Mudie.

Offenbach's latest operetta, "Lurette," was produced at Easter at the Avenue Theatre, with Florence St. John, Miss Lottie Venne, and M<sup>m</sup>. Marius and Bracy in the chief parts. "Cymbia, or the Magic Thimble," by Mr. H. Paulton, set to light and tuneful music by Florian Pascal, was another Easter production at the Strand. Offenbach's "Barbe Bleue" was given at the Avenue Theatre in June, and G. R. Sims and Frederic Clay's "Merry Duchess" at the Royalty on April 23, with Miss K. Munroe and Miss Kate Santley. A more conspicuous success was "Falka," a new three-act comic opera adapted from the French, and produced at the Comedy Theatre on October 29, by Mr. H. B. Farnie, the music composed by F. Chassaigne. The cast comprised Miss Violet Cameron, Miss Wadman, Miss Henschel, and Miss Nicholls, and Mr. H. Paulton; the orchestra and chorus being under the direction of Mons. A. Van Biene. The piece had an excellent run, and continued its hold on the public throughout the year. Offenbach's operatic burlesque "La Vie," libretto by Meilhac and Halévy, adapted by Mr. H. B. Farnie, was successfully brought out at the Avenue on October 3.

Madame Judic, with a company from the Paris theatre of the Variétés, was playing at the Gaiety in June. The troupe included M<sup>m</sup>. Dupuis and Lassouche, both admirable actors, the latter of whom created immense amusement as Anatole in "Niniche," a play which, though it dates from the time of the International Exhibition, seemed to have lost none of its charm. At the conclusion of her short stay, Madame Judic was succeeded by the Gymnase Company with Madame Pasca, the piece selected for their entrée



being "Serge Panine," an adaptation by M. Ohnet of a story written by himself, in which the power of the novelist is more conspicuous than the skill of the playwright. The fine acting of Madame Pasca and M. Landrot, however, commanded the sustained attention of the audience, in spite of the somewhat sombre tone of the drama.

Another very welcome visitor was the American actress Miss Mary Anderson, who appeared at the Lyceum during the absence on a tour in the States of Miss Ellen Terry and Mr. Irving. Although public opinion was somewhat divided as to the exact position this lady should take in the ranks of the profession, it was admitted on all hands that she possesses many artistic qualifications, in addition to the not inconsiderable advantage of personal beauty. Her first appearance as Parthenia in "Ingomar" called forth favourable criticisms. The part, an exacting one, was on the whole well conceived and gracefully executed. "Ingomar" was followed by the "Lady of Lyons." Miss Anderson's Pauline was a careful study, and showed great command of stage technicalities; she was well supported too in the main by Mrs. Stirling as Madame Deschappelles, Mrs. Billington as the widow Melnott, Mr. Farren as Colonel Damas, Mr. Archer as Beauseant, and Mr. Barnes as Claude Melnott. The gifts revealed in these impersonations induced the public to look forward with great interest to the revival of Mr. Gilbert's fanciful and charming version of the legend of "Pygmalion and Galatea," for which the American actress seemed to possess exceptional qualifications. These expectations were to a large extent realized. Miss Anderson's graceful movements on the stage and the ease with which she wore the classic costume attracted general admiration; though she failed at times to reach the higher level of emotion aimed at in the later parts of the play.

One of the greatest successes of the year, so far as its power of attracting audiences is concerned—and this after all is the only practical test of success—was "Confusion," which had an extraordinary run at the Vaudeville. The piece was written by J. Derrick, and was described as an "eccentric comedy;" though perhaps the simpler term farce would have been quite as appropriate. However this may be, it created great amusement, and it ran from May 17 throughout the year. Another nondescript kind of piece was the "Yellow Dwarf," which came out at Her Majesty's Theatre in the beginning of the year, and should almost have been placed among the Christmas pantomimes. It contained some charming and original ballets, and introduced the tricks of two performing elephants to many an audience of delighted children.

### III. MUSIC.

*Opera.*—Although the year will not stand out in a marked manner, as one in which operatic art has taken any striking new departure or exhibited any special development, it offers some interesting features to chronicle. The palm for enterprise must be accorded to Mr. Carl Rosa, who in a short season, commencing at Drury Lane at Easter, produced two new works by English composers, both of which were distinct additions to the not too wealthy *répertoire* of English dramatic music. "Esmeralda," by Mr. Goring Thomas, was produced on March 26, with Miss Burns as the heroine, and Miss C. Perry as Fleur-de-Lys, the male parts being sustained by Messrs. Barton McGuckin, Ludwig, Lealie Crotty, B. Davies, and G. H.

Sarazelle. The *libretto* is based upon some of the incidents in Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame de Paris," and appears to have been the joint production of Signor Vandegger and Mr. Marzials. The work was well received, the leading vocalists discharging their duties with efficiency, and the scenic arrangements, as well as the band and chorus, being satisfactory. The second novelty, Mr. A. C. Mackenzie's "Colomba," appeared on April 5, and achieved a large measure of success. The *libretto* is adapted by Hueffer from Prosper Merimée's well-known novel. The part of the heroine was allotted to Mdlle. Valleria, by whom it was admirably sustained. Miss Clara Perry and Mdlle. Baldi (a new comer) were equally satisfactory in their respective parts, and the caste was efficiently completed by Messrs. Barton McGuckin, Novara, Pope, and Ludwig. The season terminated on April 21, but short as it was it afforded an opportunity to Madame Marie Roze of adding to her laurels in "Fidelio," "Faust," and "Mignon," and to Miss Amy Sherwin and Miss Clara Leighton of making fairly successful *débuts* respectively in "Maritana" and as Filena in "Mignon."

The Italian season at Covent Garden was also shorter than usual, commencing only on May 1. The directors adhered to the policy which has found favour with them for so many years past of relying rather on the brilliant talents of the leading vocalists than on the supposed public taste for novelties. Ponchielli's "Gioconda," the one new work produced, was, however, a complete success. Increased attention was perhaps attracted towards it by the fact of the *libretto* having been written or rather adapted from Victor Hugo's "Angelo," by Signor Boito, the composer of "Mefistofele." The caste was powerful, comprising Madame Durand, an artist of experience though a new-comer to London, who won a great success as the heroine, Mdlle. Tremelli, Madame Stahl, and Signori Cotogni and De Reszke. The tenor part fell to Signor Marconi, also a new-comer, though, like Madame Durand, not new to the boards. Mesdames Patti, Albani, and Sembrich again showed in many a well-worn opera that brilliant vocalisation and high histrionic art which have by no means lost their hold on the public, even when the works to which they are devoted are threadbare. Madame Lucca reappeared, the voice a trifle worn, but the old dramatic fire unimpaired. Her rendering of the part of Carmen was witnessed with great interest, and generally speaking admired. Madame Scalchi also returned, and shared with Mdlle. Tremelli the honours and responsibilities of the leading contralto parts. In M. Devoyod an excellent baritone was added to the number of late years drawn from France. He achieved special success as Nelusko in the "Africaine," as the jester in "Rigoletto," and with Madame Albani in the "Flying Dutchman." Signor Battistini, another baritone with a pleasant voice, was well received as Riccardo in "I Puritani." Finally, "La Gazza Ladra," revived with Mesdames Patti and Scalchi in the principal parts, brings to an end the chronicle for the short but brilliant season which ended on July 21.

*Concerts.*—The Saturday afternoons at the Crystal Palace, under the presidency of Mr. Manns, continued as in previous years to attract large audiences of lovers of high-class music. Of the many novelties which this able and enterprising conductor has introduced to the public, the most interesting was Berlioz' "Messe des Morts," performed for the first time in England in May. Unfortunately the choral resources at the disposal of Mr. Manns were insufficient to do full justice to the work, though on repetition, on December 1, this fault was to a large extent rectified. On March 3, the

programme was compiled entirely from the works of Herr Wagner, whose recent decease was the main topic of the day in the musical world. It comprised selections from "Tristan und Isolde" and "Die Meistersinger," the Dead March from "Götterdämmerung," and a new orchestral piece from "Parsifal." On March 10 an early and nearly unknown work of Mozart, viz. a "symphony-concertante" in E flat for violin and viola (Herren Joachim and Krause), was given. Subsequently, Senor Sarasate appeared, playing with his usual superb execution, among other things, Wieniawski's concerto written specially for him, and Max Bruch's violin concerto in G (April 21). The following works also demand notice:—A pianoforte concerto by Litolf (No. 5 in C minor), played by Mr. Breitner, a pupil of Rubinstein (Feb. 10); Mr. Prout's new cantata, "Alfred," conducted by the composer and executed by the Borough of Hackney Choral Society, with Miss Marriott and Messrs. Vernon Rigby and Bridson in the solo parts (Feb. 17); a new suite for strings, "In the Olden Time," by Mr. Cowen (March 17); Mr. Hubert Parry's Symphony in G, produced at the Birmingham festival (April 7); Brahms' Symphony in D, and Mackenzie's Scotch Rhapsody No. 2 (April 21), and a curious symphony in E constructed by Mr. John Barnett, from a manuscript sketch by Schubert in the possession of Sir G. Grove. After the usual summer break the concerts were resumed on October 13, with the first performance of Dvorák's early piano concerto in G minor (Op. 33). Raff's symphony "In the Autumn" and some of Mr. Hubert Parry's incidental music to Aristophanes' "Birds" were given, the latter under the *bâton* of Mr. Villiers Stanford, and the season ended for the time on December 15, when a new and beautiful piano concerto by M. Dupont was admirably played by Madame Frickenhaus, one of his pupils.

The Philharmonic Society resumed its concerts on February 15, Mr. Cusins conducting this season, as was understood, for the last time. Under his management the rigid conservatism which formerly characterised these concerts had given place to restless search after new work, sometimes with scarcely sufficient regard to its intrinsic merit. Among the most interesting performances were (on May 9) a motett by Cherubini, written in 1818, for tenor solo (Mr. V. Rigby), chorus, and orchestra, the original score of which was lent by her Majesty the Queen; a new orchestral piece written by A. C. Mackenzie for the Society on Keats' poem "La Belle Dame Sans Merci;" a new prize overture by Mr. Oliver King (April 25); a scena by Sir J. Benedict, written for and sung by Madame Patey, founded on a scene in Schiller's "Mary Stuart;" and, lastly, a selection from Liszt's "Christus," which, however, did not seem altogether to catch the taste of the audience.

It is satisfactory to be able to say that the energy of those who combined to continue the glorious traditions of the Sacred Harmonic when that society was dissolved has met with the success it deserved. The choir, trained by Mr. Cummings and conducted by Mr. Charles Hallé, has been able not only to stand the test of comparison with its predecessor, but to infuse into its performances a spirit of enterprise in which the old society was somewhat wanting. The series of concerts opened, on February 23, with Gounod's "Redemption," which, supported by Misses Mary Davies, Santley, and Hilda Wilson and by Messrs. Guy and Santley, met with warm and sympathetic approval from the audience. On April 27, Schubert's beautiful but little known Mass in E flat was given in a highly creditable manner, and on November 16 Sir G. Macfarren's "King David," written for and produced at

the Leeds festival, was introduced with triumphant success to the London public.

The series of popular concerts on Saturday afternoons and Monday evenings at St. James' Hall maintained the high standard of former years, and also its hold on popular favour. The very large *répertoire* of classical chamber music was augmented by many works new to St. James' Hall, among which may be enumerated Spohr's string quartett in E flat (Op. 58, No. 1), led by Madame Norman-Neruda (Feb. 5); Brahms' new string quintett in F (Op. 88), led by Herr Joachim (early in March), and Schumann's Third Pianoforte Trio in G minor (Op. 110). A new pianoforte trio in C by Brahms (Op. 87), recently played for the first time at Frankfort, was introduced on January 22, and a sonata for piano and violoncello by Herr Gerusheim, a prominent disciple of the new German school, met with a favourable reception on February 19. From November 5, when they were resumed, the concerts were continued till Christmas, supported by the talents of Madame Norman-Neruda, Miss Zimmerman, and H. von Pachmann. The most interesting features of this period were two long-neglected trios by Mozart, one in C (No. 7), the other in D minor (No. 22), a piano quartett by M. Fibich, conductor of the theatre at Prague, and Mr. Hubert Parry's quartett in A flat. The artists who have contributed so largely to the great success to which these concerts have attained continued their services, in conjunction from time to time with the several stars who have this year visited London.

On the retirement of Mr. Henry Leslie it was announced, to the great delight of all lovers of part music, that his Choir would be continued by a society under the direction of Signor Randegger. Mr. Leslie also consented to preside over the institution, and kindly presented his magnificent library, subject only to a reversionary interest therein in the event of the society ceasing to exist. It is sufficient to say that the first concert, on February 22, revealed no falling off from previous excellence, and that the season closed on June 28 with every prospect of achieving future success.

The Richter concerts—nine in number—were again held between May 7 and July 2, and were supplemented by a short autumn season of three evenings. Herr Frantzens, as before, directed the chorus, and the band was led by Herr Ernst Schiever. Excepting that the first concert was mainly devoted to the works of Wagner, in honour of the recently deceased master, the programmes exhibited the same judicious eclecticism as in former years, and evoked the same enthusiasm from large and appreciative audiences.

The Bach Choir resumed its interesting though somewhat severe concerts on February 1, Dr. Stainer taking for the nonce the place of Mr. Otto Goldschmidt. A very interesting feature in the programme was Sir John Goss' unfinished anthem "The God of Jeshurun," taken in hand and completed by Sir A. Sullivan. Palestrina's "Missa Papæ Marcelli," a fine specimen of early church music, and Purcell's Psalm "Jehovah, quam multi sunt," with an organ accompaniment arranged by Mr. Cummings, may also be chronicled as achievements in accordance with the aim and object of the society. The same can scarcely be said of Max Bruch's "Odysseus," conducted by the composer at the second concert, a somewhat laboured work, which commanded but languid attention.

The Royal Albert Hall Choral Society again put its splendid resources to admirable use. Berlioz' "Faust" was heard twice—viz. on March 14 and November 7—with undiminished interest, and on the second occasion with

the advantage of Madame Albani's unrivalled vocal powers. This great artist also appeared in Gounod's "Redemption," which, notwithstanding a certain amount of adverse criticism, has continued steadily to advance in popular estimation as its purpose has been more fully grasped, until it has taken that place which those most competent to judge predicted for it from the first.

The London Musical Society, originally started as a private undertaking by amateurs, this year opened its doors to the general public, under the direction of Mr. Barnby. The choice of Dvorák's "Stabat Mater" was as bold as it turned out to be fortunate. This exquisite work was given with efficiency and received with enthusiasm, and the public *début* of the Society was altogether strikingly successful.

Several of the Suburban Societies have exhibited an amount of skill and enterprise in the production of new works which marks a great advance in general musical taste. Mr. Geaussen's choir, the Borough of Hackney Choral Association under Mr. E. Prout, The Highbury Philharmonic under Dr. Bridge, Mr. Willing's Choir, and the Hampstead Choral Society under Mr. Cowen, may be mentioned as among the most conspicuous examples.

*Miscellaneous.*—The Handel Festival, of which the continued existence was for a time looked upon as threatened by the dissolution of the Sacred Harmonic, and still more by the retirement of Sir M. Costa, was this year entrusted by the Crystal Palace Company to their tried conductor Mr. Manns, who, though so well known as an orchestral master, had yet to earn his laurels in the field of oratorio. The success obtained was such as to justify the belief that the Festival will become a permanently recurring institution.

The Wolverhampton Festival, which had hitherto been an event of one day only, was this year extended to two. The chorus was supplied by the Wolverhampton Choral Society, and was efficient. The soloists were Misses A. Williams and Mary Davies, Madame Patey, Messrs. Maas, Lloyd, King, and Foli, and Dr. Heap conducted. The performances were held in the Agricultural Hall in September, and the undertaking in its extended form was altogether successful.

The Leeds Festival began on the morning of October 10, and lasted till the following Saturday evening, during which time, in addition to many well-known works of which the fine power and quality of the Leeds chorus gave more than usual prominence, several novelties were introduced. The first of these, given on the evening of the opening day, was Mr. Cellier's cantata written to Gray's "Elegy." The work had been written somewhat hurriedly, owing to the arrangement with Mr. Clay, who was to have written a work for the Festival, falling through; but in spite of this disadvantage it revealed a good deal of grace and melody, and created a distinctly favourable impression. On the second day Raff's symphony-oratorio "The End of the World" was introduced, the audience listening with an attention rather respectful than sympathetic. Mr. Barnby's new psalm, "The Lord is King," and Sir G. A. Macfarren's oratorio "King David" complete the list of fresh works given. Sir A. Sullivan conducted with great ability, the chorus, consisting of over 300 voices trained by Mr. Broughton, worked with the power and precision which have always been associated with its name, and the band, led by Mr. Carrodus, was fully equal to its duties. The solo vocalists were Mdlle. Valleria, Misses Marriott, A. Williams, Damian, and Wilson, and Madame Patey; Messrs. Lloyd, Maas, King, Blower, and Santley. Both financially and musically the festival was highly successful.

The performance of Gounod's "Redemption" in Westminster Abbey on March 13, under the direction of Dr. Bridge, derived an additional charm from the unique capabilities of the building in which it was held, as well as from the sentiment which animated the undertaking. The inauguration of the Royal College of Music on May 7, in presence of the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Prime Minister, besides the leading representatives of musical art, was an event of great importance, which it may be hoped will be productive of good. The occasion was very properly marked by the honour of knighthood being conferred on Mr. Grove, Mr. Sullivan, and Professor Macfarren.

M. Sainton's retirement from professional life, which took place at a farewell concert in July, has deprived the art of violin-playing of one of its most competent exponents. Death, too, has made many gaps in the ranks both of composers and of the interpreters of their work ; but of these events a detailed record will be found elsewhere.

## SCIENCE OF THE YEAR 1883.

## ASTRONOMY.

**New Comets.**—The first reported discovery of a comet in the past year was contained in a Reuter's telegram from Puebla, Mexico, on January 22, but further examination of the part of the sky failed to confirm the observation. The first undoubted discovery was that of Messrs. Brookes and Swift, of Rochester, New York, who on February 23 discovered comet  $\alpha$  1883 in the constellation Andromeda. The elements of this comet were computed from observations made by Dr. Hepperger at Vienna, and Professor Milloswich at Rome, who found that there was but little similarity between its course and that of any other previously observed comet. When first discovered it was rapidly receding from the earth and from the sun, so that its continued study was a task of increasing difficulty. Spectroscopic observations made by Dr. A. Ricco at Palermo gave evidence of the presence of hydrocarbons; the spectrum of the nucleus was continuous, which shows that no solid matter was probably present, even the generally present sodium line being conspicuous by its absence. The great comet  $b$  1882 was last seen in April and May, this being the final appearance of one of the most conspicuous comets which has appeared for many years past. No further discoveries of comets were reported till the month of September, when a circular from Lord Lindsay's observatory at Dun Echt stated that Mr. Brooks, on September 2, found a curious-looking object, which the subsequent observations of Mr. Weddell at Harvard proved to be a new comet. It was described as circular in form, with a well-defined nucleus, but no tail, and has now been discovered to be identical with Pons' comet of 1812, which was not expected to return till 1884. It was observed at Harvard on September 21, and was then noted as being very faint and of less than the tenth magnitude. On the following evening its nebulous appearance had greatly decreased, and it resembled a star of the eighth magnitude. This increase of brightness must have been due to some other cause than the mere motion of the comet. It underwent a series of these daily changes, being more nebulous on the 24th, with an apparent diameter of  $2''$ —its previous diameter having been only  $1''$ . On the 27th its nucleus was only of the tenth or eleventh magnitude, and this had sunk to the twelfth on October 6. These variations show that some powerful disturbing cause must have been at work, altering from day to day the constitution and light-giving power of the comet.

A third new comet was discovered by Professor Lewis Swift, of the Warner Observatory, on September 11, but no further observations have been published, and its existence is therefore somewhat doubtful.

D'Arrest's comet, which was discovered in 1851, was observed on April 4 by Dr. Hartwig at Strasburg. This comet has a period of a little over six years, but it could only be observed by means of a very powerful telescope; and the attempt of Mr. Common to find it, after the announcement of its rediscovery by Dr. Hartwig, was unsuccessful.

**Minor Planets.**—The minor planets have been increased in number by three, now amounting to 234. Their discovery is due as follows:—No. 232

was discovered by Dr. J. Palisa at Vienna on January 31. It was in appearance equal to a star of the twelfth magnitude. Its discoverer has given it the name "Russia." On May 11, M. Borrelly, at Marseilles, observed another planetoid, No. 233, of about the eleventh magnitude; while the last, No. 234, was discovered by Professor C. H. F. Peters, at Clinton Observatory, New York, on August 13. Professor Peters states that the new body is of the ninth magnitude, a comparatively large size to have escaped detection so long. No. 227, discovered in 1882, has received the name "Philosophia," and No. 230 that of "Athamantis." No. 231 is called "Vindobona," and No. 234 "Barbara," though the utility or necessity of dignifying these minute planets with such imposing names may be doubted.

One of this host of minor planets, No. 175, *Andromache*, has been lost. It was carefully searched for at the time of its last opposition at the Observatory at Rome, but the search proved fruitless, and it will now need re-discovery.

During the solar eclipse M. Trouvelot noticed a brilliant star of a reddish colour, which has not been identified with any star previously observed. This may be the planet *Vulcan*, which has been so often searched for and never found.

**Eclipse of the Sun.**—On May 6 a total eclipse of the sun took place; but those who proposed to witness this interesting event had a very limited choice of stations from which to make their observations, as the course of the central zone of the moon's shadow over the earth was almost entirely a sea track, and only touched land at one or two of the smaller islands of the *Marquesas* group in the Pacific. This was the more to be regretted as, owing to the respective positions of the sun and moon, one being in apogee, or nearly at its farthest position from the earth, and the other in perigee, or at its closest—a condition but rarely occurring simultaneously with an eclipse—it was known that the duration of the solar occultation would be of unusual length, and that an extraordinarily favourable opportunity would thereby be afforded for the observation of those phenomena peculiar to a total eclipse which are calculated to give so much information as to the nature and constitution of the sun's atmosphere. Expeditions were organised in England, France, and the United States for the purpose of observing the eclipse. The English observers, Messrs. Lawrence and Wood, assistants in the work of the Solar Physics Committee, were attached to the American party, which was under the leadership of Professor Holden. The French expedition consisted of MM. Janssen, Trouvelot, Palisa, and Tacchini. Both parties established themselves and their instruments on *Caroline Island*, a low-lying chain of coral reefs enclosing a central lagoon. Fortunately, after much wet weather, May 6 turned out a favourable day for the purposes of the observers. Many successful observations were made, and a large number of valuable spectroscopic and other photographs were obtained. A distinguishing feature of the eclipse was the almost total absence of the red prominences, but the corona was well seen, and Mr. Dixon, of the American party, made a careful sketch of this solar appendage, showing five well-defined streamers. Dr. Hastings deduced from his observations that the corona is a phenomenon, largely if not entirely due to diffraction. At the British Association meeting Professor Janssen described the results he had obtained by an improved method of observing the spectrum of the corona during the eclipse. He found it to be a very complicated spectrum, with many dark lines, indicating the existence in the corona of matter capable of reflecting the solar light.



He also verified the fact that the light was strongly polarised, and he comes to the conclusion that the corona appeared to have a definite limit at no very great distance from the sun. No discovery was made of the supposed intra-mercurial planet Vulcan, though such a body was carefully looked for, unless the red star noticed by M. Trouvelot should be so regarded. Of course, one such failure to observe does not at all settle the question of its existence or non-existence. An attentive examination of the photographs of the coronal spectrum, taken by Dr. Schuster during the 1882 eclipse, has led Dr. Huggins to the conclusion that similar results might be obtained under ordinary conditions of solar observation, without the necessity of waiting for an eclipse to render the corona visible to the eye. He first attempted to realise this idea by interposing a violet-coloured glass between the object glass of the telescope and a sensitised plate, so as to isolate the light of the sun in the violet part of the spectrum, and the results thus produced were, in the opinion of many competent authorities, attended with great success. He thus obtained an over-exposed map of the sun itself, with the structure of the corona distinctly visible around it. More recently Dr. Huggins has made improvements on the preceding method. He now uses a reflecting telescope and sensitised plate, with a silver chloride film upon it, as the ground on which the photograph is to be taken. Plates of this description are sensitive to the violet rays only, and thus the necessity is removed of using absorbing media to sift the light, as in the first method adopted. The photographs taken by this second method show details which agree well with those of the photographs taken during the eclipse, and one of the observers of the Caroline Island party states that Dr. Huggins' photographs may be accepted as genuine up to a distance of 8' from the sun's edge.

Among other results announced at the British Association Meeting was that of the revised estimate of the sun's mean distance from the earth, which was stated by Dr. Ball, the Astronomer Royal for Ireland, to be 92,700,000 miles, with a probable error of not more than a few thousand miles.

**Remarkable Sunsets.**—The close of November was rendered remarkable by the occurrence of a series of sunsets and sunrises of extraordinary splendour, both as regards their depth and variety of colouring and their great duration. These phenomena were associated with observations of green-coloured suns, green and blue moons, and so on. Naturally there have been several more or less plausible hypotheses as to the cause of their occurrence. The three suggestions to which the greatest probability attached were as follows:—

1. It was supposed that the appearance was due to the upper regions of the air being loaded with finely-divided volcanic dust from the great eruption of Krakatoa; but against this theory there are two grave objections. These splendid sun effects were seen in Trinidad before the eruption of the volcano, and it is doubtful if even the tremendous energy then manifested would be sufficient to throw so much finely-divided matter to a height capable of influencing the solar light in regions so widely apart as Ceylon, the West Indies, and the Arctic Circle, where observers have reported the occurrence of similar phenomena.

2. Another suggestion is that the earth in her journey through space has come on a region loaded with meteoric dust, with a result like that claimed for the volcanic dust. This is a possible hypothesis, as we know that certain parts of the earth's orbit are much more crowded with meteor streams than other parts, and meteoric dust has been detected among the

snows of Norway, and M. Janssen seems to think that certain appearances connected with the sun's corona are best accounted for by attributing them to the presence of meteoric dust.

3. But the third hypothesis is not only the simplest, but most completely explains the phenomena. The presence of water, not as aqueous vapour, but in very minute drops, has been proved to be capable of producing these interesting effects. The presence and distribution of water in this condition has not, however, been accounted for, and there is therefore a possibility that it may in some remote way be connected with the Java eruptions.

**Universal Meridians.**—An International Geodetic Conference, which has been held during the past autumn at Rome, has decided to recommend for adoption by all countries the meridian of Greenwich as a universal starting-point for the calculation of longitude. It also recommended the expression of longitude in one uniform direction right round the globe, and not, as at present, in two directions, meeting at 180° East or West from Greenwich. With this recommendation was another, that time distances from Greenwich should be expressed from 0 to 24 hours, and not in two quantities of twelve hours each, which is always a cause of uncertainty or error in calculation. One of the first practical results produced by this congress is seen in the establishment of standard time throughout North America. Hitherto there have been upwards of fifty different local times in use, and this has resulted in much inconvenience in railway travelling. Under the new system the country has been mapped out in five large divisions, each being fifteen degrees of longitude in breadth. In each division the time will therefore differ by one hour exactly. The divisions are: Intercolonial, in which the time is four hours slower than Greenwich; Eastern (five hours slower), Central (six hours), Mountain (seven hours), and Pacific (eight hours). Thus, when the various local times are assimilated to these standard times, the present state of confusion will be happily done away with. In England the differences of longitude are not sufficiently great to make local time worth preserving, and the adoption of Greenwich time is rapidly becoming universal.

#### BIOLOGY AND PALEONTOLOGY.

The study of micro-organisms and their relations to disease has engaged a large and increasing amount of attention during the past year. The discovery made by Dr. Koch on the origin of consumption, following so closely as it did on that of Pasteur, has stimulated fuller inquiry and provoked much independent criticism. The address given by Dr. Creighton at the Liverpool meeting of the British Medical Association, on "The Autonomous Life of Specific Infection," was a clear and able exposition of the subject by one who well advocates the "not proven" side of the controversy. The inoculation results of Koch and Pasteur have been extended with varying success. The outbreak of cholera in Egypt gave an opportunity for research into the causes of this disease, which was taken advantage of to some extent. Two commissions of biologists, who investigated the disease "in situ," came to by no means concordant conclusions. Specific organisms were found by Dr. Koch in the blood and intestines of those who had died of cholera, but the inoculation of rats, rabbits, or dogs with this so-called "specific virus" was unattended with success; in no case was the disease communicated to the animal experimented on. This result was not altogether unex-

pected, as it has already been found that enteric fever, a somewhat similar disease to cholera, cannot be communicated to the lower animals by inoculation. Negative results of this sort are to a certain extent valuable, as suggesting further lines of inquiry. The behaviour of these various micro-organisms under the action of drugs may afford a discovery of the means of checking or destroying the diseases induced by them. Thus it has been lately shown that quinine will destroy the bacilli which are found in the bladder when ammoniacal decomposition of its contents has set in. As quinine exerts no harmful action on the bladder, a patient can be relieved by an injection of a solution of this drug, which speedily kills the minute originators of the decomposition. At the same time it must be admitted that the results of research in the direction of finding substances which shall be harmless to the body in which these micro-organisms may be lodged, while destroying the organisms themselves, have not been very promising, and the defence against their attacks by inoculation has been more successful.

The few remaining barriers between plants and animals have been reduced during the past year by several important discoveries. Thus "cellulose" has been considered by some biologists as a specifically vegetable constituent, but Bergh has shown that certain of the cilio-flagellate infusoria possess an exoskeleton, in which cellulose is undoubtedly present. Moreover, many of the genera of these infusoria are described by Bergh as feeding in a purely vegetable manner, that is, they live by taking up liquid or gaseous, and not solid, nutriment. On the other hand, cases are known in which the vegetable cell is destitute of any cellulose investment, and Professor Burdon Sanderson has shown that the mechanism of plant motion does not differ from that of animals in kind, but only in degree. This difference is due, not to any fundamental variation in the chemical processes at work in the plant or animal. In both the same processes are in operation, and in both they produce a result of similar nature, but of different intensity. The plant stores up its available supply of force in the coiling up of delicate spring-like fibres, which are released at any required moment by the excitability of the plant. In the animal the same chemical action stores up highly unstable compounds, whose decomposition supplies the necessary force to accomplish the movements required. Thus in both animals and plants work is done by the conversion of complex chemical compounds into simpler forms; but in the animal the protoplasm, as in muscle, does work only when required, and draws on its store of material in doing this work; while in the plant the use of its store is continuous, and the work done represents not only that due to the chemical transformations which take place while the movement is actually taking place, but also that which has slowly accumulated during the previous intervals of rest. Though the researches of Bergh and Sanderson have thus helped to break down the artificial distinction between plants and animals, yet, on the other hand, the alleged presence of the vegetable colouring matter chlorophyll in certain animals has been called in question, with great probability. Mr. P. Geddes has shown that the animals *Hydra viridis*, *Spongilla fluviatilis*, and others in which chlorophyll had been detected, do not contain this substance as a necessary ingredient, but only as obtained from the vegetable organisms on which they feed. While Mr. Geddes has been thus overthrowing the evidence for the existence of chlorophyll in animals, Dr. MacMunn has supplied additional proofs of its occurrence in the livers of some of the invertebrata and in the wing-cases of certain beetles. Dr. MacMunn claims to have proved the identity of

this colouring matter with vegetable chlorophyll, and supposes that the chlorophyll is formed in the animal in a somewhat similar manner to what it is in the vegetable. Thus the varying line of demarcation between the two great kingdoms of life has in the course of the year been shifted to and fro in a manner which renders abundantly clear the great difficulty of establishing any permanent distinction between them.

Wiedersheim, of Freiburg, has by his discovery of intracellular digestion in the vertebrata drawn closer the connection between the two sub-kingdoms of the Protozoa and Metazoa. In the Protozoan the characteristic method of feeding is by the ingestion of solid food particles into the actual substance of the cell, while in the Metazoan the characteristic method of cell nutrition is by the filtration of liquid food through the substance of the cell wall. Wiedersheim has, however, shown that solid food particles are in certain cases actually enclosed in the substance of endodermal cells in the vertebrata. The same fact has been previously noticed in the Hydrozoa and certain other Invertebrates, but the persistence of this method of feeding in the highly-organised vertebrata is an interesting instance of the survival of a habit characteristic of a much more lowly type.

Another remarkable biological question may be looked upon as now decided by the recent labours of Brandt, Geddes, and Lankester. This is the doctrine of "Symbiosis," or the physiological interaction of plant and animal organisms living as "commensals." Symbiosis differs from "parasitism," in which one organism preys on or lives at the expense of the other, as the tapeworm in man, or the mistletoe on the apple; and it differs from commensalism, properly so called, in which one organism merely affords a habitat for another.

In symbiosis the plant and animal mutually support and feed each other, so that the union is of advantage to both. A parallel case is seen in the rôle played by the Alga and Fungus in the Lichens, though in this case both parties to the union belong to the vegetable kingdom.

During the year Biology has lost the services of Dr. Hermann Müller, of Lippstadt, whose work on the "Fertilisation of Flowers" had rendered him the greatest authority in this department of Botany. The English translation of his work on this subject was introduced to the British public by a preface from the pen of Charles Darwin, which was his last scientific contribution to print. Darwin's manuscript notes on "Animal Intelligence" have also undergone a quasi-publication by their communication to the Royal Society by his friend and able follower, Mr. G. J. Romanes. The results, many of them of great value in their bearing on the difficult problem of instinct, have been incorporated in Mr. Romanes' work on this subject.

Another posthumous publication was the memoir on the "Embryology of Peripatus," by the late J. S. Balfour. The loss which science has experienced by his death is again clearly shown by the masterly manner in which he has treated this most complicated subject, and by the amount of light he has thrown in it on some of the most vital embryological problems.

At the meeting of the British Association at Southport, in October, Professor Ray Lankester, in his address as President of the Biological Section, took occasion to compare the meagre provision made in this country for the advancement of biological knowledge compared with that afforded by either France or Germany. While England has at the most only thirty or forty posts, which enable their holder to devote part of his time to some-

thing beyond mere teaching, there are in Germany nearly ten times as many such posts distributed over their twenty-one Universities. Biology, more than any other branch of science, is purely unremunerative, and hence, with the exception of a favoured few, who are blessed with adequate private means, English men of science are compelled to devote their talents to more paying professions. Professor Lankester suggested the application of the Gresham College funds to the "endowment of research," instead of wasting them, as at present, on a useless system of lectures. Again, while successful practice as a doctor or surgeon produces a well-deserved recognition of skill, as in the case of the medical baronetries bestowed on Prescott Hewitt, Andrew Clark, T. Spencer Wells, and Henry Pitman, rewards of this kind are seldom or never bestowed on those who have advanced the cause of pure science.

**Rhythmical Action of the Spleen.**—An exceedingly important physiological discovery has been made by Dr. C. S. Roy. This is the fact that the spleen, like the heart, is a rhythmically contractile organ, undergoing a definite amount of expansion and contraction in regular intervals of time. The effect of this alternate movement is to promote a current of fluid through the organ, and thus enable it to play a similar part to that exercised by the heart in the circulation of the blood. The force with which the spleen contracts is, however, very much less than that exerted by the heart, the pressure which it has to overcome being proportionately smaller. The time taken by the spleen to undergo a complete systole and diastole is stated by Dr. Roy to be about one minute, this being of course much slower than the heart, which would make about seventy or eighty beats in that time. This slow, gentle rhythm of the spleen, and the absence of surrounding hard parts of the body, has been the probable cause of the previous non-detection of its occurrence. It is at once evident that a "lymphatic heart" such as this must play a very important part in the general phenomena of circulation and nutrition, and Dr. Roy's discovery has already caused increased attention to be given to the vital processes taking place in that organ.

**The Bernissart Fossils.**—In 1878 the remains of several well-preserved specimens of the iguanodon were found at Bernissart, near Tournai. From that time till now Mons. L. Dollo has been steadily working at their exhumation and description, and his work is now sufficiently far advanced to enable him, in conjunction with Professor Van Beneden, to publish a preliminary report. He has identified no less than twenty-three different specimens belonging to two distinct species—one being smaller than the other, but differing from the larger species in points which render it tolerably certain that the smaller animal is not simply the young of the larger. In many of their most important characteristics these reptiles resemble birds, so that the iguanodon now takes rank with the compsognathus and pterodactyle as links between these two great orders of the vertebrata. Huxley had suggested that these gigantic reptiles walked like birds on their two hind legs, and used the fore limbs for grasping their food or for purposes of attack and defence. M. Dollo has corroborated this idea from anatomical considerations; thus the head is comparatively small and narrow, and the neck long and slender, as occurs in birds. Again, along the sides of the dorsal spines of the vertebra, M. Dollo has discovered traces of a series of ossified ligaments, which are a characteristically bird-like feature. These ossifications served to bind the dorso-lumbar region of the backbone into a

solid mass, as is found to be the case with birds. One of the skeletons has been restored and mounted as far as possible in the attitude assumed by the animal during life. In this position it measures about thirty feet from the tip of its nose to the end of its tail, and stands more than fourteen feet from the ground. These figures serve to give some idea of the size of this monster, which in shape must have presented the appearance of a gigantic duck with an elongated tail, which in length and adaptability for use in swimming resembled that of a crocodile. The sternum and pelvis of the iguanodon also present points of interest in regard to the avian affinities of this reptile, while the recent researches of Miss Johnson on the "Development of the Pelvic Girdle of the Chick" have shown that well-marked resemblances exist between the bird and the reptile in their embryological relationship. Thus from the side of both the bird and the reptile additional evidence has been accumulated of identity of descent.

The other skeletons found at Bernissart are now undergoing a disinterment from the matrix in which they are embedded, and it is proposed to build a new museum at Brussels, in which space will be found to mount them in a manner worthy of their importance.

**Anthropometry in the United Kingdom.**—The report of the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association also calls for mention, the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of the British Isles having been carefully collected and tabulated. The influence of race, age, sex, and habitat in relation to growth is here fully displayed. Height and weight, for instance, do not go together as might naturally be supposed. Taking the four races in order of height, the results are Scotch, Irish, English, Welsh; while the order for weight is Scotch, Welsh, English, Irish. The average height of a typical Englishman is given as 5 feet  $7\frac{1}{3}$  inches, and his weight as 11st. 11lbs. Dwellers by the sea were found to be of higher stature and greater weight than persons living in large towns, though the results do not appear to show that town life produces such a stunted growth as is sometimes assumed to be the case.

#### PHYSICS.

Professors Reinhold and Rucker have published the results obtained by them in the course of a long investigation on the thicknesses of liquid films. The bearing of this work will be seen from a statement made in a lecture by Sir William Thomson, that the results of different lines of inquiry as to the average size of molecules fix their dimensions as between two-millionths of a millimetre as a maximum, and one-hundred-millionth of a millimetre as a minimum. An idea of this size may be formed by imagining a drop of water magnified to the size of the earth, the molecules in it would be then enlarged to the maximum dimension of a cricket ball. Now the work of Reinhold and Rucker has strengthened these conceptions of the size of molecules.

It is known that if a soap bubble be gradually blown it will, as it expands and gets thinner, show the colours of the rainbow. If the bubble be further expanded, the colours disappear and the bubble breaks, owing to the loss of cohesiveness among the molecules of which the film is composed. By using a mixture of soap and glycerine a tenacious film is obtained, which can be kept unbroken for some hours. The thickness of these films has been

measured by two distinct methods—one depending on the electric resistance offered by the film, and the other on the amount of its refractive power. Both methods assume that in these films the electric resistance or refractive index, as the case may be, are comparable with thicker masses of the same material, and we have at present every reason to conclude this is true. The thickness thus measured varies within rather narrow limits, considering the difficult nature of the observations; the thinnest value obtained for a film being seven-millionths of a millimetre, and the average thickness being twelve-millionths. Taking Sir William Thomson's approximation as given above, these results would show that the thinnest film contained not less than three, and not more than 720 molecules abreast in a cross section. The thicknesses obtained by these methods were fifty times less than those based on observations of the optical phenomena known as Newton's rings.

In electrical science there is little of absolute novelty, the most important discovery in the region of pure as distinguished from applied science being the production of electricity by the stimulation of the retina by light. Thus when a ray of light falls on the retina an electric current is set up, just as occurs in the contraction of muscle, the current being in all probability due to the chemical changes produced by the waves of light on the pigment of the retina. This effect was ably shown by Professor McKendrick before the British Association.

Mensbrugge has shown that every liquid mass of which the surface is expanding or contracting is the seat of an electric current. As this expansion or contraction is due to variations of temperature, additional evidence is thus afforded to the thermo-electric explanation of atmospheric electricity. The economic applications of electricity have advanced but slowly. The past year has seen the opening of the first electric railway in the United Kingdom. This line, which is more than six miles long, runs from Portrush to Bushmills, in Londonderry. The necessary power is furnished by a dynamo, driven by a turbine, worked by the falls of the river Bush, the current being carried along the line by an underground cable. The speed obtained is about twelve miles an hour, and it is at present the longest electric railway in existence. It was opened by Earl Spencer in September last.

A more ingenious application of electrical energy is seen in the "telpherage" system of Mr. Fleeming Jenkin. By this means Mr. Jenkin proposes to transport goods in a cheap and simple manner, the method adopted being to divide the line into independent circuits, each of which is capable of carrying a load.

The various contrivances to serve as secondary batteries have not succeeded in getting rid of their great drawback—viz. excessive weight; and until some other material than lead is adopted there is little hope of improvement in this direction. Two new dynamos, the Ferranti and the Gordon, both of considerable power, have been introduced to the public during the past year; but in neither is there any absolutely new feature. Electric energy meters have also been brought out in great quantities, that of Mr. Boys being one of the best, both in its accuracy and its practical value.

During the past year Physical science has experienced the loss of Dr. W. Spottiswoode, the President of the Royal Society from 1878 to 1883, who died June 27, aged fifty-eight; of Mr. Cromwell F. Varley, the well-known electrical engineer, who died August 31, aged fifty-five; and of J. Antoine Ferdinand Plateau, aged eighty-one, whose researches in the domain of

molecular physics were carried on with success after the loss of his eyesight—a loss due to some of his physiological experiments on the action of light.

#### CHEMISTRY.

In the group of metals of which potassium and sodium are the most important members, C. Setterberg has succeeded in isolating the metal cæsium, which, though discovered as long ago as 1860, by Kirchhoff and Bunsen, has not previously been obtained in a pure form. Its properties in the free state are found to agree with those deduced from Bunsen's observations on its amalgam with mercury.

In another group of metals, Professor P. T. Cleve, of Upsala, and Dr. B. Brauner, of Manchester, have done a large amount of interesting work. This group, consisting of at least a dozen metals, occurs in a few rare minerals—gadolinite, cerite, and samarskite, and the properties of these metals, both physical and chemical, so closely resembling each other that their separation and individual study is a matter of the utmost difficulty; and any improvement in the methods employed results in the discovery of members of the group whose existence was not before suspected. They bid fair to be the "minor planets" of Chemistry, both in regard to their increasing number and difficulty of detection. The great similarity and limited distribution of these metals lend help to the theory that they are molecular combinations of some simpler elements, formed under conditions of the earth's history which perhaps have now passed away.

The atomic weights of certain elements have been also re-determined, and the results obtained seem so far to rehabilitate the hypothesis of Prout, that the weight of each element was a whole-number multiple of (half) the atomic weight of hydrogen. Certainly, the difference between experiment and theory are not sufficiently variable to entirely disprove this hypothesis, as was at one time thought to be the case. Organic chemistry has during the past year added its usual legion of compounds to those already described; but the result of the most importance is the synthesis of tyrosine, by MM. Erlenmeyer and Lipp. Tyrosine is of interest as being one of the products of the decomposition of albumen in the animal. Now a knowledge of the constitution of tyrosine and its synthetic formation throws an increased light on the constitution of albumen itself—a problem which is of the greatest importance in physiological chemistry. A Russian chemist, M. Horbac Lewski, has also succeeded in synthesising uric acid, which also was previously only known as a waste product from the processes of animal nutrition. But the most curious results in the borderland between physiology and chemistry are contained in the discovery by Lewkowitch, that certain bacteria are capable of converting inactive mandelic acid into an active variety. The inactive acid is that form which has no rotatory action on a ray of polarised light sent through its solution; the active acid, on the other hand, rotates this ray through a certain definite angle. Now, if a mixture of two active varieties of this or of tartaric acid, one of which rotates the ray to the right, and the other to the left, be dissolved in proper proportions, this mixture will itself be optically inactive. On now cultivating a particular kind of bacteria in this fluid, they will consume one variety and leave the other, their choice not being due to any difference in the chemical constitution of the two varieties, which are identical in this respect, but merely due to the



physical state of aggregation in which their molecules exist. The bacteria can thus separate the inactive acid into the two active varieties, consuming one and leaving the other; one kind of bacterium preferring the dextro-rotatory acid and the other the lævo-rotatory. The two acids thus separated are found to differ several degrees in their melting point and in the shape of their crystals.

**Use of Lime.**—The use of quicklime in blasting has now been adopted in actual mine working. Its safety in coal mines where fire-damp is likely to occur will soon lead to its general adoption, the drawback at present being the difficulty of obtaining good cartridges in sufficient number. These cartridges are made of thin sheet metal, and filled with powdered, lightly compressed quicklime. This cartridge is inserted in a hole made in the face of the coal, as in ordinary blasting operations. The cartridge has attached to it a long indiarubber tube, through which water is forced on to the lime. The lime, becoming slaked by the water, expands, and this expansion loosens the coal to an extent which depends upon the size of the charge and the lightness with which it is packed. By the use of lime not only is the danger of explosion avoided, but also the action of the disruptive force is more under control than is the case when gunpowder is employed. Gas manufacture has also been improved by the use of lime in the retorts with the coal whose distillation is to furnish gas. The coal contains a certain quantity of nitrogen and hydrogen compounds; in the presence of lime, and under the action of heat, the nitrogen and hydrogen combine to form ammonia—a most valuable waste product in the manufacture of gas. The use of lime increases the yield of this product, and at the same time purifies the gas from some of the sulphur impurities which it is so desirable to remove.

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY.

**Arctic Regions.**—The scientific expeditions organised for the purpose of taking scientific observations at certain selected points within the North Polar circle have been successfully carried out. Ten of these stations were planned, and with few exceptions most of the expeditions have returned in safety. Reckoning them in their order from west to east, the first was the one founded by the Austro-Hungarian party, under Lieutenant von Wohlgemuth, in the steamer "Pola." This expedition landed on the island of Jan Mayen, and, having remained there during the winter, returned to Hamburg in August last. The explorers brought home with them a large quantity of specimens and photographs, and express themselves highly pleased with the results of their meteorological and other observations. The second expedition—that of Norway—was stationed at Bosekop, in Lapland, and observations were continued till the summer of 1883, when it returned in safety. The third expedition, which was commanded by Mr. Ethholm, and supported by Sweden, was fixed at Ja Fiord, in Spitzbergen. After passing the winter there, he was able to communicate with home, and was able to report that the whole party had been enjoying excellent health.

The fourth and fifth stations were fitted out by Russia—one being under the command of Lieutenant Andreief, and the other under Lieutenant Jürgens. The first was established at Möller Bay, Novaya Zemlya, and the other on Sagastyx Island, at the mouth of the river Lena. These two

expeditions will remain at their respective posts for another winter. The United States of America sent out two expeditions in 1881, which have spent two winters in the Polar regions. The first of these was settled at a station near Point Barron, under the command of Lieutenant Ray. After encountering considerable difficulties, Lieutenant Ray arrived at San Francisco on October 7, and was able to report that he had made a large number of pendulum observations as well as the usual notes of meteorological phenomena. The next station in the circle was the English one, which was established at the great Slave Lake. Then came the second United States station, which was situated close to the spot where Captain Nares wintered on the coast of Smith's Sound, Lady Franklin Bay, in  $81\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  north latitude. The former attempt to relieve this party in 1882 was unsuccessful, owing to the ice met with in Smith's Sound. This year a strong endeavour was made to reach the station by the United States warship "Tantic" and the steamer "Proteus." Up to the present the unfortunate commander, Lieutenant Greeley, and his men have not been relieved; but it is proposed to despatch a strong relief force to their aid during the ensuing summer. The ninth expedition was stationed at Cumberland Sound, in Davis Strait. It was under the command of Dr. Giese, and was supported by Germany. It returned safely, having experienced a fair measure of success.

The Government of the Netherlands sent out their expedition in the "Varna," under the leadership of Dr. Snellen. This expedition got frozen up in the Kara Sea, and never reached its destination at Dicksonharn, at the mouth of the Yenesei. The expedition despatched by Denmark, in the "Dijmphna," under Lieutenant Hovgaard, was almost equally unfortunate. The aim of this party was to follow the track of Nordenskjöld, with whom Hovgaard had served in the "Vega," along the coast of Siberia, as far as Chatu Chelyuskin, and to ascertain if Franz-Josef Land extended to the neighbourhood of that promontory. The "Dijmphna," like the "Varna," was frozen up, and the "Willem Barentz," which was despatched with special orders to look for the missing ships, failed to find any trace of them. It appeared, however, that the "Varna" had foundered, but her crew was saved and brought back by the steamer "Obi," which also brought tidings of the "Dijmphna." This latter vessel returned to Vardö on October 25, having safely escaped from the ice. Lieutenant Hovgaard reports that they have made some valuable collections and discoveries, and have prepared a map of the Kara Sea, which will rectify in several points those previously existing.

**Exploration of Greenland.**—During the past summer the famous Arctic explorer Nordenskjöld organised an expedition of great difficulty and danger to a part of the Arctic regions of which up to the present but little was known. This was the exploration of the interior of Greenland, which was generally supposed to be an immense icy waste, covered by glaciers of enormous thickness, as was the condition of the greater part of Northern and Central Europe during the glacial period. From observations made during a previous visit to Greenland, and from traces discovered by one of the German expeditions, Nordenskjöld inferred that patches of more or less uncovered land existed among these deserts of ice. Another object he had in view was to discover, if possible, traces of the old Norse colonies of the middle ages, which are supposed to have been destroyed by the Esquimaux in the fourteenth century, after a flourishing existence of 300

years. The cost of Nordenskjöld's expedition was borne by Mr. Oscar Dickson, the munificent promoter of all Arctic enterprise in Sweden; and the exploring party started from Gothenburg in the steamship "Sophia" in May last. Having spent some days at Reikjavik, in Iceland, the expedition made for the west coast of Greenland, and early in July landed an inland ice party at Anleitsvik Fiord. This party having penetrated about seventy miles east of the glacier border, and having attained an elevation of 5,000 feet, were prevented by soft snow from proceeding any farther in sledges; but some Laplanders who accompanied the expedition were sent on farther in snow-shoes. The Laplanders advanced more than 100 miles farther in the same direction, and reached a height of 7,000 feet, but the whole course was over an unbroken range of snow.

The rest of the expedition, under the command of Dr. Nathorst, visited the north-west coast of the island, between Waigattel and Cape York, and succeeded in collecting valuable collections illustrating the zoology, botany, and geology of the district. In August the whole expedition attempted to double Cape Farewell, and to run northwards along the east coast; but they were unable to effect a landing on account of the ice till September 14, when the "Sophia" anchored in a fiord, where were found some remains of the Norse colony period.

This was the first time since the fifteenth century that a vessel had succeeded in anchoring on the east coast of Greenland, south of the Polar circle. The expedition then returned to Europe, reaching Thurso on September 19. As the result of his exploration Baron Nordenskjöld concludes that, contrary to his former hypothesis, there is no snow-free interior in Greenland, at least so far as a general conclusion can be drawn from that part of the island now visited. The whole of the region traversed was a desert of ice, no open water; not anything like an oasis being met with, though his men penetrated farther inland than had ever previously been done.

**Africa.**—The expedition which was organised by the Royal Geographical Society, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Thomson, has up to the present time not been very fortunate. Mr. Thomson started from Mombasa in the middle of March, and at the end of that month had reached Taveta, where he spent twelve days, preparing the beads and iron wire he had brought with him as merchandise, so as to be available for barter with the natives. On arriving at Kibonoto, in the Masai country, on April 29, Mr. Thomson learnt that the German party, under Dr. Fischer, which had started before him, had been attacked by the natives, and after a severe fight had managed to defeat them. The natives, however, finding that it was useless to again attack the well-armed and numerous party of Dr. Fischer, determined to be revenged on the weaker expedition of Mr. Thomson. Under the pretence of *hongo*, or presents to the chiefs and their principal followers, Mr. Thomson had also been robbed of the most valuable and useful of his possessions, and was compelled under these circumstances to return as quickly as possible to Taveta, where he arrived on July 2.

According to the latest accounts he has again started on his way to the Victoria Nyanza, and has already passed the farthest point reached by Dr. Fischer, who, like Mr. Thomson, was compelled to retreat in consequence of the continued hostility of the Masai and the cowardice of his own followers. He, however, succeeded in exploring the volcanic region round the lofty mountains of Meru and Doenye Ngai and in visiting Lake Naivasha.

Another expedition from the east coast, under the command of Mons. Révoil, left Mukdishu in April, and is reported to have reached Ganana on the Upper Jub.

The political manœuvres of Spain and France have also increased our knowledge of some parts of Africa during the past year. Spain acquired from Morocco the cession of the port of Santa Cruz, and has despatched an expedition to explore the place. Under the guidance of Señor Jimenez, large parts of the little-known country of Morocco were visited, and much useful general information obtained. But the proceedings of the French in the region stretching from the Senegal to the Niger have been far more important. Colonel Desbordes has, after some skirmishing with the Mussulman tribes, established himself at Bamaku, on the Upper Niger, and a railway is in process of construction to the fort. Dr. Bayol has succeeded in exploring some new country in the interior, and thus annexation and geographical discovery have gone on simultaneously.

The region of the Congo is still the happy hunting ground where the French under M. De Brazza, the Portuguese, and the expedition under Mr. Stanley, which is supported by the King of the Belgians, are all endeavouring to secure the opening of this great waterway. The most successful of the three has been Mr. Stanley, and, as the posts established by him are international in character, it is to be hoped that his success may continue. Mr. Stanley has now established eight principal stations along a stretch of the river 700 miles in length from its mouth, and is now engaged in exploring the tributaries of the upper waters of this great African artery.

Up one of the largest of these, the Kwango, he has discovered two lakes thirty miles apart. One he has named after his patron, Leopold II.; to the other he leaves its native name, Mantumba. The Portuguese are exploring the region between the Congo and Angola, under Messrs. Capello and Ivens, and have also established meteorological observatories at Loando, St. Salvador, and Humpata. Attempts have been made on the east coast to explore the Somali and Galla countries, but without much success, an Italian traveller, Sacconi, having lost his life in an attempt to reach the country of the Ugandini.

**Asia.**—The Indian Survey Department has not been idle of late years. One of its native explorers, who started in 1878, and has been long given up as dead, has returned after crossing the whole of the plateau of Thibet into the Mongolian desert, and penetrating as far north as Saitu, in 40° N. latitude. On his way back he visited Szechuen and other parts of China, and has arrived safely in India with an immense stock of information. An English explorer, Mr. MacNair, has worked his way into Kafiristan, and is the first European who has visited and furnished a personal account of Chitral and the Upper Kunar Valley. Another Englishman, Mr. W. Graham, has employed himself in scaling some of the gigantic peaks of the Himalayas, and has reached an elevation of 21,326 feet, being the highest point ever attained by an explorer. An attempt to scale Kunchinjinga was unsuccessful. Dr. Lansdell has recently made a journey through Turkestan of over twelve thousand miles; and two explorers, who started from Peking in 1880, reached St. Peterburg in the present year, having visited Merv on their way. These journeys show with what ease parts of Asia are now visited which a few years ago were almost inaccessible.

**New Guinea.**—The expedition despatched by the proprietors of the "Melbourne Argus" was very unfortunate. Captain Armit started from

Port Moresby with the intention of crossing the island to Dyke Acland Bay, but he only succeeded in penetrating about forty miles into the interior. Most of the party were attacked by fever, and Professor Denton died on Aug. 26. The others, much exhausted, then returned to Port Moresby. Dr. Frusch, the German naturalist, spent some time in New Guinea, but reports that the difficulty of penetrating into the interior is very great, owing to the inability or indisposition of the coast natives to assist an explorer. The British Association and the Royal Geographical Society have decided to support the expedition now in preparation by Mr. W. Powell, which will embrace a survey of the country explored, and the investigation of its resources.

# OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1883.<sup>1</sup>

## JANUARY.

**The Earl of Stamford and Warrington.**—George Harry Grey, seventh Earl of Stamford, third Earl of Warrington, born in 1827, was the eldest son of Baron Grey of Groby, and grandson of the sixth Earl. He was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his M.A. degree in 1848, having succeeded to his grandfather's titles and estates three years previously; his father, who had been summoned to the House of Peers under the title of Lord Grey of Groby, having died in 1835. Field sports rather than politics formed Lord Stamford's principal interest from the beginning to the close of his life. In 1856 he succeeded Sir Richard Sutton as Master of Quorn Hounds, and retained the mastership until 1863, and during that period he was engaged in the building of Bradgate Park, Leicestershire, which became his favourite residence, and where he died on January 2. His achievements on the turf were scarcely so brilliant as those of some of his contemporaries; but during his career as an owner of racers—although he never won either the Derby or the St. Leger—he was the possessor of some sires whose offspring became celebrated. Amongst such were Diopphantus, which in 1861 won the Two Thousand Guineas Stakes, beating Colonel Towneley's Kettledrum, and two years later Cambuscan, who was defeated in both the three-year-old races by Blair Athol. Cambuscan was, with others of Lord Stamford's horses, sold and exported to Hungary, where he became the sire of Kinsem, whose record of victories is unmarred by a

single defeat, and more recently the splendid mare Geheimniss brought Lord Stamford's name before the public.

**General Chanzy.**—Antoine Eugène Chanzy was born at Nouart on March 18, 1823, and was the son of a cavalry officer. He first entered the Naval School of Brest as a cadet; but, taking a dislike for the sea, enlisted at the age of 18 in a regiment of artillery, and afterwards was admitted to the Military School of St. Cyr. In 1841 he got his commission in the Zouaves, and from the outset of his career was most lucky in seeing active service. He joined in many of those little forays against Arabs where glory was to be got, not cheaply, perhaps, but swiftly, and on obtaining his captaincy in 1851 was appointed to the presidency of an Arab Bureau—that is, to the civil and military command of a colonial district. He took no part in the Crimean war; but he fought at Magenta and Solferino as major in the 23rd Infantry Regiment, and in the following year went through the Syrian expedition as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 71st. By this time he had acquired a professional reputation for valour and expertness in regimental duty; but he had got into the black books of the War Office from being suspected of contributing military articles to the newspapers. His grievance against the Government of the Second Empire arose from some jobs which he had discovered in connection with the supply of stores to fortresses. He revealed these to the War Office, and was snubbed; then he made them public, and they had to be remedied

<sup>1</sup> In part condensed from notices in the *Times*.

but he received no thanks; and on the outbreak of the Franco-German war his application to be appointed to the command of a brigade was bluntly refused. He then held the nominal rank of Brigade-General, but was left inactive till the revolution of September 4, when the Government of the National Defence promoted him to the rank of General of Division.

Chanzy's merit was that he resisted the invasion inch by inch. He never avoided a battle when it could be fought on something like equal terms; and he kept the most perfect discipline among his men at a time when most of his brother generals—Faidherbes and Clinchamp excepted—were finding their raw levies quite unmanageable. After partial successes at Vendôme on December 15, 1870, and at Montoire on the 27th, he established himself on the Sarthe, and on January 11, 1871, engaged with Prince Frederick Charles a memorable six days' battle which honourably terminated the war. Driven from Le Mans by the "Red Prince," who was at the head of 180,000 men, he fell back behind the Mayenne, fighting all along his line of retreat till he reached Laval; and he was preparing there to make a last desperate stand when news of the armistice arrived. Within a week he had lost 20,000 men and twelve field pieces, but he had forced from his victors the acknowledgment that he was the toughest foe they had encountered in France.

At the Armistice elections, General Chanzy was elected to the National Assembly by the department of Ardennes, and a few months later, on March 18, his forty-eighth birthday, he was very nearly being shot by the Communists, along with Generals Lecomte and Clément Thomas. He happened to be in Paris on the morning when the Communist insurrection broke out, and was arrested; the remonstrances of several mayors procured his liberation, not without difficulty, but he had to give his parole that he would not bear arms against the insurgent forces. This affair greatly enhanced Chanzy's prestige in the eyes of the National Assembly, and when in 1872, at a time when Republicanism was in disrepute, he suddenly declared himself for the Republic, it looked as though he were destined to play a great part in politics. He did not realise these expectations, and, indeed, was never quite equal to the opportunities which events threw in his way. The Republicans were fervently grateful to him for his support, and

when he formally accepted the leadership of the Left Centre, a Chanzy party was openly constituted with a view to getting him elected President of the Republic whenever M. Thiers should retire. But, whether from dread of compromising himself or from disinclination to adopt some of the items of Republican policy, Chanzy, in 1873, abruptly withdrew from his place in the Assembly, and showed unexpected alacrity in accepting the Governor-Generalship of Algeria. In 1874, when there were rumours of the Comte de Chambord's restoration, overtures were made to him from Legitimist quarters, but although he declined to meet these advances he would not, as his Republican friends desired, publicly declare that he would refuse allegiance to the Bourbon king. He had, indeed, grown to be very cautious, and somewhat chilly, in his manner towards men of all parties. He kept little state in Algiers, affecting a rigid, Republican simplicity, and appearing to those who had known him in his younger days to have become unaccountably sad. Although slight differences of opinion may have engendered at times the appearance of coldness in his relations with Gambetta, there was never any serious estrangement between two men who fully appreciated one another's worth; and it was by Gambetta's influence that in 1875 Chanzy was elected a Life Senator. He did not often vote in the Upper House, and abstained from so doing in the great constitutional crisis of 1877, when Marshal MacMahon had called upon the Senate to dissolve the Lower House, and when every vote was of consequence to the Republicans. The Left never quite forgave this desertion, and, though Chanzy tried to make amends for it in the following year by declaring himself, at a public banquet, to have been "an ardent Republican for years," it was generally thought that this homage addressed to victors was less happy than it would have been if bestowed upon the Republican party in the midst of its struggle. Upon the resignation of Marshal MacMahon in 1879, General Chanzy was put forward for the Presidency without his own consent, and got 99 votes out of some 300 recorded at the Congress. He protested against the liberty that had been taken with his name; but general surprise was caused that his unprepared candidature should have rallied so many as 99 votes; and once more he got talked of in lobbies as a possible President in the future.

Soon after this he was appointed French Ambassador to St. Petersburg, and, stopping at Berlin on his way to his post, was received with marked deference and cordiality by the Emperor William and Prince Bismarck. His career as a diplomatist, however, was a brief one, for in less than two years he was again back at his military duties, and commanding the Army Corps which had its headquarters at Châlons. It was here that he was struck down by apoplexy on January 4, having survived his friend and greater colleague of the Government of National Defence by a few days.

**The Right Hon. Sir Samuel Martin.**

—Sir Samuel Martin was born in 1801 at Culmore, Newtown, Linnavaddy, co. Londonderry, where his father, Mr. Samuel Martin, possessed a small estate. His career at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his degree in 1821, was marked by many solid successes. In the same year he came to London and entered as a student, first at Gray's Inn, and subsequently, in 1826, at the Inner Temple, by which society, after two years' practice as a special pleader, he was called to the bar January 29, 1830. He chose the Northern Circuit, and attached himself to the fortunes of Sir Frederick Pollock, whose eldest daughter, Fanny, he subsequently married in 1838. In mercantile law, at Liverpool and elsewhere, he speedily made his mark; but his connection with the famous 'Bloomsbury' case, tried at Liverpool in 1839, was the first cause which brought him very prominently before the general public. Mr. Ridsdale's colt 'Bloomsbury' had won the Ascot Derby Stakes in the preceding season, but Lord Lichfield protested against the payment of the stakes on the ground of the winner having been misdescribed. Mr. Cresswell and Mr. Martin appeared for Mr. Ridsdale, the plaintiff, whilst Serjeant Wilde, afterwards Lord Truro, who was specially retained, appeared for the defendants. The case, which was almost wholly left in Mr. Martin's hands, was decided in his favour. In 1843 Mr. Martin, who by this time had the principal commercial practice in his circuit, and a very large one at Guildhall, assumed silk, and in 1847 he successfully contested Pontefract in the Liberal interest, having Mr. Monckton Milnes (afterwards Lord Houghton) as his colleague, and succeeding Mr. Gully, the prize-fighter, in the representation of that sporting constituency. After a

brief Parliamentary career he accepted, in 1850, the place of Baron of the Exchequer, of which Lord Wensleydale (Baron Parke) was the Lord Chief Baron. As a judge his great practical knowledge, his shrewd common-sense, and genial humour made him extremely popular with the profession and the public. His judgments were remarkable for their brevity, and, although always ready to vindicate the law by pronouncing heavy sentences, he was unremitting in his endeavours to obtain their alleviation whenever circumstances appeared to justify his direct intervention. Numerous traits are cited of his kindness and unwearied care of persons in distress—criminals or their victims—whose cases came before him in the course of his duties, whilst his zeal to discharge those duties thoroughly led him to say of himself that he wished to have inscribed on his tombstone, 'Here lies a judge who never left a *remanet*.' Increasing deafness at length forced him to retire from the Bench long before his faculties showed any sign of decay, and in January 1874, in the presence of an assemblage of the judges of the various courts, the leaders of the bar, and many others, he bade farewell to the public service. Throughout his life he retained his interest in racing, and on his retirement from the Bench was elected a member of the Jockey Club; and it was currently, though probably erroneously, reported that he was the owner of Rogerthorpe, a favourite for the Derby, but who ran eighth for that race, though it won the Goodwood Cup in 1856. It was, however, understood that he had a certain share in various horses trained and owned under other names than his own. On his withdrawal from public life he was made a Privy Councillor, and, although he took no part in the judicial proceedings of that body, he continued to take a keen interest in reforms of the law and its administration. Lady Martin died in the year her husband left the Bench, and from that time he divided his time between his Irish estate at Myroe, co. Londonderry, and his apartments in Piccadilly, where he died on January 9, after a short illness.

**General Sir Richard England, G.C.B.**, who died at Titchfield, Hants, on January 19, was a son of Lieut.-General Richard England, of Lifford, co. Clare, Ireland, born at Detroit, Upper Canada, in 1793, but educated at Winchester College, and at the Royal Military College at Marlow. In 1808 he entered



the army, and served first with the 75th Foot at the siege of Flushing (1809), on the staff in Sicily (1810), and throughout the campaign in France (1815). In 1832 he was appointed military commandant in Caffraria, and took a prominent part in the direction and conduct of the Caffre war, 1835-36. His next scene of active service was India, where, during the Scinde and Afghanistan campaigns (1842), he commanded the Bombay division, taking part in the actions of the Pisheen Valley, in the march to Candahar, and in the retreat to the Indus through the Bolan Pass. For these services he received the thanks of Parliament and was nominated K.C.B. On the outbreak of the war with Russia in 1854 he received the local rank of Lieut.-General, with the command of the 3rd (infantry) division of the Crimean army, and as such was present at the battles of the Alma, Inkermann, and all the operations before Sebastopol. For his services during the campaign he received the thanks of Parliament, was made a Lieut.-General and G.C.B., and had conferred upon him the Order of the Medjidie of the First Class and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. He was appointed Colonel of 41st Foot in 1861 and full General in 1863, and was placed on the retired list in 1877.

**Prince Charles of Prussia**, the sole surviving brother of the German Emperor, died at Berlin on January 21, aged 82, never having quite recovered from an accident which befell him some months previously at Cassel, where, on his way to Wiesbaden, he fell and broke his leg. The son of Frederick William III. and his famous consort, the Queen Louise, Prince Charles was born in 1801, and was, therefore, the junior of his brother, Frederick William IV., by six, and of the reigning Emperor-King by four, years. Prince Albrecht, his other brother, was born eight years later, and died ten years sooner. Prince Charles married Princess Marie (she died in 1877), the elder granddaughter of Karl August of Saxe-Weimar, the princely Mæcenas of German literature; her sister becoming the wife of his elder brother, the Emperor. Like her sister, Princess Marie carried with her to Berlin those tastes and traditions which she had imbibed from the pupils and companions of Goethe and Herder and Schiller. Passing rapidly through the various grades of the army, he was at the age of 35 entrusted with an army corps, and eighteen years later

became Master-General of the Ordnance (General-Feldzeugmeister), and Chief of the Artillery, with the rank of Field-Marshal. To the prince in this capacity have been ascribed certain important reforms in the material and organisation of the Prussian Artillery. In 1864 he was witness, for the first time, of its destructive effects. Prince Charles took part in the Danish campaign, and was present at the bombardment of Düppel; but the troops that stormed its intrenchments were commanded by his warlike son. To Bohemia, also, in 1866, Prince Charles accompanied the Prussian army, and beheld the battle of Königgrätz; as four years later he again went with the royal headquarters to France, and received some of those decorations and other rewards that fell to the lot of all those who distinguished themselves during that short but decisive campaign. On the occasion of the meeting of the three Emperors in Berlin he was, by Alexander II., made a Russian Field-Marshal, and presented with the St. George's Order of the Third Class and the "Golden Buckle for Quinquagenarian Service." Since the war of 1870 Prince Charles had been nominal Chief of the Artillery, though his health did not permit him to exercise the active duties of his office. He was fond of the drama, and of old armour, his collection of mediæval weapons of offence and defence being one of the sights of Berlin.

**Gustave Doré.**—Paul Gustave Doré was born at Strasburg in January 1832; was sent in 1845 to the Lycée Charlemagne at Paris, where he speedily developed great aptitude for humorous and satirical sketches. In 1848 his skill as a draughtsman obtained for him a place among the illustrators of "Le Journal pour Rire," then under the management of Bertall. In the same year he contributed to the "Salon" for the first time various landscapes, and he continued to exhibit works in this style until 1857, when his first romantic works, inspired by Dante, Cervantes, &c., appeared, of which the "Paolo and Francesca" was one of the most important. The transition from the Dantesque to the religious school may be dated from 1868, when his picture of "The Neophyte," exhibited in the "Salon," revealed a further development of the artist's powers. From 1870 onwards his works were chiefly based on Scriptural subjects, those from the New Testament chiefly attracting his mind. The various phases of Gustave

Doré's art are sufficiently well marked by the subjects of his pictures. From 1848 to 1855 he devoted himself almost exclusively to landscapes and sketches, from which he derived a considerable income, at an age when most men are with difficulty supporting themselves by their art. In 1855 his first large canvas, "The Battle of the Alma," revealed to the public in a novel light the artist who had a short time before seized their attention by his quaint illustrations to Rabelais's works. In the following year, 1856, his drawings for Balzac's "Contes Drolatiques" appeared, to be followed in rapid succession by "Montaigne" (1858); Dante's "Inferno" (1861); "Don Quixote" (1863); "Purgatorio and Paradiso" (1864-66); "The Bible" (1865-67); and Mr. Tennyson's "Idylls of the King," Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," Baron Daubrien's "Spain," and the "Orlando Furioso" at intervals up to 1870. From this time dates the bias which he seems to have taken when illustrating the Bible, his subsequent works being almost exclusively large cartoons, full of figures, religious or Scriptural. Of these the "Christian Martyrs" (1874), "Moses before Pharaoh," "Ecce Homo," and "Christ Leaving the Prætorium" were the most popular; and the last-named will probably be accepted as his masterpiece. He died at his Paris house, in Rue Bayard, which had once belonged to the Ducs de Saint-Simon, on January 22, after a short illness. Of late years he had lived a good deal in London, of which the dark side and hidden life interested him deeply.

Mrs. Anna Eliza Bray was the daughter of Mr. John Kempe, a descendant of an ancient family, and was born on Christmas Day 1790. In early life she displayed a turn for the stage, especially after seeing Mrs. Siddons and John Kemble, of whom she ever talked with enthusiasm. Having turned her attention to painting, she became acquainted with some of the leading artists, and in 1818 was married to Charles Stothard. With him she visited the old towns of Normandy and Brittany, and soon afterwards published her first book, a series of animated letters descriptive of her tour. The premature death, in 1821, of Charles Stothard, who was killed by a fall from a ladder while making a drawing in Beer Ferrers Church, in Devonshire, left her a widow while expecting to be a mother. Her only child died in early infancy, and in some sense she never recovered from

the mental shadow which this tragic period of her life cast over her. With the assistance of her brother Mr. Alfred John Kempe, himself a distinguished antiquary, she edited her late husband's incomplete work on the "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain," and in 1823 published his memoirs. This received high commendation from Sir Walter Scott and Southey, and led to an intimate friendship with the latter. About this time, while on a visit to Devonshire, she made the acquaintance of the Rev. Edward Atkyns Bray, vicar of Tavistock, and afterwards became his wife. Mrs. Bray soon discovered interest and employment in the legendary law and relics of an unknown antiquity with which Devonshire abounds, and in rambles with her husband she collected materials for many works of fiction founded on local traditions. Before, however, she entered on this new path she had published "De Foix" (1826), "The White Hoods," a novel (1828), "The Protestant" (1829), and subsequently "The Talba; or, the Moor of Portugal." The first Devonshire tale was her novel of "Fitz of Fitzford," which was followed by "Warleigh; or the Fatal Oak" and "Trelawny of Trelawne." In 1836 she published "The Borders of the Tamar and the Tavy," a work which originated in a suggestion by Robert Southey. Next came a series of tales called "Trials of the Heart," the "Mountains and Lakes of Switzerland," "Henry de Pomeroy," "Courtenay of Walreddon," an edition of "Fables and Poems by Mary Culling," "Trials of Domestic Life," and "The Life of Thomas Stothard, R.A." In 1857 she again became a widow, and thenceforward settled in London. Her works after that time were: "The Good St. Louis and his Times," "The Revolt of the Cevennes," "Hartland Forest," "Joan of Arc and the Times of Charles VII., King of France," and "Roseteague," a Cornish tale. Mrs. Bray left to the British Museum the beautiful collection of Mr. C. Stothard's original drawings for his "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain." She died in Brompton Crescent on January 21, within a month after completing her 92nd year.

**Friederich von Flotow.**—Friederich von Flotow, the son of a landed nobleman of Mecklenburg, was born at Jentendorf, April 27, 1812, and was educated for the diplomatic service. In 1827 he went to Paris, and placed himself under Reicha, and remained there until forced to leave by the revolution of 1830.

After an absence of a few years he returned to Paris, and produced his first dramatic works at private houses. In 1837 the Palais Royal produced in a short form "Stradella;" but Flotow's first public success was at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, where in 1839 he produced "Le Naufrage de la Méduse." This was followed by "L'Esclave de Camoens" (1843) and "L'Âme en Peine" (1846), both produced in Paris. In 1845 the "Méduse," rewritten, was played at Hamburg under the title of "Die Matrosen," where in the previous year (1844) he had also brought out an opera, "Stradella," which became one of his most popular pieces in Germany, though it has never been played in Paris in its altered form. In London "Stradella," played in English at Drury Lane in 1846, had been a failure; but its popularity, even in Germany, was eclipsed by that of his opera "Martha," produced at Vienna in 1847, and per-

formed in London for the first time at Covent Garden in 1858. Flotow's later productions include "Die Grossfürstinn" (1850), "Indra" (1853), "Rubezahl" (1854), "Hilda" (1856), "Die Müller von Meran" (1856), "La Venus de Gralin" (1859), "L'Ombre" (1869), "Naida" (1873), and "Il Flor d'Harlem" (1876).

In 1856 he was appointed Intendant of the Court Theatre at Schwerin, a post which he held until 1863; but during his tenure of office the only compositions he produced were a "Fachelang," and some music for Shakespeare's "Winter's Tale." After resigning his post at Schwerin he returned to Paris, removing to Vienna in 1868. His two last works were "L'Enchanteresse," produced at Les Italiens, Paris, in 1878, and "Roxellana," completed a short time only before his death, which took place at Wiesbaden, January 24, in the 71st year of his age.

During the month the following deaths also took place:—On January 1, at Gosford House, East Lothian, aged 87, **Francis Wemyss Charteris Douglas**, 8th Earl of Wemyss and March, well known as a sportsman and as a master of hounds in Berwickshire, East Lothian, and Northumberland. On January 1, at Ventnor, aged 81, **Philip Henry Howard, F.S.A.**, of Corby Castle, Cumberland; represented Carlisle as a Liberal from 1830-47, and from 1848-52, and for many years was one of the two Roman Catholics representing English constituencies, and on his first election was one of fourteen Roman Catholics—Irish members included—sitting in the House of Commons. On January 1, at Grosvenor Square, aged 65, **Sir Henry Meux**, of Theobalds, Herts, and Dauntsey, Wilts, second baronet and represented Herts, 1847-59. On January 2, at Torquay, aged 72, **Major-General Sir George Hall Macgregor, K.C.B., R.A.**, Bengal Art., military secretary to Sir W. Macnaghten, in first Afghan wars, successively Political Resident at Benares and at Moorsheadabad, and Military Commander of the Ghoorkas under Jung Bahadoor. On January 3, at Tredegar Park, aged 72, **Rosamund Lady Tredegar**, widow of Sir Charles Morgan, afterwards Lord Tredegar, and daughter of General Godfrey Basil Munday. On January 4, at Sprotborough Hall, Yorkshire, aged 78, **Sir Joseph Wm. Copley**, fourth baronet. On January 6, at Paris, aged 68, **M. Clesinger**, the well-known French sculptor; he married the daughter of Georges Sand, from whom he was subsequently separated. On January 8, at Albury, aged 64, **Adelaide Lady Rokewood Gage**, widow of Sir T. Rokewood Gage, of Hengrave Park, Suffolk, and daughter of Mr. Henry Drummond, of Albury. On January 9, at Cannes, aged 82, **Rev. Sir Frederick Vincent**, of Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, eleventh baronet. He was successively Vicar of Hughenden, Bucks (1826-35), of Slinfold, Sussex (1843-68). He was a Prebendary of Chichester, and in 1851 had taken a prominent part against Archdeacon (Cardinal) Manning. On January 9, at Thurloe Square, aged 73, **James White**, represented Plymouth and afterwards Brighton (1860-74) in Parliament, where he sat as an advanced Reformer. On January 11, at Milton House, Portsmouth, aged 91, **Admiral John Hallows**, entered the Navy in 1803, and two years afterwards his ship the *Ranger* was captured by the Rochefort Squadron, and he sent as prisoner to Verdun. In 1813 he commanded a gunboat in the Baltic, and was present at the surrender of Glückstadt (1814). On January 11, on the Niger River, whither he had gone on a scientific expedition, aged 29, **W. A. Forbes**, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, Prosecutor to the Zoological Society, and Lecturer of Comparative Anatomy at Charing Cross Hospital. On January 13, at Bayswater, aged 71, **Frederick J. Morrell**, solicitor to the University of Oxford, and the chief promoter of the English Church Union. On January 13, at San Remo, aged 60, **Freiherr von Wolsogen**, director of the Schwerin Court Theatre. His father, a Prussian general, acted as military tutor to the Emperor William. On January 14, at Brighton aged 83, **Sir John Forsyth**

**L.B.**, **K.C.S.I.**, late Principal Inspector-General H.M. Indian Medical Department. On January 15, at Woodcote, near Warwick, **Henry Christopher Wise**, represented the southern division of Warwickshire county in the Conservative interest from 1865 to 1874. On January 18, at Chilworth, near Southampton, **Richard Cookle Lewis**, a local sculptor of considerable attainments, and the donor to the South Kensington Museum of a valuable collection of ivory carvings. The models of the Parthenon in the British Museum were executed by him. On January 19, at Bangkok, aged 77, **His Highness Somdetch Chau Phya Sri Surriwongse, X.C.M.G.**, ex-Regent of Siam, aged 77, one of the ablest administrators known in the East, and proficient in science. On January 21, at Leipsic, aged 62, **Wolfgang von Goethe**, the grandson of the Author of "Faust;" he entered the diplomatic service of Prussia in his early life, but afterwards retired and devoted himself to scientific and literary labours. On January 22, at Hertford Street, May Fair, aged 73, **John Wilson Fitzpatrick**, first Baron Castletown, natural son of the last Earl of Upper Ossory, brought under the guardianship of Lord Holland, sat for Queen's County at intervals between 1837-69, when he was raised to the peerage. On January 23, at San Remo, aged 69, **Thomas George Suther, D.C.L.**, Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney. Born in Edinburgh, but educated at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. He returned to Scotland in 1837, and was there ordained deacon. He held incumbencies in Leith and Edinburgh. In 1852 he was nominated for the Bishopric of St. Andrews, but was defeated by Dr. Wordsworth by a majority of one, but in 1857 he was elected by the clergy of Aberdeen to the Bishopric. On January 25, at Castle Cloyne, Westmeath, aged 61, **Fulke Southwell Greville Nugent**, first Baron Greville; sat as a Liberal for Longford from 1852-69, when he was raised to the peerage. He survived his wife, Lady Rose Nugent, whose name he had taken, about a week. On January 25, at Belgrave Road, aged 61, **Major-General Robert Carey, L.B.**, of 40th Regiment, served during the operations in Afghanistan in 1841-42; with the Turkish Contingent during the Crimean war; and took part in the campaigns in New Zealand in 1860-66. On January 27, at Kentish Town, aged 50, **Frederick Martin**, projector and editor of "The Statesman's Year Book," and the author of several other works. In early life he had acted as secretary and amanuensis to Thomas Carlyle, and assisted him in his historical researches. On January 27, at Holland Park, Kensington, aged 79, **Rev. William Henley Jervis**, son of Dr. Pearson, Dean of Salisbury, and brother of Rev. Hugh Pearson, Canon of Windsor. He was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1835, and was ordained in the following year. In 1848 he married Martha, only surviving child of the late Mr. Osborne Markham, by his marriage with Martha, elder daughter of the late Captain William Henry Jervis, R.N.; and in 1865 assumed with his wife the name of Jervis in lieu of that of Pearson. He was the author of the Student's History of France, and a History of the Church of France, &c. On January 27, at Whitewall, near Clitheroe, aged 65, **Right Rev. Richard Roskell, D.D.**, for many years Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham. On January 28, at Upper Grosvenor Street, aged 78, **George Mostyn**, sixth Baron Vaux of Harrowden, in whose favour was revived in 1838 the barony which had fallen into abeyance in 1663. On January 30, at Chester, aged 62, **John Owen**, well known throughout North and South Wales as a musical composer, and received the name of "Owain Alan," or Chief Singer, from the Bards at the Eisteddfodan.

## FEBRUARY.

Colonel the Right Honourable **Thomas Edward Taylor** was the eldest son of the Hon. and Rev. Henry Taylor, fourth son of Thomas, first Earl of Beccles, and brother of the first Marquis of Headfort, by Marianne, eldest daughter of the Hon. R. St. Leger. He was born in March 1811. He entered the army in 1829, and was formerly in the 6th Dragoon Guards. At the general election in 1841 he was first elected in con-

junction with Mr. Ion Trant Hamilton, member for the county of Dublin, defeating the former members of the county—Lord Brabazon and Mr. G. Evans—after a severe contest; and continued to represent the county until his death. He was returned unopposed at the general election of 1874, and, having been appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he defeated Mr. Parnell by a considerable majority.

He was a Lord of the Treasury from March 1858 to June 1859, and Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury from July 1866 to October 1868, when he was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and was added to the Privy Council. He married in 1862 Louisa, second daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Hugh Tollemache, by whom he leaves two sons and three daughters. For more than forty years Colonel Taylor was a familiar personage in the life of the House of Commons. As a speaker he never won nor wooed distinction; a statesman he never aspired to be, but as a political partisan he uniformly showed himself as energetic as he was devoted. It was generally expected that when the Conservatives acceded to office in 1852 Colonel Taylor would have received an Under-Secretaryship of State. At his own wish the claim which he unquestionably had was postponed, and it was not till some years later that a lordship of the Treasury was bestowed upon him, the Parliamentary Secretary being Sir Henry Joliffe. In 1866, Colonel Taylor was nominated by Mr. Disraeli to fill Sir Henry Joliffe's office, and during the Reform debates of 1867 he rendered his chief invaluable service. Mr. Disraeli was in the habit of declaring that the true author of household suffrage was none other than Colonel Taylor. The labour which he undertook so loyally and so strenuously in a cause for which he was so deeply concerned had commenced to tell upon him before the Reform Bill became law. Colonel Taylor will be remembered as, perhaps, the best "Whip" whom the Conservative party ever had. He was a generous, patriotic, and high-spirited member of Parliament, and in that capacity he secured the regard as well as the respect of that assembly. He died in Dublin, on February 3, after a somewhat prolonged illness, which from the first rendered any return to Parliamentary life impossible.

**Sir Salar Jung, G.C.S.I.**—Salar Jung was born in the year 1829, of a family which, although of the Shiah sect, had, from the founding of the Nizam's dynasty at the beginning of the last century, supplied that prince with his Prime Minister or Dewan. At an early age he entered the Civil Service of Hyderabad, his uncle Suraj-ul-Mulk being then the Prime Minister, and it was under his tuition that he acquired a practical acquaintance with the routine of official work. He succeeded to

that office on his uncle's death in 1853, and at once devoted himself to the reform of the numerous evils existing in the administration of the State. The significance of these, which arose from the neglect of all the duties of government by the prince and his surroundings, had just been brought home to the minds of all thinking men by the compulsory transfer of the Berar province to the English, to meet the obligations incurred by treaty. Salar Jung saw that the action of the English was fully justified by the condition of things in Hyderabad itself, and he resolved to devote all his attention and efforts to the task of regenerating and, if possible, of reforming the administration. The hope, however, was ever before him, that by justifying the confidence and by earning the respect of the English he would ultimately succeed in crowning his tenure of office by placing at the feet of his prince the restituted province of Berar. In 1853, however, discord among the nobles and misery among the people had reached to such a pitch that Hyderabad was a disgrace and a scandal in the eyes of the rest of India. The eagle glance of Lord Dalhousie marked the evil, and, but for urgent events elsewhere, there is little doubt that he meditated carrying out the one effectual reform of all—the sweeping away of native rule in the Deccan, and the substitution of that of English justice. Thus, when Salar Jung assumed the charge of the Nizam's affairs, his State was exposed to grave perils, both from without and from within.

In order to restore order in the capital, Salar Jung first set himself to deal with the Arab mercenaries who, attracted to the service of the Nizam, exercised a prætorian power. The new Minister, however, was too cautious to enter upon an unequal contest with these Janissaries; but, either by lavish promises or by the judicious enforcement of the existing regulations, he succeeded in bringing them into a condition of passiveness. The question of this mercenary force being arranged, Salar Jung devoted his energies to the other evils that clamoured for his attention. When he had punished such offenders as he could safely lay his hands on, and chastised the robber chieftains of the hills, he found that the natural consequences followed in the revival of trade and in the replenishing of the exchequer.

The Indian Mutiny came when he had little more than begun to master

the difficulties of his position, at first as it seemed to embarrass, but as the event proved to simplify and facilitate, his task. The turbulent and fanatical classes in Hyderabad, with the Arab levies at their head, were not to be wholly held back; and, despite all the precautions that had been made by Salar Jung to repress such an attempt, on the first symptom of revolt an attack was made on the residency of the English Minister. It was, fortunately, repulsed, owing to the timely warning sent by the Dewan; and the loyalty of the Hyderabad contingent served to ensure the tranquillity of the Deccan. The Mutiny served the Nizam and his minister extremely well in one respect, because it engrossed the attention of the Calcutta authorities, and, by the time that they were free to consider the condition of affairs in the native States, Salar Jung's work had been carried on far towards completion, and Hyderabad was in very deed a reformed State.

These services, however, in spite of their recognised value, both to his own State and to the English Government, met with but slight public recognition. During the life of the former Nizam, Afzul-ud-Dowlah, Salar Jung could hardly be considered a free subject. He dared not leave his palace without the express permission of his master; his smallest action was watched and reported, probably in a distorted shape, by innumerable spies to the Nizam; and in the palace his attitude could only be compared to that of an abject slave. The suspicion or the dislike of his prince hampered his movements and restricted his capacity for doing good. Until Afzul's death, in 1869, he was so little master of his actions that he had never been outside Hyderabad, and the remarkable administrative reforms he effected were rendered still more remarkable in that they were accomplished in spite of the opposition of an apathetic and capricious prince and of a proud and ignorant nobility. When Mir Mahbub Ali, a mere babe, succeeded his father, the Dewan was, through the representation of the Indian Government, raised to the post of Regent—an office which he shared for some time with the principal noble in the State, the late Shums-ul-Omrah, Amir-i-Kabir. In that high position he gave the same signal evidence of his ability and of his devotion to the interests of his master as he had done under his predecessor.

In 1876 he undertook, as a labour of

love, the task of coming to England in the hope of obtaining the restoration of Berar. That he was not destined to carry his point was his misfortune; it was his peculiar credit to hear it generally admitted that he had deserved it, and that if the surrender of territory were ever made in deference to personal merit it would have been given to him.

His death occurred quite suddenly on February 8, and was universally referred to poisoning, but no evidence was forthcoming to uphold the rumour; and if the British Government knew more on the subject than the general public, it took no steps to revive strife by abortive proceedings.

**Professor Henry Smith.**—Henry Stephen Smith, who died at Oxford on February 9, after a few days' illness, was by birth and family an Irishman, born in 1827 near New Ross, but at quite an early age he came to England, and entered Rugby, the first admission after the appointment of Dr. Tait to the head mastership. Forced by ill-health to leave school before the usual time, in order to abstain from study for a year, he was elected scholar of Balliol College in 1846, and in 1848 he carried off the Ireland Scholarship. In the following year he obtained a Double First Class in Classics and Mathematics, and in 1851 he was elected to the Senior Mathematical Fellowship. Smith succeeded in due course to a Fellowship at Balliol, and this Fellowship he retained till he was elected to a Professor Fellowship at Corpus—a new foundation which enabled its holder to retain his Fellowship without taking a share in the tutorial duties of the college. Balliol retained him from the first as a nominal Fellow without emolument, and afterwards elected him to an honorary Fellowship. In 1861, after the death of the late Mr. Baden Powell, Smith was chosen to take his place as Professor of Geometry. In pure mathematics he was nearly without a rival among his contemporaries; and it is, at any rate, certain that his reputation in this respect was rather European than English. But he was a great deal more than a mere mathematician; he was a classical scholar of wide knowledge and exquisite taste, and there were few who talked to him on English, French, German, or Italian literature who were not struck by his extensive knowledge, his capacious memory, and his sound critical judgment. French and Italian he spoke fluently and wrote easily, and of

German also he had complete colloquial command. His papers in the proceedings of foreign mathematical societies—chiefly French and Italian—though entirely written by himself, were regarded as models both of style and exposition by foreign students of mathematics. It is on these that his permanent reputation will rest; as a teacher in Oxford he was almost too good for his chair. His special mathematical gift—a capacity for extending the powers of analysis into new and unexplored regions—was hardly needed by students preparing for a special examination. Accordingly he threw his chief energy on one side into original mathematical research, on the other into practical work of all kinds, both in the University and elsewhere.

To the University itself his services were unwearied and invaluable: it seemed as if nothing could be done without him, and certainly most things were well done if he had a hand in them. For years he was a member of the Hebdomadal Council, and took an active share in all the legislative work of the University. He became a member of the late Royal Commission on Scientific Education, and a considerable portion of its very able report was drafted by his pen. When the University of Oxford Commission was appointed, under Lord Salisbury's Act, in 1877, the nomination of Henry Smith as one of the Commissioners was received with universal approval by all parties in the University. Professor Smith was an accomplished public speaker, and it should be added that his political interests were very keen. He was long regarded as one of the leaders of the Liberal party in Oxford, and his counsel was eagerly sought in political affairs both in the University and the city. He was not, however, an extreme politician, and there were times of political excitement when his moderation was not entirely to the taste of his more ardent political friends. Nevertheless when a vacancy was created in the representation of the University by the elevation of Lord Cranbrook to the Peerage in 1878, Mr. Smith was put forward as a candidate, and was accepted without demur by the resident Liberal party in Oxford. The Tory majority was true to its principles, and Professor Smith was beaten by an overwhelming majority.

It only remains to add that, when the Meteorological Committee was formed in London as a sort of Weather Department for the United Kingdom, Professor

Smith was nominated as its chairman, and that in 1874 he succeeded the late Professor Phillips as Keeper of the University Museum at Oxford. Neither post was a sinecure, and each brought fresh responsibilities to a man already overwhelmed with work. A week before his death he had addressed a meeting of agricultural labourers; the effort and exposure were too much for a constitution never robust and of late enfeebled by illness and incessant work. Acute congestion of the lungs set in, and Professor Smith succumbed, aged 56.

**Hon. Marshall Jewell**, who died at Hartford, Connecticut, U.S., on February 10, was born at Winchester, New Hampshire, on October 20, 1825. His father was a tanner, the descendant of five generations of tanners; but Marshall Jewell, who had passed through his early education at Boston, devoted his attention to the study of electricity and the then new art of telegraphy. When only 23 years of age, he was entrusted with the laying of the telegraph lines between Louisville and New Orleans. In 1849 he became general superintendent of the New York and Boston telegraph line, until, on the death of his father, he became head of one of the largest business firms in the United States. From 1859 to 1867 he spent much of his time in visiting those manufactories and establishments in Europe and Asia in which the various branches of tanning and the preparation of hides were carried on. His political career commenced in 1868, when he was elected Governor of Connecticut on the Republican ticket—an office which was conferred on him three times by popular vote. At the close of his last period of office (1873) he was appointed United States Minister at St. Petersburg. During his stay in Russia he was not only able to acquire much information with regard to his own line of business, but he rendered great service to American manufacturers in general by the discovery of the numerous fraudulent imitations of American goods, notably of sewing machines, axes, scales, of inferior European make, but sold in Russia as American products. To secure the protection of his country's commerce, he obtained the ratification of a trade-mark treaty between Russia and the United States. In 1874 President Grant recalled him from St. Petersburg to confer upon him the more important office of Postmaster-General, and in that capacity he at once distinguished himself by a vigorous policy of reform, attack-

ing the corrupt practices of various contracting firms, especially those of Alabama and Texas; but his suppression of these frauds well-nigh cost him his post, for, when the President's nomination of Jewell to be Postmaster-General came before the Senate for recognition, a very determined opposition was made by the friends of the unveiled plunderers of the public purse. His administrative career was marked by numerous practical improvements, of which by no means the least was the more expeditious delivery of letters by hastening the contract railway times. In 1876 Mr. Jewell, whose views as to the urgency of Civil Service Reform were not so lukewarm as that of the President, resigned his seat in the Cabinet, but ostensibly it was accepted in order to strengthen the Republican party in Indiana during the October elections of that year. After his return to private life Mr. Jewell occupied no more prominent position than that of Chairman of the Republican National Committee during the Garfield campaign, in whose success he showed a very keen interest. Latterly the demands of his ever-increasing business occupied his whole time, and he practically withdrew from active public life, although his interest in the Republican party never ceased.

**John Goode**, formerly a captain in the 10th Royal Hussars, died on February 10 at Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum. He was originally arrested on her Majesty's birthday, May 24, 1837, for creating a disturbance and forcibly entering the enclosure of Kensington Palace. Nothing happened after his release until, on a Saturday afternoon in the middle of November in the same year, when the Queen was passing in her open carriage through Birdcage Walk, St. James's, on her way to Buckingham Palace, he sprang to the side of her carriage, and holding up his fist in a threatening manner applied to her Majesty an opprobrious epithet, adding that she was a usurper, and that he would have her off the throne that day week. On being apprehended he told the police that he was their lawful Sovereign, and when brought before the authorities declared himself to be the son of George IV. and Queen Caroline. Upon every subject unconnected with the Royal Family he spoke in a most rational manner, but when the Queen's name was mentioned he became exceedingly violent. In default of sureties he was committed to prison, and on entering the coach which conveyed him to

gaol he smashed the windows with his elbows and screamed out to the sentinels, "Guards of England, do your duty, and rescue your Sovereign." At that time he was a fine, handsome-looking man, in his forty-first year. He was subsequently tried at the Queen's Bench for using seditious language to the Queen, and sent to Bethlehem Hospital as insane, and subsequently transferred to Broadmoor in March 1864, where he died from natural decay. He remained under his delusion to the last.

**Richard Wagner.**—Wilhelm Richard Wagner was born at Leipsic on May 22, 1813, and received his first education at the Kreuzschule, Dresden. In addition to the ordinary course of classical study, he had lessons on the piano, which all his life he played very badly. His first attempt at musical composition was made in connection with poetry—a significant fact in the life of the future representative of the "poetic idea" in music. At the age of 11 he had written a stupendous tragedy—a "kind of compound of 'Hamlet' and 'King Lear'" he calls it. "The design," he adds, "was grand in the extreme. Forty-two persons died in the course of the piece, and lack of living characters compelled me to let most of them reappear as ghosts in the last act." Suddenly the idea struck him that so grand a work ought to have a befitting musical accompaniment, and immediately he set to work to supply that want, regardless of his very imperfect knowledge of the art. These wild attempts, continued through several years, eventually led to serious study. Wagner took Beethoven for his model, and the works of that master he studied with unremitting ardour. He also went through a course of counterpoint under Cantor Weinlig, and his proficiency in that difficult branch of art was shown in the symphony written and performed at the Gewandhaus Concerts in 1832 and revived a few weeks before his death at Venice. In the meantime the *res angusta domi* compelled Wagner to turn his art to more practical account, and about 1835 he became conductor of the theatre of Magdeburg in Prussia, where a juvenile opera, the "Novice of Palermo," founded on Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," was performed without success, and of which only a single melody, subsequently embodied in "Tannhäuser," survives. In 1839 Wagner became conductor at Riga, and here he began his first acknowledged opera, "Rienzi," which he destined for Paris. For that city he sailed to



the same year without friends or introductions to open the way to the great theatres for the unknown foreigner, but trusting in his stars with that absolute confidence in his own resources which never left him through life. All his attempts at having his opera performed proved in vain, and Wagner was compelled to undergo the most miserable drudgery to gain the necessaries of life for himself, his wife—an actress, whom he had married at Magdeburg—and an enormous Newfoundland dog, with whom, in spite of his poverty, he refused to part. During this time he finished "Rienzi" (in November 1840) and the greater part of the "Flying Dutchman" (1841), the idea of which had come to him during his stormy voyage from Riga to London on his way to Paris. "Rienzi," all but repudiated by the composer in later life, was the first stepping-stone to his final triumphs. It was accepted by the Dresden theatre and performed in 1842, with such signal success that the post of conductor of the Royal Opera, one of the most important and lucrative musical appointments in Germany, was offered to the composer. In that position he remained for seven years, during which time he composed "Tannhäuser," first performed in 1845, and "Lohengrin," finished in 1849. Before the latter saw the light of the stage the composer was an exile, having been involved in the revolutionary movement of the eventful years 1848 and 1849.

The first performance of "Lohengrin," which led to his first acquaintance with Liszt, was given in 1850. Wagner at that time was settled in Switzerland, where he had sought refuge on his flight from Germany, and where, during his enforced severance from the active life of the operatic stage, he wrote his two most important theoretical works, "Opera and Drama" and "The Work of Art of the Future," the latter probably the origin of the nickname "Music of the Future," applied to Wagner's music by one of his enemies, the late Professor Bischoff, and subsequently adopted by his friends as an omen of lasting fame. In 1855 he accepted the conductorship of the Philharmonic Society, which he held for one season only, his reading of some of the classical works being at variance with English tradition, and therefore violently assailed by the press. With his orchestra, however, Wagner was a great favourite, and some of the performances are still remembered by musicians and ama-

teurs. M. Sainton, at whose suggestion the post had been offered to Wagner, remained his staunch friend during his stay in London. Of the band which played under Wagner in 1855 four members still belong to the present Philharmonic Orchestra, and took part in the Dead March in "Saul" which was played at the Philharmonic concert in memory of the society's whilom conductor.

In addition to his theoretical works, Wagner conceived during the first years of his exile the plan of his greatest, or at least most colossal, work, the tetralogy of the "Ring of the Nibelung," which occupied him for a quarter of a century. The drama in its present form was completed as early as 1852, and during the three following years Wagner wrote the music to the "Rheingold" and the "Walküre." Before continuing the composition of the tetralogy he undertook a new work, "Tristan und Isolde," his masterpiece as far as unity of design and sustained passion are concerned. This great work, finished in 1859, and first performed in 1865 at Munich, was partly written at Venice, the city where many years later death awaited the master. In 1861 "Tannhäuser" was given at the Grand Opera, Paris, with what disastrous results has already been indicated. The causes of this world-famed fiasco are said to have been partly political. Prince Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador, had taken great interest in the matter, and induced the Emperor to command the performance of the work—sufficient reason for the Legitimists of the Jockey Club to damn the work *à priori*. Nothing daunted by this ill-success, Wagner returned to his solitude and his work. The tetralogy made steady progress, and in 1867 a new opera, "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg," was finished and performed in the next following year at Munich. To that city Wagner himself had been called in 1864 by the young and enthusiastic King Ludwig II. of Bavaria, who remained his friend and patron to the last. It was the assistance of King Ludwig also which enabled Wagner to realise the boldest dream of his life, the performance of his "Ring of the Nibelung" at a theatre erected for the purpose at Bayreuth. This event took place in the summer of 1876, before a representative audience, including the Emperor of Germany and leading artists from all countries of the civilised world. It marked the climax of Wagner's career,

but by no means the end of his incessant labours in the service of art. In 1877 he paid a visit to London and conducted a series of concerts at the Albert Hall. Herr Richter, the greatest living conductor, assisted on that occasion, and soon afterwards founded the concerts known by his name, which have become so important for the progress of musical taste among us. Last year was an epoch in the history of Wagnerism in this country. The works of his later period, the "Ring," "Tristan," and "Die Meistersinger," were for the first time heard in England, and made a profound impression on the public. In July of the same year Wagner's last opera, "Parsifal," was produced at Bayreuth.

At the time of his death Wagner was at Venice in great retirement, living at the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi with his wife, whom he had married in 1869, and children, and Liszt, his father-in-law and dearest friend, was with them on a visit. His last tribute to his art was solely for his own family and singularly appropriate. Madame Wagner's birthday falling on Christmas Eve, her husband intended to prepare a musical surprise for her. The long-lost manuscript of a juvenile symphony performed fifty years before at Leipsic had recently been re-discovered. This Wagner rehearsed with the orchestra of the Liceo Benedetto Marcello, and had it played for his wife and children, who, together with Liszt, were all the audience. He had been in delicate health ever since the Bayreuth festival, and the labour incident on the production of "Parsifal" had exhausted him beyond belief. Little fear of any fatal results were anticipated, but he was seized with a sudden syncope from which he never wholly recovered, and died on February 13, surrounded by his family.

The following is a list of Wagner's operas, with the dates of first performance and of production in England attached:—"Rienzi, der letzte Tribunen"—first performed, under Wagner, 1842, Dresden (in England, 1879); "Der Fliegende Holländer"—first performed, under Wagner, 1843, Dresden (in England, 1870); "Tannhäuser"—first performed, under Wagner, 1845, Dresden (in England, 1876); "Lohengrin"—first performed under Liszt, 1850, Weimar (in England, 1875); "Tristan und Isolde"—first performed, under Bülow, 1865, Munich (in England, 1882, under Richter); "Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg"—first performed, under

Bülow, 1868, Munich (in England, 1882, under Richter); "Der Ring des Nibelungen, ein Bühnenfestspiel; Das Rheingold"—first performed, 1869, Munich; "Die Walküre"—first performed, 1869, Munich; "Siegfried, Götterdämmerung"—the entire work first performed under Hans Richter, at Bayreuth, 1876 (in England, 1882, under Seydel); "Parsifal, ein Bühnenweihfestspiel"—first performed at Bayreuth, 1883, under Levi. Wagner's literary works, collected in nine volumes, have been published in Leipsic, 1871. "Die Kunst und die Revolution," "Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft," "Oper und Drama," and "Beethoven" are the titles of his most important treatises. In the last-named the philosophy of Schopenhauer is discussed in as far as it bears upon the æsthetic basis of music.

**Lord Egerton of Tatton.**—William Tatton Egerton, first Baron Egerton, who died on February 21, was the eldest son of Wilbraham Egerton, Esq., M.P., of Tatton Park, Cheshire. Born in 1806, he was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1830 was elected member for Lymington, and in the same year married Lady Charlotte Elizabeth, eldest daughter of second Marquess of Ely. Lymington at that period, although possessing only sixty-five or seventy voters, returned two members to Parliament, one of whom was Mr. Tatton Egerton, and the other Mr. George Burrell, lieutenant 8th Foot, whose relative, Sir George Burrell Neale, was Lord of the Manor, and whose family had nominated members for the borough for more than a century. In 1832 he was elected for North Cheshire, and continued to sit for that county in the Conservative interest until 1858, and a few months later was raised to the peerage. In 1863 he was appointed major of the Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry, and in 1868 lord-lieutenant of the county.

**Sir George Richard Philips, Bart.**, the only son of Sir George Philips, of Weston House, Shipston-on-Stour, was born in the year 1789, and was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1812. In the unreformed Parliament he represented Steyning, a rotten Sussex borough, which, with 140 voters, under the influence of the Duke of Norfolk, returned two members to Parliament. Steyning and Bramber formed one street "not more than two-thirds of Fetter Lane," part of Bramber being in

the centre of Steyning—and together returning four members. The houses were held in burgage tenure; the occupants paid a very low rent, their votes being expected in return. The two members prior to the passing of the Reform Bill were thus described by the *Spectator*, January 2, 1831:—"Mr. Blount is auditor to the Duke of Norfolk. The father of Mr. Phillips, the other member, a great spinner, lent a large sum of money to the duke. The son has ever since been returned for this borough." After the passing of the Reform Bill he found a seat, in 1835, for a couple of years, at Kidderminster, but in 1837 he transferred himself to Poole, which he continued to represent till 1852, when he retired from Parliament, and passed his life almost wholly at Weston House, where he died on February 22.

**William Stewart Stirling Crawford**, the eldest son of William Stirling of Castlemilk, Lanarkshire, was born in 1819, and after passing through his school life was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge. His tastes from the earliest time were for breeding and racing, and in 1845 he began in a modest way a career which was destined to become celebrated in the annals of the Turf. His first success of any importance was the Cesarewitch of 1848, which he won with *The Cur*; but for ten or twelve years his stable produced

no horse more famous than *Zuyder Zee*, the winner of the Chesterfield Cup at Goodwood in 1859, and *Mayonnaise*, that of the One Thousand Guineas and some other races. Another long interval passed unmarked by any great success until in 1868 his horse *Moslem* ran a dead heat with *Formosa* for the Two Thousand Guineas. In 1870 his *Palmerston* ran second (to *Kingcraft*) for the Derby, but was unplaced in the *St. Leger*, though he reversed the running in the following year at Newmarket by winning the *Claret Stakes* against *Kingcraft* and other formidable rivals. In 1872-73 his most successful horse was *Gang Forward*, which won several important races, and in the two next seasons *Craig Millar* and *Aventurière* carried their owner's colours to the front on numerous occasions. From 1876 to 1880 *Bay Archer*, *Prince George*, and *Elf King* were very successful, and in 1878 *Sefton* won both the *City* and *Suburban* and the *Derby*. During the last two years *Thebais*, *St. Marguérite*, *Corrie Roy*, and *Macheath* were especially fortunate, and the last-named was a great favourite for the *Derby*, when disqualified by his owner's death. Mr. Stirling Crawford married in 1876 the widow of the fourth Duke of Montrose, who shared her husband's taste for horses, and continued his training establishments. Mr. Stirling Crawford died of cancer, after a few months' illness, on February 23, aged 63.

The following names may also be mentioned:—On February 1, at Brighton, aged 70, **Miss Fanny Corbaux**, a member of the Institute of Painters in Water Colours; devoted also to Biblical and Oriental studies. On February 3, at Nice, aged 83, **Sir Samuel St. Swithin Burden Whalley**, Knt., M.P. for Marylebone, 1833-38. On February 4, at Berlin, aged 64, **Ernst Dohm**, one of the chief figures in the journalistic world of Germany, and the founder of the *Kladderadatsch*, of which he was the editor from 1848 to 1880. On February 7, at Rydal, aged 72, **William Wordsworth**, the last surviving son of the poet, and for some time distributor of stamps for Cumberland. On February 7, at St. Petersburg, **Gajetan Andryeevich Kossovich**, the first Sanscrit Professor at St. Petersburg University, to a great extent self-taught. Besides his studies in Sanscrit, of which he left an unfinished dictionary, he devoted much study to cuneiform inscriptions. April 8, at Basle, aged 87, **Peter Merian**, for more than half a century Professor of Mineralogy and Geology in the University of Basle, and a member of the Great Council of the Canton. On April 8, aged 57, **Lieutenant-General Charles Hood**, served from May 1855 till the following January in the Crimea, taking part in the siege and fall of Sebastopol. He commanded the ladder party of the Buffs in the assault of the Redan, and he marched his regiment, with colours flying, into the *Karabelnaia*, these being the only English colours that entered Sebastopol. On February 10, at Wartle, Basingstoke, aged 78, **General Sir Henry Drury Harness**, K.C.B., Colonel Commandant of the Royal Engineers. He served during the Indian Mutiny, commanding Royal Engineers at the siege and capture of Lucknow. On February 13, at Siena, aged 83, **Padre Fendola**, of Siena, the founder of the well-known Institute for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb by means of the vocal system. On February 19, aged 65, **Charles J. Eyton**, of East Henedred, Berkshire, the head of an old Roman Catholic family, whose property had been held for five centuries of unbroken descent. He lived a retired life, devoting

himself to mathematical and astronomical study. On February 23, at Paris, aged 93, **Baron Jules Cloquet**, a celebrated anatomist and surgeon; the member of several learned societies, and the author of some important medical works. The Emperor Napoleon III. conferred on him the Cross of the Legion of Honour and the title of a baron. On February 24, at Paris, aged 74, **General de Martimprey**, head of the Staff in the campaign of the Crimea, and of Lombardy; was chief in command in Algeria; appointed senator by Imperial decree (1864), and subsequently Governor of the Hôtel des Invalides after the fall of the Empire (1870).

## MARCH.

**William Desborough Cooley**, who died on March 1, was regarded as an authority on most matters connected with African exploration. Early in life he brought out an edition of Lärcher's Herodotus, and soon afterwards wrote for "Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia" a "History of Inland and Maritime Discovery," which was deemed worthy the honour of a French translation. On the publication of M. Douville's "Voyage au Congo," in 1832, Mr. Cooley wrote a *critique* in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, in which the fraud practised by that pretended explorer was fully exposed. In 1852 he published "Inner Africa Laid Open"—a work almost exclusively based upon Portuguese and native authorities. In it the author maintained that there existed but one great lake in Central Africa, and that the snowy mountains alleged to have been seen by Krapf and Rebmann were myths. To these views he adhered with singular tenacity. His protest against the existence of snowy mountains was repeated, even after Von der Decken and Thornton's return from the Kilimanjaro in 1863; and as recently as 1864 he insisted upon the Nyassa and Tanganyika forming one continuous lake.

**John Graham Chambers**, eldest surviving son of William Chambers, of Hafod, Cardiganshire, died at South Kensington on March 4, aged 39. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, where he became a prominent oarsman. He rowed No. 2 in the Light Blue eight of 1862, and the Colquhoun sculls in 1863. In 1865 he was elected president of the Cambridge University Boat Club, and in the same year he won the stewards' cup at Henley in the Third Trinity four. He afterwards founded the Amateur Athletic Club, and in 1866 he won the seven miles' walking championship. At the time of his death he was the editor of *Land and Water*.

**John Richard Green**, who died at Mentone on March 7, after a long illness, was born at Oxford, of obscure parentage, in 1837, educated at Magdalen College School, Oxford; debarred by his feeble health from taking part in the active sports of a boy's life, he early acquired the habits of reading and study. At fifteen he had learnt as much as the school could teach him, and he passed the next three years with private tutors. By the advice of one of these he entered for a scholarship at Jesus College. It was an unfortunate step, for, having early taken a dislike to the college, he declined to read for any sort of honours. Meantime, he read widely, chiefly on historical subjects, and while yet an undergraduate he contributed to the *Oxford Chronicle* a remarkable series of papers on "Oxford in the Eighteenth Century," which were afterwards reprinted. These papers brought the writer under the notice of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, then Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, by whom he was encouraged to prosecute his historical studies. It was partly owing to Stanley's influence that immediately after taking his degree, in 1860, he was ordained to become curate of St. Barnabas, King Square, E.C. Here he remained two years, dividing his time between the watchmakers of that poor and populous parish and the reading-room of the British Museum. In 1862 Bishop Tait—who from this time to the very end of his life entertained towards him a very warm affection—appointed him to a sole charge in Hoxton, and presently to the Vicarage of St. Philip's, Stepney. He brought this parish into a high state of efficiency, and in doing so wore out most of the little strength he had; for, as was often said of him, his mind was too large for his body; and one of the virtues of which he was ignorant was that of moderation in work. Besides his parish duties — duties made indefinitely

arduous by the visit of the cholera in the year 1868—he still read immensely. A visitor, at once philanthropical and learned, called one day on him on some benevolent business, and was amazed to find the study in which he was shown lined with a scholar's historical library, supported on the great folios of the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*. It may be imagined that he waited with some curiosity for the appearance of the hard-worked East-end clergyman who solaced his leisure by such reading; and the interview was the beginning of a long friendship. Soon after the cholera time Mr. Green resigned his living, and Dr. Tait, then Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed him librarian at Lambeth, in succession to Professor Stubbs. For long before this he had already made his mark as a learned man, chiefly by his contributions on historical subjects to the weekly press. Henceforward he took no more clerical work, partly because his health could not bear it, and partly because he had begun to feel the intellectual difficulties of his position. He lived for a long time the life of a journalist—for the work of Lambeth made small demands upon his time—while at the same time collecting and throwing into shape the materials for his projected history. In 1870, after a severe attack of illness, he was for the first time ordered to the south. But, spite of these compulsory "winter-fittings," the history went on; and three or four years after it appeared under the name of "A Short History of the English People." Its success was instantaneous. What at once surprised and charmed the reader was to find in this book both an amount of knowledge which, as one reviewer said, "would have sufficed to furnish forth a stately library work in eight or ten volumes," and a comprehensiveness of view, a novelty of method, a power of bringing together all the scattered elements of history so as to make the past start into life, together with a freshness of style of which no historian since Macaulay had given an example. The next years of Mr. Green's life were occupied with the recasting of the "Short History" on a larger scale; and the new book appeared at intervals from 1877 to 1880 in four volumes, of which the first bore a dedication to "two dear friends, my masters in the study of English history, Edward Augustus Freeman and William Stubbs." Meantime, he began to receive from various quarters some signs of recognition. The Athenæum Club elected him under Rule 2; his college

at Oxford made him an Honorary Fellow; and the University of Edinburgh gave him the honorary degree of LL.D. In the year 1877 he married, and in conjunction with his wife (who was a daughter of Archdeacon Stopford) he wrote a "Short Geography of the British Isles." During this time, too, he projected and edited the series of "History and Literature Primers," to which many of our leading scholars have contributed, and which have had so much success. The winters of these years he generally spent at Capri, but in 1880 he unfortunately determined to go to Egypt. The climate did not suit him, he caught cold on his return, and during the summer of 1881 he was extremely ill. In the autumn he went to Mentone, and there rallied wonderfully; while so great had been his energy that he was able, a year ago, to publish the remarkable volume called "The Making of England." It appealed to a somewhat different audience from that which had delighted in the "Short History"; for, while its essential excellence lay in the insight which it showed into the real life of the past, it was more professedly learned than the other volume had been, and amply vindicated the writer's claim to a place in the forefront, not only of literature, but of historical scholarship. His description of the forests and the roads of primeval London and of the most ancient seats of English industry are wonderful pictures, as unimpeachable as they are original. And this book was written when he was in almost the last stage of weakness. Nor did his activity stop here, for throughout last spring and summer he was engaged on a continuation, on a volume which should carry on the story, on the same lines, down to the Norman invasion; and this volume he left almost ready for publication.

**Prince Gortschakoff.**—Alexander Michaelowitsch Gortschakoff, born at St. Petersburg in 1798, was the son of Prince Michael, a distinguished officer, who filled many places of trust about the Russian Court. His only son, Alexander, was educated at the Lyceum Tsarkoe-Zelo, where he acquired the basis of a sound classical education; learnt to speak and write French with elegance from a brother of the revolutionist Marat; and had for his favourite school companion Pouschkin, the future national poet.

On quitting the Lyceum Gortschakoff at once entered the Foreign Office, at the head of which was Count Nessel-

rode, and as his attaché, in January 1821, attended the Congress of Laybach, at which the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Prussia and Naples, met to concert the suppression of the revolutionary movement in Naples. The Laybach Congress broke up in May. In December 1822 another Congress assembled at Verona, to which also Gortschakoff accompanied Nesselrode. In 1824 he came to London as Secretary to the Embassy, but seems to have attracted no notice in either political or social circles. In 1830 he was nominated Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Tuscany, a position of importance on account of Austrian relations with Italian politics. Thence he was transferred within two years to Vienna, where the death of the ambassador gave him temporary importance. In 1841 he was appointed to the Russian Legation at Stuttgart. So far he had risen slowly, and might have been supposed to have scarcely a career before him. The accident of the engagement of the Emperor Alexander's daughter, Olga, to the Crown Prince of Würtemberg brought him into intimate relations with the Court of St. Petersburg, which he knew how to turn to account. He negotiated the alliance as Ambassador Extraordinary, and was rewarded with the dignity of Privy Councillor. At Stuttgart he remained officially as Russian Minister, but in reality to advise the Grand Duchess in her new position, and to be a special intermediary between her adopted and her native home. From Stuttgart, Gortschakoff watched the revolutionary spirit awaking throughout Germany. He witnessed its outbreak in Stuttgart itself, with the vain efforts of the old King William to quell it. Though he could not sympathise, he appreciated the force of the agitation better than many German statesmen. While stationed in Würtemberg he maintained his old relations with Vienna. It was commonly believed that he was consulted on the state of Austria, and counselled the abdication of Ferdinand in favour of Francis Joseph. When in 1850 the reaction set in, and the German Confederation was re-established in place of the Parliament of Frankfurt, and its new empire, Prince Gortschakoff, who had studied the machinery in operation, without compromising himself, was appointed Russian Minister at the Diet. His ostensible duties were not very onerous. His real function was to observe and to report. He was a centre in Germany for all the

influences which conflicted with revolution. It was during his stay in Germany that he made the acquaintance of the representative of Prussia at the Frankfurt Diet, Herr von Bismarck, then only a lieutenant of Landwehr. At this time Russian policy under the impulse of Nicholas I.'s ambition was tending towards establishing Russian rule throughout Eastern Europe. The cautious peace policy of Alexander and Nesselrode, which had lasted since 1814, had come to an end, almost with the life of the Duke of Wellington, who represented the old order, and at whose funeral Prince Gortschakoff attended as the special representative of his sovereign. To carry out his new policy the Czar Nicholas found able instruments in Count Nesselrode and Prince Gortschakoff. In 1854 provisionally, and in the succeeding year definitively, the Russian envoy at Stuttgart was transferred to the wider field opened to his ambition at Vienna, at that moment the focus of all the intrigues of Russian policy. The Czar had never suspected that in Vienna, of which the court and sovereign were under such a debt of gratitude, he would find for a moment an obstacle to his policy in the Principalities. Prince Gortschakoff on his arrival soon discovered that his efforts to obtain the active participation or even the friendly neutrality of Austria were not likely to be more successful than those of his predecessor, Baron Meyendorff. The new Russian Ambassador found at the Vienna Conference of 1854 Austria resolute to forbid the occupation by Russia of the Principalities. Thenceforth he knew the enterprise against a Turkey supported by France and Great Britain was impossible, and directed his efforts to convince his own Court of that sad truth. To him it was in a great measure due that Russia did not continue to mortgage her future yet more irretrievably, but accepted the bases of a pacification. A patriotic Russian, he grieved over the necessity of agreeing to the peace of Paris; but just because he was a patriot he supported it with all his weight. As soon as the Congress of Paris closed, his new Sovereign, Alexander II., recognised the wisdom and courage he had exhibited in discounting a tremendous reverse. In 1856, Prince Gortschakoff succeeded the superannuated Chancellor Nesselrode at the St. Petersburg Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In a circular he issued shortly after his advent to office, whilst discussing at length the policy of his country—"La

Russia ne boude pas; ella se recueille"—he did not throw away the opportunity of indulging in some sarcastic remarks on the pretensions of the Western Powers to interfere with the internal administration of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He contented himself, however, with accustoming Europe anew to the voice of St. Petersburg in international questions. He neither sought nor rejected friendships. France first presented herself, and Gortschakoff listened to the friendly overtures of the Emperor Napoleon. He knew the exhaustion of his country, and took care that it should not be drawn into European complications. He took pleasure, perhaps, in the French overthrow of Austria in 1859 at Magenta and Solferino, which he regarded as punishment for the ingratitude of 1854, and he acquiesced in the French intervention in 1860-61 in Syria as a blow struck at Ottoman independence. The only initiative he may be said to have taken was a proposal (in 1860) of European intervention in aid of the Turkish rayahs of Bosnia and Bulgaria, a step which, in some quarters, was looked upon as a grim satire upon the readiness of Western Europe to listen favourably to the cries of Italian patriots. His intervention, however, did not go beyond a few words of Platonic friendship for the rayahs; and Gortschakoff remained faithful to his rôle of non-intervention. Thus in 1862 he declined the proposal of M. Drouyn de Lhuys to join France and Great Britain in interposing between the Federals and the Confederates in the war of Secession. During the same period he had enough indeed to do at home in repressing the Polish insurrection, and in rebuffing the suggestions of England, Austria, and France for an assuagement of the severities employed in quelling it. The contemptuous tone of his retorts to foreign diplomatic advice delighted the Russians, and in a way compensated them for the reverses of the Crimea. It had been a highly popular step on the part of the Czar to name him Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, but his appointment in July 1863 to be Chancellor, expressly in reward for his diplomatic attitude towards an indignant Europe, was greeted with even more enthusiastic applause. From this moment he was become the most powerful Minister, not in Russia alone, but in Europe. Bismarck had not yet made himself known, but the policy of the two statesmen was directed towards similar objects—at least for the time. Russia

and Prussia were united by a common jealousy of Austria. There was besides an ancient personal alliance between the Russian and Prussian Ministers, dating from the time when they listened together to the futile debates of the Frankfort Diet, and strengthened by Count Bismarck's residence as Prussian envoy at St. Petersburg in 1859-62. Prince Gortschakoff in 1863 smoothed the way to the occupation of Holstein by the Federal troops. It might seem that Austria was as much benefited as Prussia; but Prussia reaped all the advantage. When Prussia precipitated herself on Austria in 1866, Prince Gortschakoff showed no intention to interpose. When Austria lay at the feet of Prussia, Russia seemingly was neither alarmed at the aggrandisement of her neighbour, nor mournful at the abasement of Russian allies and connections among the minor States. In 1870 there was a definite understanding between the two Chancellors, Russia undertaking to answer for the neutrality of Austria. France and Prussia had since Sadowa been bidding for the friendship of Prince Gortschakoff. France was willing to aid and abet Russia in wresting Crete from the Porte, and assigning it to the young bridegroom of the Grand Duchess Olga. Count Beust, on behalf of Austria, desired to recompact the collective authority of Europe over Turkey, which was a result by no means acceptable to St. Petersburg. But he too could have been persuaded to join in this extension of the Hellenic kingdom in order to win the good-will of Russia. The Russian Chancellor received the proposal amicably. As for the attempt, however, to use Crete as a bribe to combine St. Petersburg with Vienna and the Tuileries against Berlin, that was trying to reverse a foregone conclusion. The negotiations of M. de Moustier and Count Beust from the outset were not intended to lead to any serious arrangement. It was never embodied in protocols; but Prince Gortschakoff and his master were satisfied they had grounds for assuming that, in return for Russia keeping the lists free from Austrian intrusion on the side of France, what they considered the natural current of events in European Turkey was to be let flow unimpeded by Prussia. He contented himself with laying up gratitude at the Prussian Court for the fidelity with which he forbade Austrian and Danish intervention, and with which, when fortune declared against France, he negatived Count Beust's project of a

concerted representation in favour of moderate terms of peace by the neutral Powers. He even rejected a suggestion by Lord Granville, who was then at the English Foreign Office, for an understanding between Great Britain and Russia, which might afford a basis for a general neutral appeal to King William's humanity. The thanks telegraphed from Versailles from the German Emperor to the Czar on February 26, 1871, were the immediate reward of Prince Gortschakoff's policy. The concurrence of Prince Bismarck at the end of the war in the Russian demand for the abrogation of the article of the Treaty of 1856 forbidding the presence of Russian war-ships in the Black Sea was part of the material recompense. This was the culminating point of the Russian Chancellor's career. Events in Europe were hurrying forward, and the control of the directing forces had passed into other hands. Prince Bismarck too may have thought that the debts of Germany towards Russia had been paid in full. Gortschakoff's hands were tied, moreover, by the national aspirations, which, for his own purpose, he had evoked, but with which he probably had but slight sympathy. In the Servian War, which broke out in 1878, he showed his half-heartedness on the side of Panslavism, and at the same time his fear to oppose excitement. From the moment that the Russian army crossed the Danube, the eyes of the world were fixed rather on General Ignatieff and Carl Schouvaloff, than upon the new Chancellor; and after the Treaty of Stefano had been repudiated and the Treaty of Berlin signed, Russia stood more in need of an able Minister of the Interior than of a Foreign Minister however experienced. Prince Gortschakoff had studied Europe more closely than his own country. Even in the grand revolution by which the serfs were emancipated he took a subordinate part, if any. He knew no device for the healing of the plague spots which infect Russian society. He was a past-master of the art of treating Europe as a chess-board and States and peoples, including his own, as pawns. He was not prepared to find his pieces swept off the board by a hand beneath his own which he could neither guide nor feel. Before his Imperial master was assassinated, and long before his lieutenant, M. de Giers, formally superseded him as Minister of Foreign Affairs, he had ceased to be a controlling influence in Russia or Europe. General

Loris Melikoff first, and then General Ignatieff, though not Foreign Ministers in name, were appointed to deal with problems which robbed the Chancellorship of all its energy and meaning. For Prince Gortschakoff Russia and the Russian people, and even its enthusiasms, had merely been so much force at his disposal for the movement of Europe. Nihilism and regicide, and Jew-baiting, agricultural discontent, commercial stagnation, and financial embarrassments drained the resources on which he calculated for his projects. In his Chancery at St. Petersburg he had been as purely a diplomatist as in the Vienna Embassy. Nowhere will the student of diplomacy discover more exquisite models of controversial ingenuity than in Prince Gortschakoff's circulars. Working on the most unpromising materials, he oftener than not succeeded in putting his adversary logically in the wrong. His diction was always sharp and refined. For those who could read between the lines not a clause but is sharp as a dagger against the statesman he was assailing. If a diplomatic circular could ever be said to be witty, Prince Gortschakoff's despatches deserved that praise. At the beginning of 1882 he formally retired from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and withdrew from Russia, passing nearly the whole of the time which intervened until his death at Baden-Baden, where he expired on March 11, at the age of 85. Of his two children, the elder, Prince Michael, became a member of the Diplomatic Service, and the second, Prince Constantine, married to a daughter of Prince Michael Stourdza, formerly hospodar of Moldavia, remained attached to the Czar's Court.

**Ashton Wentworth Dilke**, younger son of Sir C. Wentworth Dilke, first baronet, died at Algiers on March 12. Born in 1850, he was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, of which he was a scholar. His health was much injured by exposure and starvation in the course of a two years' journey in all parts of the Russian Empire, including Ili and Turkestan, during which he became an accomplished Russian scholar. He wrote upon Siberia, Ili, and the Caucasus in various magazines, and, subsequently, published a considerable work on Russia, which had been commenced by his brother in 1869-70, and was completed by himself in 1873-74. Having been elected M.P. for Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1880 as a



Radical, he brought forward motions upon the subjects of the business of the House, of polling hours, of election expenses, of "double election," and of the decimal system of coinage, &c. Owing to the hopeless state of his health early in the year, he resigned his seat, in which he was succeeded by Mr. John Morley. He married, in 1876, Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. T. Eustace Smith, M.P. He was the proprietor of the *Weekly Dispatch*, &c., at the office of which he printed several other journals.

**Sir Charles Herries, K.C.B.**, late chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, died at his country seat at Sevenoaks, on March 14. The eldest son of the late Mr. Herries, M.P., he was born in 1815, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1842 he was appointed a Commissioner of Excise by the late Sir Robert Peel; in 1856 he was selected by Sir George C. Lewis to fill the deputy-chair of the Board of Inland Revenue; and in 1877 he succeeded to the chairmanship of that board upon the nomination of Lord Beaconsfield. While his sagacity and ability received successive marks of approval from various political superiors, his kind and sympathetic nature won the affectionate respect of his official subordinates, and on his retirement in 1882 no fewer than 4,382 members, past and present, of the Inland Revenue Department joined in testifying to their warm appreciation of the kindness of their former chief.

**Dr. Karl Marx**, the German Socialist writer, who died in London on March 14, was born in Rhenish Prussia in 1818, and after a distinguished University career became editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, his writings in which soon necessitated his flight to France. His literary work was continued in Paris, but the Prussian Government having requested his expulsion, he went to Brussels. After a brief return to his native country in 1848 he settled in London, and ever since was recognised as one of the chief Socialist leaders. In 1864 he took part in the foundation of the *Internationale*, and in 1867 he published his great work, "Das Kapital"—the text-book of Socialism. Its main principle is that capital is simply the robbery of the workman by the capitalist, and that if the true value of labour were paid capital could not exist. After 1870 the *Internationale* split into two

sections, one of which merged in the Commune, and the other, of which Marx continued to be the head, found its headquarters in America.

**Sir Charles Hastings Doyle, K.C.M.G.**—General Sir Charles Hastings Doyle, Colonel of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, died at his lodgings in Bolton Street on March 19. He was the eldest son of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Charles William Doyle, K.C.B., G.C.H., by his first wife Sophia, daughter of the late Sir John Coghill; and the grandson of the late Mr. William Doyle, Q.C., and a Master in Chancery, of Bramblestown, County Kilkenny, where the family has long been seated. He was brother of Colonel Doyle, M.P., who, on his marriage with the Baroness North, assumed her name, and of Mr. Percy Doyle, C.B., of her Majesty's Diplomatic Service. He was born in 1804, and was educated at the Military College, Sandhurst. He entered the army as ensign in the 87th Foot in 1819. His principal services were in the Colonies, having served in the East and West Indies, and British North America. During the Eastern Campaign he served as Assistant Adjutant-General of the 3rd Division of the army in the Crimea. He was placed on the Staff as Assistant Quarter-Master-General from 1847 to 1856, in which year he was appointed Inspector-General of Militia in Ireland, which post he held for five years. He was then appointed to command the troops in Nova Scotia, and was placed on the Staff as Major-General. He had received the thanks of the Canadian House of Assembly as well as of the English and United States Governments for his judicious management of the affair of the Chesapeake during his temporary administration of the Colonial Government, and was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Nova Scotia, upon the confederation of the North American provinces in 1867. Sir Charles resigned in May 1873, and returned home, when he was appointed in April 1874 to the command of the Southern District, which appointment he held till May 1877. The dates of his commissions were as Colonel in 1854, Major-General in 1860, Lieutenant-General in 1870, and General in 1877, when he was placed on the retired list. He was appointed Colonel of the 70th Foot in May 1868; was transferred to the 87th (Royal Irish Fusiliers) Foot in 1870, and on his compulsory retirement in 1873 became

Hon. Colonel of the 1st Battalion of the regiment. He was nominated a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1869.

**Sir George Jessel.**—Sir George Jessel was born in 1824, being the youngest son of Zadok Aaron Jessel, a Jewish merchant, who lived in Savile-row. He was educated by Mr. Neumegen, of Kew, and at University College, London, at which he graduated in the highest honours in mathematics and natural philosophy. He also took honours and a prize in vegetable physiology and structural botany. He became M.A. and gold medallist in mathematics and natural philosophy in 1844. He had already entered for the bar, reading with Mr. B. Brodie, the draftsman of the Fines and Recoveries Act, and with Mr., afterwards Sir, Barnes Peacock. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1847, when he began to "devil" for his old master, Brodie, and sought practice on his own account as a conveyancer. It is said that for some time his practice was inconsiderable, not exceeding 600*l.* a year, and he told a friend that he had mistaken his vocation in life. His practice increased, however, and in 1865 he was made a Q.C., attaching himself to the Rolls Court, of which Lord Romilly was then Master. Here he rapidly attained the pre-eminence and became the leader of the bar, and at the time he left the bar had been making for some years a professional income of over 20,000*l.* a year. Nine years previously Mr. Jessel had married a daughter of Mr. Joseph Moses, by his wife Fräulein Königswarter, a great Viennese heiress, of London. In 1868 he was returned to Parliament for Dover in the Liberal interest, won the attention of Mr. Gladstone by a speech on the Bankruptcy Bill in 1869, and became Solicitor-General in 1871. But, on the whole, Sir G. Jessel was not successful as a debater. However, his opinions on legal points were solid and strong—something on which a Minister could lean with confidence. On Lord Romilly resigning the Mastership of the Rolls in 1875, the post was first offered to Lord Coleridge and then to Sir George Jessel. One incident of his career at the Rolls was an attack made upon him by the Rev. H. Dodwell. In 1881 an Act of Parliament was passed which made the Master of the Rolls the ordinary President of the Court of Appeal. One of the offices held by Sir George Jessel was the Vice-Chancellorship of

London University, to which he was appointed in 1880. As a young man Sir G. Jessel travelled a good deal, visiting Constantinople and America. Afterwards he often passed the Vacation abroad, as at Homburg, with his friend Vice-Chancellor Malins, or in the Tyrol. But when he had fairly laid out his estate in Kent it became his favourite amusement in the holidays to spend his days there in harmless rural pleasures. He did not shoot or hunt, but would collect and classify fungi, or would throw into the marking out of a tennis-lawn the same close attention to the matter in hand which was invaluable to him in deciding cases. In London he rode in the Park every day in the summer; in winter he was as constant in his afternoon's attendance at the Athenæum. Sir G. Jessel was fond of the theatre and of society, and was a yearly visitor to the Master of Balliol, but otherwise was difficult to tempt from his own country-house, where his love of flowers and knowledge of botany sufficed to fill his hours of leisure. To within a few weeks before his death he retained all his vigour of mind and body; but a sharp attack of illness at the beginning of the year showed that his health had suffered from the strain of many years of hard work. He was urged to try the effects of an immediate change and rest in the South of France, but he declined to leave his post until the Easter Recess, and continued to sit until the week before his death, which occurred on March 21, at his house in Hyde Park Gardens. His funeral, which was conducted after the rite of the Jewish religion, was almost a public ceremony, nearly all the judges and leaders of the Bar attending to show their respect for one of the most eminent lawyers and ablest public servants. He left two sons and three daughters, and shortly after his decease a baronetcy was conferred upon his eldest son as a testimony of the respect in which Sir George Jessel's talents and character were held by his sovereign and fellow-countrymen.

**Rev. Derwent Coleridge.**—The Rev. Derwent Coleridge, M.A., who died on March 28, at Eldon Lodge, Torquay, in his 83rd year, was the youngest son of the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge. He was born in Keswick in 1800, and was educated with his brother Hartley (who died in 1881) at a small school near Ambleside. Thence he passed on, in 1818, to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he formed intimate and enduring

friendships with W. M. Praed, Macaulay, Charles Austin, Brewer, and others, and in connection with them commenced his literary career as a contributor to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, under the name of "Davenant Cecil." He graduated in 1822, and was ordained deacon in 1826, and priest in 1827, by Dr. Carey, the Bishop of Exeter. He was about this time engaged in tuition at Plymouth, and afterwards at Helston, Cornwall, where he had amongst his pupils Charles Kingsley. In 1841 he was appointed Principal of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, founded by Gilbert Matheson and Sir Thos. Dyke Acland for the training of teachers. In 1854 Bishop Blomfield offered him the living of Knockholt, but he preferred to work on at St. Mark's for another ten years, when in 1864 he was presented to the living of

Hanwell, Middlesex; having held a prebendal stall in St. Paul's Cathedral from the year 1846. He edited and collected the works of his distinguished brother Hartley and of his more distinguished father, and was himself the author of a work entitled "The Scriptural Character of the English Church" (1839), a work which attracted but little popular notice at the time, but drew towards him the Rev. F. D. Maurice, who became one of his dearest friends. In addition to a life of Winthrop Mackworth Praed, prefixed to the latter's published poems, he wrote but little, his work at St. Mark's being unceasing, but his love of languages was intense. In addition to the languages of Europe he knew Coptic and Arabic, and could read Eskimo, Zulu, and Hawaiian, and was well acquainted with Welsh and Hungarian poetry.

The following also occurred during the same month:—On March 1, aged 98, **General George Macdonald**, Colonel of the 16th Foot. He entered the army in 1805, and was three times wounded at Waterloo. On March 1, at Slingsby Gorton, aged 93, **Captain Ward, B.N.**, midshipman on board the *Victory*, at Trafalgar, and accompanied Nelson's remains to England. On March 1, at Birdingburg Hall, Warwickshire, aged 52, **Sir Theophilus William Biddulph**, 7th baronet. On March 2, at Marlfield, Tipperary, aged 71, **John Bagwell**, M.P. for Clonmel, for many years in the Liberal interest, and a Lord of the Treasury from 1859 to 1862, under Lord Palmerston's Government. On March 3, at Whitechurch, Dorset, aged 99, **Surgeon J. Wyer**, late of the 19th Regiment of Foot. He entered the medical branch of the army as hospital assistant in 1811, and was at once sent to the seat of war in the Peninsula, where he attended the wounded from Busaco. He served on the staff and with the 88th Regiment during 1812, 1813, and 1814, and received the war medal and five clasps for the battles at which he had been present. He also served in Canada, and was at the taking of Plattsberg, at the Cape of Good Hope. He was in the receipt of a pension of 100*l.* per annum, for distinguished service. On March 3, at Bickley, Kent, aged 71, **George Wythes**, of Bickley Hall, and Copt Hall, Essex, a self-made man, who in partnership with the late Mr. Brassey amassed a colossal fortune as a railway contractor. On March 3, **Baron Wertheim**, one of the most prominent and successful manufacturers of Vienna. Beginning life as a grocer, his turn for mechanics led him to establish a manufactory for tools, and especially for iron safes. He was made a Baron, received a number of Austrian and foreign orders, and died a rich man. On March 6, at Halle, aged 82, **Professor Karl Witte**, a distinguished philologist, and commentator of the works of Dante. On March 8, at North-leach, Gloucestershire, aged 78, **James Henry Legge Dutton**, third Baron **Sherborne**. On March 9, at New York, aged 71, **Alexander Hamilton Stephens**, elected a representative in Congress for Georgia in 1843. He declared himself in 1860 opposed to the Secession of that state from the Union, but, seeing the rupture was inevitable, he supported the movement, and was elected provisional Vice-President of the Confederate States. In December 1865 he was elected Senator of the United States Congress. On March 11, at Moor Court, Herefordshire, aged 62, **The Venerable James Davies, M.A.** (assumed the name of Davies, in lieu of that of Banks, in 1858). Formerly Head Master of King Edward's School, Ludlow; he was appointed Archdeacon of Salop in 1852, and Prebendary of Moreton and Waddon in Hereford Cathedral in 1875. Besides being a regular contributor to periodical literature, he was the author of various original and translated poems, and the translator of numerous learned works. On March 11, aged 88, **General Thomas Charlton Smith**. Commencing his career in the navy, where he was three times wounded, he entered the army in 1813, serving through the Peninsular Campaign, and at Waterloo, where he was also wounded. On March 19, at Bishop's Hall, Bomford, aged 65, **Colonel William Mark Wood**

(Colonel 67th Regt.), son of Mr. W. J. Lockwood, of Dews Hall, Lambourne, Essex, he assumed his mother's name of Wood in 1837. With the Coldstream Guards he took part in the battles of Balaclava and Inkerman, and the siege of Sebastopol. On March 22, aged 76, **Alfred Clint**, one of the original members of the Society of British Artists, and subsequently its President, chiefly known for his marine pictures. He was son of George Clint, A.R.A. On March 23, in London, **Dowager Viscountess Barrington**, daughter of the first Lord Ravensworth. On March 23, at his seat near Exeter, aged 64, **Sir Lawrence Palk**, fourth baronet and first Baron Haldon, represented South Devon as a Conservative from 1854-68, and East Devon from 1868-80, when he was created a peer. On March 25, at Clewer House, aged 71, **Honourable Mrs. Monsell**, the daughter of the late Sir Edward O'Brien, of Dromorland, and the widow of the Rev. Charles Monsell. She was well known in the religious world as the first Superior of the Clewer House of Mercy, an association which has extended itself all over England, to America, and to India. On March 26, in Westminster, aged 84, **Canon Jennings**, Archdeacon of Westminster, Rector of St. John's parish, and a Canon of the Abbey. On March 26, in London, aged 77, **Edward Fordham Flower**, a magistrate for Warwickshire; he was well known for his hospitalities to Shakespearean visitors to Stratford-on-Avon. He was the author of many letters and pamphlets on the subjects of improved road-making, and the more humane treatment of horses by the abolition of curb-bits and bearing-reins. On March 26, at Cracow, aged 63, **The Rabbi Schreiber**, member of a family of Pressburg, in Hungary, in whom the dignity of Rabbi was almost hereditary. He had great influence in the Orthodox Jewish Community all over Galicia, and as a member of the Reichsrath was one of those who drew up the Manifesto against the Jewish Reform Party. On March 27, at Windsor Castle, aged 49, **John Brown**: originally one of the Balmoral gillies of the Prince Consort, he eventually became the Queen's personal attendant, and many references of his services appear in the Queen's Journal. The *Court Circular*, announcing his death, described him as "an honest, faithful, and devoted follower, a trustworthy, discreet, and straightforward man, and possessed of strong sense, he filled a position of great and anxious responsibility, the duties of which he performed with such constant and unceasing care as to secure for himself the real friendship of the Queen." On March 28, at Darmstadt, aged 77, **Lorenz Diefenbach**, a celebrated philologist and lexicographer, and a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. On March 29, at Buda Pesth, **George von Majlath von Szekhely**, President of the Hungarian Upper House, Chief Judge of the Royal Court, and President of the Highest Court of Appeal (see *Chronicle*, p. 13). On March 30, at Scarborough, aged 71, **General Edward Seager, L.B.**; after serving for some years in the ranks, in 1843 he obtained a cornetcy in the 8th Hussars. He took part in the Russian campaign, and became Assistant Military Secretary first to Lord W. Paulet, and afterwards to Sir Henry Storks. In 1858-59 he served in Central India, and was afterwards employed as Inspecting Officer of the Yeomanry Cavalry Forces of Great Britain. On March 31, at Rome, aged 72, **Pietro Francese Cardinal Meglia**, in the diplomatic service of the Holy See, and created a Cardinal Priest by Leo XIII. in 1879. On March 31, **Elizabeth Susan Dowager Lady Colchester**, aged 83, daughter of first Lord Ellenborough, and widow of second Lord Colchester.

## APRIL.

**Viscount Avonmore.**—William Charles Yelverton, fourth Viscount Avonmore in the peerage of Ireland, was born in 1814. He was educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and was appointed to the Royal Artillery, with which branch he served with distinction in the New Zealand and Crimean campaigns. He received a medal and clasp for Inkerman, where his horse was shot under him, and for Sebastopol. In 1857 he married, in Scotland, Theresa, daughter of Mr.

Longworth, of Smedley, Lancashire; but after protracted litigation and many public scandals the marriage was declared by the House of Lords (1864) to have been null. Meanwhile, in 1858, he married Emily Marianne, daughter of Major-General Sir Charles Ashworth, K.C.B., and relict of Professor Edward Forbes, F.R.S. In deference to popular feeling, Major Yelverton was "suspended from all military duties" in March 1861, and was subsequently removed

from the effective list of his regiment; and although the final verdict of the House of Lords was given in his favour, the decision of the military authorities was not reversed. He succeeded to his father's title in 1870, and died at Biarritz on the 1st inst.

**Louis Veillot** was born in 1813, in the Loiret, where his father was a journeyman cooper. In 1818 the latter came to Paris and opened a small wine-shop; and as soon as his son had reached the age of 13 placed him in an attorney's office, where he speedily showed his literary bent. In 1832, having already shown his powers, Louis Veillot was sent to Rouen to combat the progress of Republican ideas; but after a short career, involving him in two duels, it was found expedient to transfer the Government champion (he was then an Orleanist) to Périgueux, where he fought two more duels. In 1837 he was removed to Paris to write in a ministerial organ, but soon transferred his pen to the service of the doctrinaire liberal organ *La Paix*. In 1838 he visited Rome, where he was received by Gregory XVI.; and on his return to Paris devoted himself to writing hymns and religious works. When, four years later, General Bugeaud was setting out on his Algerian campaign, he took Veillot with him as his private secretary; but after a short stay in that country he returned to Paris, and occupied a post at the Ministry of the Interior. It was from this period that his connection with religious polemical controversy may be dated. He had joined the staff of the *Union religieuse*, of which he soon became the editor, and promptly involved himself in a controversy with the University authorities, which led to his being imprisoned for some months, although the cause of dispute was merely a proposal to substitute the later Latin poets for classical authority in the University curriculum. When the Revolution of 1848 broke out, Veillot joined with Falloux and Montalembert in welcoming the advent; but before many months had passed he was found denouncing it, together with all philosophers and professors. He attacked the Bishop (who refused to support his crusade against the classics) with such virulence as to draw down the censure of the Archbishop of Paris; but, on appealing to Rome, his proposals received a general approval. In his new organ, the *Univers*, he aimed at occupying a position independent of all episcopal control, and devoted his

energy to destroying the last remains of freedom retained by the Gallican Church. Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, and several others, forbade their clergy to read the *Univers*; but for a long time the paper exercised an influence hardly less than the Jesuit party in France. The events of 1866 brought about the end of the temporal power of the Pope, of which Veillot was an ardent defender; but his voice had been temporarily silenced by the suspension of his paper for two years. In 1867, on its reappearance, he defended the dogma of Infallibility, denouncing Fathers Hyacinthe, Gratry, and Dupanloup, and in a brilliant passage of arms with the last named he was supported by the Pope. Throughout the sitting of the Vatican council he remained in Rome carefully watching the tactics of the French Episcopacy, and denouncing all attempts to maintain the independence of the Gallican Church. After the fall of the French Empire his newspaper was constantly getting him into trouble, even with the most Conservative Cabinets. In 1874 the De Broglie Cabinet suspended the paper for two months for publishing a pastoral against the German Kulturkampf; and a few months later it was suspended for a fortnight for inciting to contempt of foreign governments. In 1875 it was fined 4,000 frs. for personally alluding to a shopkeeper who traded on Sundays. With a change of Popes, however, and with the movement of public opinion in France, Veillot's position changed, and his influence both for good and for evil waned. During the last five years of his life the circulation of the *Univers* greatly declined. His protracted illness, doubtless, had something to do with this falling off; but Veillot's powers were chiefly fitted for keen religious controversies, of which the din had almost died away long before his death which took place in Paris on the 7th inst.

**Thomas Turner**, of Hilliers, Petworth, and Harley Street, London, who died on the 9th inst., was born in 1804, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where, in 1827, he was second wrangler and senior Smith's prizeman. In 1831 he was called to the Bar, and practised for some years in the Chancery Courts. He was long and widely known from his exertions in behalf of the numerous objects of a philanthropic character. Among others may be mentioned his connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Bishop

of London's fund, the Metropolitan Board of Works, of which he was a member from the commencement, and the treasurership of Guy's Hospital, which office he held for a period of twenty years, and from which he retired in 1876. As a Middlesex magistrate and Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, he was mainly instrumental, in the year 1850, in bringing about a reformation in the appropriation of the Houses of Correction for distinct classes of criminals, instead of using them, as had been the case up to that time, for all cases of convicted prisoners, not transports or convicts. By his careful management of the estates of Guy's Hospital he was able in the year 1870 to add a wing to the hospital with accommodation for 150 additional beds.

**Sir Charles Russell, Bart., V.C.**, died at Swallowfield Park, near Reading on the 14th inst. He was the second but eldest surviving son of the late Sir Henry Russell, by Marie, daughter of M. Mottel de la Fontaine, Baron Fieffe, of Compiègne, and born in June 1826. He was educated at Eton, and entered the army in 1843. He served with the Grenadier Guards throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, and took part in the battles of the Alma, Balaclava, and Inkerman, and the siege and fall of Sebastopol. For his personal bravery before Sebastopol he received the Victoria Cross, having, as recorded, "offered to dislodge a party of Russians from the Sandbag Battery if any one would follow him." Sir Charles Russell sat in the Conservative interest for Berks from July 1865 to December 1868, and for Westminster from February 1874 till February 1882, when he retired on account of impaired health.

**Professor François Marcet.**—Professor François Marcet, who died in London on the 14th inst., at an advanced age, although English by birth, was Swiss by adoption and family connection, and had been a member of its Legislature and Government. His achievements in the realm of science were numerous and noteworthy, and procured for him the membership of the Royal Society of England. Some of his discoveries, especially those concerning the boiling-point of water, the determination, by freezing, of the specific heat of solids, and, above all, his observations at Pregny, near Geneva, on the increase of temperature of artesian wells, have played an important part in the elaboration of some important cos-

mologic theories. In conjunction with De Candolle he made a series of researches in vegetable physiology and the action of poison on plants, and forty years ago his "Manuel de Physique Élémentaire" ranked amongst the best scientific text-books of the period. Besides being a *savant*, Marcet was also an ardent politician. He served on the patriot side in the Greek War of Independence. In 1866, when Crete rose against its Ottoman masters, he was unanimously elected president of a committee formed at Geneva to raise a fund for the relief of the Cretan refugees who had fled to Athens and the Piræus. In London he was closely connected with the management of University College, where he rendered important services.

**William Farr, M.D., C.B., D.C.L.**—Dr. William Farr was born in 1807, at Henley, in Shropshire; was educated at Shrewsbury School, and afterwards at the Universities of Paris and London. His first active duties were as house surgeon to the Shrewsbury Infirmary; but after a short time he returned to London, where he cultivated the practice and teaching of medicine. In 1835 he undertook the editorship of the "Medical Annual," which he retained until 1839. In addition, he was author of a "History of the Medical Profession," "Statistics of Insanity," and an article on "Vital Statistics" in McCulloch's Dictionary, &c. In 1838 he was appointed Compiler of Abstracts in the Registrar-General's Office, where he organised the statistical department, of which he was made superintendent. In this capacity he assisted in taking the census in 1851, 1861, and 1871, and was sent by the Government to attend statistical congresses on the Continent. He was author of a large number of contributions on the subject of the cholera epidemic, of an International Standard of Weights and Measures, &c., and constructed the English Life Tables, with value of annuities.

He died on April 14, at his residence, Portsdown Road, Maida Vale, aged 75.

**Duke Charles of Parma.**—Duke Charles II., Louis de Bourbon, Infanta of Spain, the son of Maria Louisa, daughter of Charles IV., King of Spain, and Louis Bonaparte, King of Etruria, was born December 22, 1798; succeeded, on the death of his mother, to the Duchy of Lucca, in 1824. In 1847 he ceded that duchy to Tuscany, and in the same

year succeeded Maria Louisa, the widow of Napoleon, as Duke of Parma and Piacenza. Within a few months troubles broke out in Northern Italy. The Duke of Parma hoped by establishing a regency (March 20, 1848) to avert the blow; but three weeks later (April 9), a provisional government was established, and the Duke fled. A year later he published from Weistrop, in Saxony, his formal abdication in favour of his son. Subsequently he resided abroad, under the name of Count de Villafranca, and died at Nice, April 17, aged 83. His son, in whose favour he abdicated, died in 1854, and his grandson, who succeeded to the duchy, was dispossessed in 1859, on the consolidation of the North Italian kingdom. The Duke Charles II. had, in 1820, married a daughter of Victor Emmanuel I., King of Italy.

**Jules Sandeau.** — Léonard-Silvain, Jules Sandeau, a member of the French Academy, was born at Aubrisson, in 1811, and came to Paris at an early age to study law. His relations with Madame Dudevant, who subsequently took half of his name, drew him towards literature, and together, in 1831, they published "Rose et Blanche," a novel, subsequently classified amongst those of George Sand. During his career he published a number of tales and romances, of which the most interesting were "Catherine" (1845); "Mlle. de la Seiglière" (1848); "La Maison de Penarvan" (1858); and "Jean de Thommeray" (1873), the greater part of the later ones appearing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. In 1853 he was appointed one of the keepers of the Bibliothèque Mazarin; in 1858 he was elected member of the Academy, and in the year following librarian of the Palace of St.-Cloud. A number of his stories were adapted for stage representation, and many were played at the Théâtre Français; but his greatest success was "Le Gendre de M. Poirier," written in connection with M. Emile Augier, and produced at the Gymnase in 1854. Jules Sandeau died at Paris, on April 24, aged 72.

**Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch** was born at Delitzsch, in Saxony, in 1808, and commenced at Leipsic his legal studies, which he completed at Halle. He speedily obtained lucrative appointments in the Saxon Law Courts, holding the posts of auditor and, subsequently, of assessor; but he soon devoted his time to the study of philosophical and economical problems, and he especially devoted himself to improving the conditions of labour in Saxony. In 1848, when the Revolution broke out, he was sent to the Berlin Assembly as deputy from his native town, and was forthwith nominated president of a committee of inquiry into the wants of the working classes. This work, commenced under revolutionary impulse, was steadily pursued by Schulze-Delitzsch in spite of the strongest opposition and prejudice; and in 1866 he had drawn around him upwards of 1,600 workmen's associations, scattered throughout Germany, all recognising the principles of self-reliance, and People's Savings Banks, which he inculcated. His influence spread to Belgium, North Italy, and even to France, where, in 1867, he was named honorary president of the economic section at the International Exhibition. In 1861 he had been elected as the popular member for Berlin; and he continued to represent the same constituency in North German Parliament and in the Reichstag. Both in Parliament and in the press he advocated his special views without fear of the disfavour which they provoked from the officials; and he was not the less vehement in his attacks upon the theories of Ferdinand Lassalle, whose State Socialism he denounced in spite of Prince Bismarck's supposed approval. Schulze-Delitzsch, a short time before his death, had retired from an active part in politics, and died at Berlin on the 29th inst., in his 75th year. His principal writings are "Das Associationsbuch" (1862), "Die Arbeiterkassen," &c. (1863), "Die Vorschuss- und Creditvereine als Volksbanken" (1867)—a work which has run through numerous editions—"Kapitel zu einem deutschen Arbeiterkatechismus" (1873), &c.

In this month may be noted:—On April 9, **Commander Robert Amyett Newman, R.N.**, aged 90. The last surviving officer of the Flying Squadron of the Trafalgar Fleet, he also shared in the Walcheren Expedition, and served in America. At New York, on April 2, aged 91, **Peter Cooper**. The founder of the widely-known Cooper Institute for the advancement of science and art, he began life in the glue and isinglass business, subsequently erecting ironworks, where the first American locomotive engine was constructed. At Basle, on April 3, aged 82, **Dr. Ziegler**, long known for his numerous and remarkable works on cartography. He was a doctor in philosophy of the University of Zurich, and an honorary citizen of Basle,

to which city he presented his magnificent collection of ancient and modern maps. On April 4, at the Tower of London, aged 59, **Lieutenant-General George Dean Pitt, C.B.** In 1859 he raised, organised, and trained the Victorian Volunteer Force. On the renewal of the war in New Zealand, in 1863, he was, on the recommendation of Lieut.-General Sir Duncan Cameron, commissioned by the Colonial Government to raise local corps, and in a very short time succeeded in raising upwards of 2,000 men, for which service he was promoted to an unattached majority. In 1881 he was appointed Keeper of the Crown Jewels. On April 7, at London, aged 73, **Sir George Alfred Arney**, youngest son of William Arney, Esq., of The Close, Salisbury, was educated at Winchester and Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1829. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1837, and for some years went the Western Circuit. In 1858 he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, and in 1862 a knighthood was conferred upon him. On April 12, at Ugbrooke Park, Chudleigh, aged 56, **Major-General the Hon. Sir Henry Hugh Clifford, V.C., C.B., K.C.M.G.**, the son of the seventh Baron Clifford of Chudleigh. In 1848 he was present at the battle of Boem Plaats. He served in the Kafir war of 1852-53, and took part in the Eastern campaign of 1854-55 as aide-de-camp to General Buller. He was appointed assistant quartermaster-general to the Chinese expedition in March 1857, and was present at the operations before Canton. He also took part in the Zulu war. At the time of his death he was a Commissioner of the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, and aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cambridge. He married, in 1857, Josephine, daughter of Mr. Joseph Antice, of Madeley Wood, Salop. On April 12, at Cannes, aged 25, the **Archduchess Marie Antoinette**, daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Tuscany; succeeded Christina, Queen of Spain, as abbess of the Chapter of Noble Ladies of Prague; the author of some poetical works, published under her own name. On April 13, at Greenfield, Maidenhead, aged 67, **Rear-Admiral Henry William Hire, C.B.** Entering the navy in 1830, he served in the *Tagus* during the Civil War. During the Crimean War he was 1st lieutenant of the *Fury*, and afterwards commanded the *Niger* in the Black Sea, whilst at intervals he served in the trenches before Sebastopol. In 1860 he commanded a division of rocket boats at the capture of the Peiko Forts. He subsequently was in command of the troopships *Urgent* and *Orontes*. On April 14, at Funchal, Madeira, **James Talbot**, seventh **Baron Talbot of Malahide**, in the kingdom of Ireland; created peer of the United Kingdom in 1866. He was fellow of many learned and antiquarian societies. On April 14, in South Audley Street, aged 50, **Hon. Mrs. Stonor**, the youngest daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, and the widow of the Hon. Francis Stonor, second son and heir of Lord Camoys. She had been Woman of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales since the latter's arrival in 1863. On April 15, at Schwerin, **Friederich Frans II.**, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Prince of the Wends; distinguished himself during the Franco-Prussian War. On April 16, aged 64, **Major-General H. G. D. Scott, C.B., F.R.S.** Educated at the Royal Academy, Woolwich, he passed into the Royal Engineers, and subsequently became an examiner at the Military Academy of Woolwich. Retiring from the army in 1871, he became director of buildings at South Kensington, and architect to the Royal Schools of Science there, and shortly before his death had superintended the construction of the International Fisheries Exhibition. On April 16, at Notting Hill, aged 92, **Colonel Joseph Simmons, C.B.** First serving as a volunteer in the Peninsula with the 34th Regiment, he became an officer of the 23rd. From 1811 to 1814 he was with the Rifle Brigade, taking part in the Battle of Vittoria and other engagements. With the 41st Regiment he served throughout the Burmese War, and in the campaign in Afghanistan in 1842, taking part in all the principal events. On April 16, at Bath, aged 62, **Very Rev. James Robert Sweeney**, Titular Abbot of St. Albans, and Provincial of the English Benedictines. Born in India in 1821, and educated at St. Gregory's College, Downside, near Bath, of which he became successively a professor, sub-prior, and prior. In 1869 he was appointed by Pope Pius IX. to preside over the new Abbey of St. Michael's, at Belmont, near Hereford, then lately founded by Mr. Wegg-Prosser. He held that post until 1862, when he was removed to Bath, where he acted as missionary rector of St. John's Church for nearly twenty years. He enjoyed also the titular dignity of Prior of the Cathedral of Gloucester. On April 17, at Rayner's Park, Bucks., aged 67, **Sir Philip Rose, Bart.**, son of William Rose, of High Wycombe, of the Indian medical service, admitted a solicitor in 1836, and subsequently partner in the firm of Baxter, Rose, Norton, & Co. He was for several years legal adviser to the Conservative party, was appointed County Courts' Treasurer (Derbyshire) in 1858, and received a



baronetcy from Mr. Disraeli in 1874. On April 18, at Shaner Castle, Co. Antrim, aged 69, **Rev. William O'Neill**, first Baron O'Neill; the representative of the earldom of O'Neill, created in 1800, and a barony and viscounty, created in 1798 and 1795 respectively, all of which titles became extinct in 1856; a fresh barony was granted in 1868. On April 18, at Wimbledon, aged 80, **Sir Edwin Pearson, F.R.S.** Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A. 1825, M.A. 1828). Vice-president of the Institut d'Afrique of France. He received the honour of knighthood in 1836, when appointed Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard. On April 19, at Twickenham, aged 66, **Hon. Edward Morris Erskine, C.B.**, son of the second Lord Erskine; married in 1847 the relict of Andrew Loughman, Esq. He was appointed Secretary of Legation at Florence in 1852, transferred to Washington 1858, St. Petersburg and Constantinople 1860, envoy to the King of the Hellenes 1864, minister at Stockholm 1872; retired 1881; created C.B. 1873. On April 19, at Naples, aged 54, **Major-General William Wigram Barry, C.B.** He entered the army in 1846, and took part in the campaign of 1854-55, including the battles of Alma, Balaclava, and Inkerman, and the siege and fall of Sebastopol. He served also in India in 1857-58, being present at the relief of Lucknow, the battle of Cawnpore, and the siege and capture of Lucknow. In 1860 he went with the expedition to China, and was present at Sinho, Tanku, the capture of the Tanku forts, and the capture of Peking. On April 20, at Brighton, aged 60, **Right Rev. G. B. Mackarness, D.D.**, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, son of John Mackarness, a West Indian merchant. Born in London 1823; educated at Merton College, Oxon., graduated B.A. 1845, M.A. 1848; ordained deacon 1846; Fellow of St. Columba 1848, and Fellow of St. Nicholas Lancing 1866; vicar of Ilam, Staffordshire, 1854-74, when he was elected second Bishop of Argyll. On April 20, at St. Petersburg, aged 30, **Teresa Petrovna Ramanoffskaya**, Duchess of Leuchtenberg. On April 21, at Berlin, aged 78, **Professor Peters**, a celebrated zoologist, who spent several years in examining the fauna of Madagascar and Mozambique. On April 21, at Constantinople, of typhoid fever, aged 56, **Edward Casalet**, of Fairlawn, Kent; descendant of a Languedoc family which came over to England at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Long one of the leading merchants at St. Petersburg, he settled in Kent in 1872, where he made his presence beneficially felt. In 1880 he unsuccessfully contested Mid-Kent in the Liberal interest. He was the author of several pamphlets on Bi-metallicism and its connection with commerce, the repeal of the extraordinary tithe, and was a strong advocate of the Euphrates Valley railway. On April 23, at Paris, aged 82, **Michel Masson**, successively a dancer, a waiter, a shopman, a journeyman lapidary, and a journalist. At 29 he became a novelist and dramatist; and late in life he studied Chinese, leaving behind him a voluminous Franco-Chinese dictionary in manuscript; at his death he was doyen of the Société des Gens de Lettres. On April 23, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 81, **Sir Thomas Howell**, formerly Director of Contracts at the War Office; he was born in 1802, and was educated at the Charterhouse. He was a member of the well-known firm of Hayter & Howell, whose exertions during the Russian war were often mentioned with commendation in Parliament. In June 1855, Lord Panmure, resolving to place a commercial man of known ability and probity at the head of the Army Contract business, selected Mr. Howell for the purpose. He discharged the duties of his office with great advantage to the Government until age and failing health compelled him to retire in November 1874. He married, in 1824, Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. William Pizzev. On April 25, at Newmarket, aged 79, **Prince Batthyany**. Belonging to one of the most ancient families of Hungary, he had long been a resident in England, and for forty-five years he had been connected with the English turf. He died suddenly on the course whilst watching the races. On April 25, at St. John's Wood, aged 78, **William Leighton Leitch**, Vice-president of the Institute of Painters in Water Colours. He was born at Glasgow, and found the work of a lawyer's office so uncongenial that he took employment first as a sign-painter and decorator, and afterwards as a scene-painter, in conjunction with David Roberts and Clarkson Stansfield. After five years' study in Italy, he returned to this country, contributing many pictures to the Royal Academy and other exhibitions. As a teacher he was highly appreciated, having given lessons to the Queen and most of the members of the Royal Family. On April 25, at Hammersmith, aged 79, **Miss Frances Reynolds**. She was the last surviving daughter of S. D. Reynolds, the celebrated mezzotint engraver and water-colour painter, and in early life was herself a miniature and water-colour painter. On April 26, at Nazing Park, Essex, aged 84, **Colonel George Palmer**, for many years Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant

of the Essex Yeomanry Cavalry. He had been in early life connected with mercantile affairs. As a verderer of Epping Forest he actively asserted the rights of the poorer classes in the unenclosed soil. On April 28, at the Rectory Black Torrington, aged 88, Rev. John Russell, previously rector of Swymbridge (Devon) from 1832. He was well known in the West of England as the "Hunting Parson," and for the interest he showed in keeping up wild-deer hunting on Exmoor. On April 30, aged 92, Admiral Frederick Edward Vernon Harcourt, son of the late Archbishop of York. He entered the navy in 1810, retiring in 1849.

## MAY.

**Very Rev. George Henry Connor**, the eldest son of George Connor, a Master in the Irish Court of Chancery, was born in 1822 and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his B.A. degree in 1845. In 1846 he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Down and Connor, and was admitted to priest's orders in the following year by Dr. Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln. His curacies were all in the South of England; and in 1852 he was appointed first vicar of Newport, Isle of Wight, where some time previously he had been minister of a Chapel of Ease, Newport being then attached to Carisbrooke. In the same year he married Catherine Maud, eldest daughter of Mr. John Wallington, of Kent House, Southsea. His preferments were numerous, but for the most part honorary. He was Honorary Chaplain to the Queen (1872), and afterwards Chaplain in ordinary (1874); Chaplain to the Governor of the Isle of Wight at Carisbrooke Castle (1875); honorary Canon of Winchester, (1877); and Commissary of the archdeaconry of the Isle of Wight (1879). His appointment to the Deanery of Windsor (1882) on the death of Dean Wellesley was wholly unexpected, and during the few months he held the office his health was so delicate as to prevent him justifying the choice which was said to be due to the Queen's personal intervention. He died at the Deanery, Windsor Castle, on May 1, aged 61.

**Hon. Sir John O'Shanassy, K.C.M.G.**, who died at Melbourne, Victoria, on May 8, aged 65, was a son of the late Mr. Denis O'Shanassy, of Tipperary, born in the year 1818. He emigrated from Ireland to Australia soon after the first settlement of Port Phillip, and was subsequently identified with the colonisation and government of the colony of Victoria. He was a member of the municipal government at Melbourne, and was elected a member of the first

Legislative Council there. He was one of the framers of the present Constitution of the Colony of Victoria; he formed three administrations under it, and was Prime Minister of each. Since 1858 he had been a member of the Executive Council at Melbourne. He was made a Knight of St. Gregory the Great, in 1858, by Pope Pius IX., and on his departure for England in 1866 a service of plate, of the value of 1,500*l.*, was presented to him by general subscription, in recognition of his service to the colony of Victoria. He was nominated a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1870, and promoted to a Knight Commandership in 1874. Sir John O'Shanassy married, in 1839, Margaret, daughter of Mr. Matthias McDonnell, of Thurles, county Tipperary.

**Lord Justice Deasy.**—The Right Hon. Richard Deasy was born in 1812, and was second son of Mr. Richard Deasy, of Clonakilty, county Cork. He was educated in Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated and was called to the Bar in 1835. In 1849 he was made a junior counsel. His learning and ability made him a fit object of promotion, and the fact that he was of the same creed as the mass of the people was an additional motive for his advancement by the Liberal Government. In 1855 he was returned to Parliament as representative of his native county, and left his mark upon the Statute-book in a laudable effort to settle the land question in Ireland by an Act of Parliament which made contract the basis of the future relations between landlord and tenant. His expectations with respect to that Act, which made provision for releasing property from the rigid trammels which bound it, were not realised. The Act became practically little more than a dead letter, and he lived to see the principle which he had advocated set aside by the Legislature which had established it. In

1858 he became third serjeant-at-law, a position which at the Irish Bar is of considerable dignity and importance. In 1859 he was appointed Solicitor-General, and on the elevation of Mr. J. D. Fitzgerald, afterwards Lord Fitzgerald, to the Bench, he succeeded to the office of Attorney-General in 1860. In 1861, on the resignation of the late Baron Greene, he was made a baron of the Court of Exchequer, and in 1878 was promoted to the office of Lord Justice of Appeal, his eminent qualifications for the position being universally admitted. He died at his residence in Merrion Square, Dublin, on May 6, aged 70.

**Sir Thomas Tyringham Bernard, Bart.**, of Winchanden Priory, Bucks, was the fourth son of Sir Scrope Bernard (4th Bart.), sometime M.P. for St. Ives, and afterwards for Aylesbury, and Under-Secretary for the Home Department, who after his marriage (1811) with Harriet, heiress of William Morland of Lee, Kent, had taken her name. His eldest son William, born in 1786, died in 1820 at Caen; the second son, born in 1787, died an infant, and the third, Francis, succeeded in 1839 to the baronetcy, discontinued the name of Morland, and died unmarried in 1876. The fourth son, Thomas Tyringham, was born in 1791, and was successively a scholar at Westminster, Harrow, and Eton; at Harrow sharing Byron's bedroom at Dr. Drury's, and at Eton being the schoolmate of Shelley. From Eton he went to Christchurch, Oxford, with which his family had been connected for many generations. From the window of his father's house in Abingdon Street he saw Mr. Perceval walk past to the House of Commons on the day of his assassination, and he dined with the Guards at Brussels on the eve of their departure for Waterloo. He was for many years Lieutenant-Colonel of the Bucks Yeomanry, and represented Aylesbury in the Conservative interest from 1857 to 1865. He enjoyed excellent health, and was vigorous in mind and body until his death, which occurred on May 8, at 7 Carlyle Square, Chelsea, at the age of 91. He was three times married: first in 1819 to Sophia Charlotte, only daughter of Sir David William, of Rose Hall, Herts, and Clifford Court, Hereford; secondly in 1840, Martha Louisa, second daughter of William Minshull, Esq.; and thirdly in 1864, to Ellen, widow of Henry Elwes, Esq., of Marchan Park, Bucks. The last two wives left no issue, and of the four children of the first wife the

sons predeceased their father, and the baronetcy consequently became extinct.

**Edward Fitzgerald** was born on March 31, 1809, at Bredfield, in Suffolk, where the Rev. George Crabbe, the poet's eldest son, was afterwards rector. He was educated at the Grammar School of Bury St. Edmunds under Dr. Malkin, and in 1826 entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in the usual course in 1830. Among his schoolfellows were John Mitchell Kemble, William Bodham Donne, and James Spedding. At Cambridge he first met Thackeray, Tennyson, and many others, with whom the acquaintance begun in college ripened into a lifelong friendship. It was Thackeray who first brought him to know Carlyle, who was then engaged in writing the Cromwell memoirs; and at Chelsea, one evening, the conversation turning upon Naseby Field, which at that time belonged to his father, he was able to save the historian from going completely astray in his account of the battle. Circumstances so far favoured his natural inclination that it was never necessary for him to adopt any profession, and he was able, while living a life of great simplicity and in later years of retirement, to indulge to the full his love for literature and art. For the northern races and their languages he had but little liking; all his sympathies were with the warm and passionate south, to which he thought his Irish blood made him akin. Hence Calderon and Cervantes were to him constant companions, and no year passed but he read and re-read the *Essays of Montaigne* and the *Letters of Madame de Sévigné*. With his strong literary taste was combined a literary faculty so remarkable that nothing but his absolute indifference to fame and dislike of publicity could have prevented him from taking rank among the first writers of his time. He rather preferred to be the interpreter of the thoughts of others than the prophet of his own. Hence, most that he wrote took the form of translation, or, as it might more properly be called, transfusion, for no translations were ever so much like originals. Such were the "Six Dramas" of Calderon, published in 1853, probably the only book to which he put his name. An unfavourable review caused him to withdraw it from circulation, and no doubt prevented him from ever issuing, except to a few personal friends, his renderings of "*La Vida es Sueño*," and

"El Mágico Prodigioso." "Agamemnon, a tragedy taken from Æschylus," was also anonymous, and at first intended only for a few friendly hands; so, too, were his translations from Omar Khayyám and of the "Salámán and Absál" of Jámí. To a small volume of extracts which he called "Polonius, a collection of Wise Saws and Modern Instances," he added a preface full of subtle and delicate humour, but with no hint of his name. Shortly before his death he completed a version of the "Œdipus Tyrannus" and "Œdipus Coloneus" of Sophocles, which had been lying by him for some years. This was printed, but only one copy was given to a friend in this country, and that under bond of strictest secrecy. For some years Mr. Fitzgerald lived at Boulogne, a small village near Woodbridge, where he now lies buried, but latterly he had lived in Woodbridge itself, where he died on May 14.

The Right Hon. Sir John M'Neill, F.R.S., C.C.B., third son of John M'Neill, of Colonsay, was born at Colonsay in 1795. Educated at Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.D. in 1815, and entered the Bombay Medical Service in 1816. In 1831 he was appointed Assistant Envoy at the Court of Persia; in 1834, Secretary of Legation; and from 1836, when he retired from the medical service, to 1842, he was British Minister at Teheran. In 1819 he had married Innes, daughter of Mr. G. Robinson, of Clermiston, Midlothian; secondly, in 1823, Elizabeth, who died in 1868, daughter of Mr. John Wilson, a banker; and thirdly, in 1870, Lady Emma Campbell, only sister of the Duke of Argyll. On his return to Scotland in 1845 he was appointed a member of the Board of Supervision for the relief of the poor, subsequently being chairman, a post which he held till 1868. In 1855 he was appointed by Lord Panmure, with the late Sir A. Tulloch, Commissioner to inquire into the cause of the breakdown of the Commissariat Department of the Crimean Army. Until within a few months of his death he took the deepest interest in all the political questions of the day. His vivid reminiscences of his past and distinguished life were as interesting as they were historically valuable, as there were few of the eminent characters at home or abroad who had played a prominent part in the world's history during the last sixty years with whom he was not on intimate terms. He died at Cannes, on May 17, in his 88th year.

William Chambers, LL.D., the elder but survivor of the two brothers who originated the *Journal* that bears their name, died in Edinburgh on May 20, at the age of 83. He was born in Peebles on April 16, 1800. At the age of 14 he was apprenticed to a bookseller in Edinburgh, and for some years had to find himself in board and lodgings with 4s a week, a revenue which left him about 3½d. a day for food. At the end of his apprenticeship in 1819 he commenced business with a capital equal to a week's wages—that is to say, 5s. He was so fortunate, however, as to find a London bookseller who advanced him a stock of books to the extent of 10l. After some time the idea of becoming a printer occurred to him, and he purchased a broken-down old press and some type for 3l. With this apparatus he brought out an edition of "The Songs of Robert Burns," which he bound with his own hands, and by which he cleared 8l. He then bought fresh type, and started a periodical which he called *The Kaleidoscope*, and which was chiefly written by his brother Robert. But this failed, and for a while he had to stick to job-printing. He mentions that when he wanted larger letters than he possessed, in order to display a poster, he used to cut them himself with his penknife. However, little by little the brothers improved their circumstances, and at last, on February 4 (1832), they issued the first number of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*. This was six weeks before the *Penny Magazine* made its appearance, and thus it is to them that the honour belongs of having originated the pure and wholesome cheap literature which has since covered the land like a flood. What is more, their venture survived and flourished in the face of the vast competition which later sprang up around it; whereas both the *Penny* and *Saturday* have after a time collapsed, and are all but forgotten. With the appearance of their *Journal* the romance of the brothers' life may be said to have ended; and thenceforth their career was one of uninterrupted prosperity. Their publications are too well known to need any recapitulation here. The most memorable besides the *Journal* were their "Cyclopædia of English Literature," the "Information for the People," and their "Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts," followed by their "Papers for the People." The list of writers who have lent aid to the publications of the Edinburgh house includes a large

proportion of the best literary names of the last half-century; but wider still was their circle of literary friends. In 1865 Mr. Chambers was elected Lord Provost of Edinburgh, an office which he held for four years, and inaugurated extensive sanitary improvements in the city. Moreover, it was while Dr. Chambers was Lord Provost of Edinburgh that the idea occurred to him of restoring St. Giles's Cathedral, and he spent a large sum of money in carrying out his purpose, and the cathedral in its restored condition was formally opened within a week of his death. In 1881 Dr. Chambers received an offer of knighthood, but declined it. About ten days before his decease Her Majesty was pleased to offer him a baronetcy, which he accepted, but the patent conferring the honour upon him had not arrived at the time of his death. In 1872 the University of Edinburgh bestowed on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The death, in 1871, of his brother Robert, of whom William published an interesting memoir, came upon him as a heavy blow, followed as it was only a few days later by the death of his youngest brother, David, who had long conducted their important branch establishment in Paternoster Row. Of late years Dr. Chambers lived in retirement, enfeebled by age, and unable to take any part in business affairs. In 1833 he married Miss Harriet Sedden, daughter of Mr. John Clark, of Westminster.

**Edouard Laboulaye.**—Edouard René Lefebvre de Laboulaye was born in Paris in 1811, and from an early period devoted himself to the study of law and jurisprudence. He first made himself known by a work on "The Law of Real Property in Europe" (1839), a work which was crowned by the French Academy. In 1842 he was admitted to the Paris Bar, and published an essay on "The Life and Doctrines of Frédéric de Savigny," and produced in rapid succession essays on "The Condition of Women in Europe" (1843), "On the Responsibility of Magistrates" (1845), to both of which were decreed prizes by the Academy; and in consequence of these works he was, in 1849, named Professor of Comparative Legislation at the Collège de France. During the Empire M. de Laboulaye made several ineffectual efforts to arouse public feeling against that régime, and was the defeated Liberal candidate in 1863 at Paris, at Strasburg in 1866, and at Versailles in 1869. In 1871, after the

fall of the Empire, he was named Deputy for the Department of the Seine by 107,773 votes, and took his seat among the Deputies of the Centre, and of whom he became the Vice-President; and, after supporting his moderate views persistently in the Chamber, he was elected, in 1875, Senator for Life. His chief interests were then centred in improving the state of higher education in France; and, although obliged to resign his professorship at the College of France, he was elected three times *administrateur* of that institution. In 1880, on the death of M. Sylvestre de Sacy, he became a candidate for his *fauteuil* at the Académie Française, but was defeated by M. Maxime du Camp. In addition to his legal writings, he was the author of large numbers of historical, literary, and political writings; and as a writer of fiction he was the author of "Abdallah" (1859), "Paris en Amérique" (1863), "Prince Caniche" (1868), &c. He died in Paris on May 24.

**Abd-el-Kader**, the third son of a revered Marabout chief of the province of Oran, Sidi-el-Mahiddin, was born near Mascara in 1807. At an early age he evinced a precocious intelligence in expounding difficult passages of the Koran, while his skill in horsemanship and in wielding the yatagan caused him to be regarded, before he was sixteen years old, as one of the most promising warriors of his tribe. Many romances were invented about the son of Mahiddin, and they serve to explain how the Dey of Algiers took alarm at the young man's popularity, and sought to have him killed. Abd-el-Kader and his father fled into Egypt, and there the young Marabout first made acquaintance with European civilisation. He performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and on his return the news reached him of the French invasion of Algiers. The Dey had insulted the French Consul by striking him with a fan; and Charles X., being anxious to win a little glory for his army, had decided upon an expedition, which was represented to the British Government of that day as having no territorial aggrandisement for its object. When Abd-el-Kader reached his country he found that the French were already masters there, and expressed no intention of going away.

He at once set to work to drive them out, and at the same time to break the last remnants of Turkish power in the province. The people of Oran rose at his appeal, and elected

Mahiddin king; but the old chief waived his own claims in favour of his son, and soon the French found it expedient to sign a treaty which recognised the latter's sovereignty over Oran. It was hoped that he would agree to consider himself, if not as the vassal, at all events as the ally of the French; but Abd-el-Kader quarrelled with the foreigners in less than six weeks, and, preaching a Holy War, soon gathered 10,000 horsemen under his banner. With these he marched upon Oran, which was occupied by General Boyer, laid siege to the town, and did not retire until he had repulsed three sorties of the French troops and inflicted heavy losses on them. These reverses—though the Government endeavoured to attenuate them—created consternation in France. General Desmichels was sent to take the command from Boyer; but all he could do was to vanquish some of the Emir's partisans in occasional skirmishes. Abd-el-Kader kept the field, killing more men than he lost, and so weakening the enemy by the rapidity and vigour of his movements that they were glad, in 1834, to conclude a new treaty with him. This time a regular kingdom was formed for Abd-el-Kader out of the Chelifate of Mascara, bounded on one side by the Empire of Morocco, on the three others by the provinces of Oran, Titeri, and Algiers. The Emir was acknowledged as king absolute, and promised on his side to leave the French in undisturbed possession of the provinces which they held. He so far kept his word that he subdued several chiefs who were inimical to himself as well as to the French; but it was no part of his purpose that the French should remain in Algeria, and his only object in signing the last treaty had been to gain time. In 1835 he was ready with a new army, and the French, who had originally undertaken the conquest of the Dey's dominions, found themselves obliged to send against the Emir no less than 40,000 men, under Marshal Clauzel and General Bugeaud. The war that ensued raged ten years, and cost France more in men and money than has ever been officially acknowledged. The fierceness of the struggle, and the ardour which the French threw into it, were shown by the fact that Louis-Philippe sent all his sons to take part in the war, and the exploits of the Ducs d'Orléans and d'Aumale in particular were watched with as keen interest, and chronicled in as brilliant language, as if those princes had been

engaged in battles with a first-class military Power. It must be confessed, however, that Abd-el-Kader's tactics were splendid, and entitled him to the praise which the Duke of Wellington gave him, as being a captain "who with more troops and better arms would have made Algeria unconquerable." The Emir was, in fact, only conquered by numbers, though this is said without any disparagement to the valour which the French displayed, from first to last, in their terrible encounters. In 1842 the capture of Abd-el-Kader's *smala*—that is, his family, baggage, and treasure—by the Duc d'Aumale, forced him to take refuge in Morocco. The emperor of that country, Abd-er-Rahman, was notoriously friendly to him, although pretending to be neutral; and after a little while a Moorish army commanded by Abd-el-Kader recommenced hostilities against the French. The war against Morocco was closed in 1845 with the bombardment of Tangier and Mogador by the French fleet under the Prince de Joinville, and with the victory won at Isly by General Bugeaud, who, in honour of it, was created a Marshal of France and Duc d'Isly. But it was not till 1847, after two years more of indefatigable guerilla warfare, that Abd-el-Kader felt completely beaten, and surrendered to the French. They had promised that he should be allowed to retire into Egypt, but it was decided that he was too dangerous an enemy to be let loose; and, as Thiers remarked, "he had the honour of being treated as the English treated Napoleon." He was confined first at Pau, then in the Château d'Amboise, and his captivity only ended in 1852, when he consented to swear homage to Napoleon III., and to become a pensioner of the French Government, who agreed to allow him 4,000*l.* Abd-el-Kader's object in making his submission seems to have been simply the honourable one of sparing his countrymen further useless strife. There was no chance of the Algerians being able to throw off the French yoke, and under the circumstances the Emir thought it idle and cruel to promote disaffection. To the end of his life he remained a staunch friend of his former foes, not only in semblance but in spirit. At the time of the Syrian massacres, in 1863, he openly befriended the Christians, and was rewarded with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour for his conduct. In 1867 he visited Paris on the occasion of the Exhibition, and was received

with great official honours; but, coming to London soon afterwards, he was much disgusted at finding himself so little known here, and departed in a huff, because, as he said, he had "not been treated with becoming respect by the British Government." Abd-el-Kader's two last public exploits were acts of friendship towards the French. On the outbreak of the war of 1870 he

begged to be put in command of an Arab army to go and fight the Germans; and in the following year, one of his sons having taken part in an insurrection, he wrote to the French Government, and disclaimed with indignation any share in that affair. He died on May 25 at Damascus, where for years he had lived, aged 76.

The following names may also be mentioned:—On May 1, at London, aged 53, **Augustus Henry Venables-Vernon**, sixth Baron Vernon. On May 3, at Woolwich, **Margaret Anne Wrottesley**, wife of Major-General the Hon. George Wrottesley, and daughter of Field Marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne. She accompanied her father when sent, in 1854, to report upon the defences of Sebastopol, and by her tact and energy she converted his French colleague, General Ardant, from a suspicious rival into a zealous coadjutor and warm personal friend. On May 10, at Paris, aged 78, **Juliette Drouet**, formerly an actress; she sheltered Victor Hugo from his pursuers in December 1851, and on his return to Paris became his housekeeper. On May 13, at Putney, aged 63, **Torben de Bille**, Chamberlain to the King of Denmark, for many years Danish Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James's. On May 14, at Weimar, aged 75, **Karl Hutten**, an able decorative artist of Vienna, whose earliest work was in Rheims Cathedral. He was employed in the decoration of Buckingham Palace. On May 15, at Antwerp, aged 91, **Ferdinand de Brackleer**, a distinguished Belgian painter. On May 15, at Kensington, aged 68, **Robert Druitt, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.P.**, a man of marked distinction in his profession. He belonged to a family of Wimborne, Dorsetshire, which had practised medicine for some generations. His "Surgeon's Vade Mecum" passed through eleven editions, and was translated into several foreign languages. From 1862 to 1872 he edited the *Medical Times and Gazette*, and from 1856 to 1867 was Medical Officer of Health to St. George's, Hanover Square. On May 15, in Paris, aged 90, **Madame Mohl**. By birth an Irishwoman, Miss Mary Elizabeth Clark, she became the wife of the distinguished Oriental scholar, Julius von Mohl, a Würtemberger by birth, who had made Paris his home. Their house in the Rue du Bac was the centre of a large cosmopolitan society. On May 17, at Edinburgh, aged 82, **William Pitt Dundas**, an advocate at the Scottish Bar. He was, in 1853, nominated Deputy Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, and as Deputy Clerk Register was head of the General Register of Scotland. On May 18, at Maple Durham, aged 83, **Rev. Edward Coleridge**, vicar of Maple Durham, and Fellow of Eton College, son of Mr. James Coleridge, of Ottery St. Mary, Devon. He was educated at Eton, where he became an assistant master, and afterwards master of the Lower School. He was the chief founder of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. On May 19, in London, aged 66, **Samuel Read**, born at Needham Market. In 1844 he joined the staff of the *Illustrated London News*, to which he contributed large and spirited drawings of cathedrals, and other architectural sketches, for nearly thirty years. In 1854 he went out to the Crimea, the first occasion on which an illustrated paper was ever represented at the seat of war. On May 20, at Ontario, Canada, aged 93, **Rev. Josiah Henson**, whose sufferings as a slave in Kentucky form the main interest of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin." On May 21, aged 46, **James Shaw**, an ex-sheriff of London. Born in humble circumstances, he became a prominent iron merchant at Cwm Avon, in Glamorganshire. He was the author of a volume of parliamentary sketches entitled "The Silent Member," which attracted considerable notice at the time of their publication. On May 24, at Sorrento, **Luigi Garginio**, the founder in his native town of the inlaid wood industry, which has become the source of great wealth to the district. On May 24, at Blackheath, aged 71, **Admiral Sir James Crawford Cuffin, K.C.B.**, son of William Cuffin, of the Royal Laboratory, Woolwich. He entered the Royal Navy in 1827, and as midshipman on board H.M.S. "Cambrian" was present at the battle of Navarino, and was shortly afterwards wrecked in the same ship. He commanded H.M.S. "Penelope," and subsequently H.M.S. "Hastings" in the Baltic during the Crimean war, and held successively the posts of Naval Director-General of Artillery, Vice-president of the Ordnance Select Committee of the War Office, and Director of Stores in the War Department. He was the author

of a work on naval gunnery. On May 24, in London, aged 85, **Henry Robinson Montague**, sixth Baron Roxby; served at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, and commanded a division in the Crimean campaign, for which service he was made K.C.B. and Commander of the Legion of Honour. On May 25, in London, aged 84, **Rev. Pius Melia, D.D.** Born and educated at Rome, he became Professor of Belles Lettres at the Jesuit College there. After visiting many countries as a missionary priest he came to England in 1848, and to his persevering energy the erection of the Italian Church in Hatton Garden was due. As Almoner of the Italian Beneficent Society he sought to improve the condition of poor Italian immigrants. He was the author of "The Origin, Persecution, and Doctrines of the Waldenses," regarded by competent judges as the standard work on the subject. On May 28, at Barnsbury, aged 61, **Alexander Kennedy Isbister, M.A., LL.B.**, Dean of the College of Preceptors. Though called to the Bar he did not follow the legal profession, but devoted himself to the cause of education. For seventeen years he was Head Master of the Stationers' Company's Schools, and for more than twenty years was the editor of the *Educational Times*. On May 29, at Rheinhaltshausen, near Erbach, aged 73, **Princess Marianna**, only daughter of William I., King of the Netherlands; married in 1830 Prince Frederick Henry Albert of Prussia (died in 1872), from whom she was divorced in 1840. On May 31, at Brighton, aged 52, **Major-General Burnaby, M.P.** for North Leicestershire. The only son of the late Mr. Edwyn Burnaby, of Baggrave Hill, Leicestershire, he was educated at Eton, and in 1848 entered the Grenadier Guards and served at Inkerman, and the siege of Sebastopol. He was Brigadier-General of the British Italian Legion from 1855 to 1857. In 1860 he was elected Conservative member for North Leicestershire in conjunction with Lord John Manners. On May 31, at Pallas, aged 51, **Anthony Francis Nugent**, tenth Earl of Westmeath; served in the Crimean campaign, and was present at the assault on the Redan batteries, June 18, 1856.

## JUNE.

**Sir Arthur E. Kennedy, C.B., G.C.M.G.**, died on June 3, off Aden, on his return from Queensland, of which he had just resigned the governorship on account of failing health. He was the fourth son of Hugh Kennedy of Cultra, county Down, born in 1808; educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and entered the army in 1827 as Ensign in the 27th Foot; became Captain of the 68th Regiment in 1840, and retired from the army in 1848. During the Irish famine he served as an inspector under Sir John Burgoyne's Relief Committee, and soon afterwards received his first appointment in the Colonial service as Governor of the Gambia, and afterwards of Sierra Leone in 1852. From 1854 to 1862 he acted in the same capacity in Western Australia; was transferred to Vancouver's Island in 1863, where he remained until 1867, when he was appointed Governor of the West African Settlements, and retained the post for five years. In 1872 he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong Kong and its dependencies, and at the expiration of his term of service was transferred to Queensland, the governorship of which he resigned a few weeks previous to his

death. He was created C.B. in 1862, knighted in 1867, and received G.C.M.G. in 1871. In 1839 he married Georgiana, daughter of J. Macartney, Esq.

**Sir James Carmichael.**—Sir James R. Carmichael, who was chairman of the first company that laid a submarine telegraph, died on June 7, at his residence in Sussex Place, Regent's Park, aged 66. He was the eldest son of the late Sir James Carmichael-Smyth of Nutwood, Surrey, and was educated at the Charterhouse and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. He succeeded his father as second baronet in 1838, and in 1841 resumed his family name of Carmichael only, by royal licence, and in the same year married Louisa Charlotte, daughter of Sir Thomas Butler. He claimed the dormant title of Earl of Hyndford, in the Peerage of Scotland.

**Sir George Bowyer, Bart.**—On June 7 Sir George Bowyer, seventh baronet, was found dead in bed at his chambers in King's Bench Walk, Temple. He was born at Radley House, Abingdon, in 1811. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1839, was created an honorary M.A. at Oxford the same year,



and was made D.C.L. in 1843. He was appointed to the office of Reader at the Middle Temple in 1850. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Reading in July 1849; but in July 1852 he was elected for Dundalk, which he represented till December 1868, and in 1874 he was returned for the county of Wexford, for which he sat till March 1880. He became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith in 1850, and took an active part, in the autumn of that year, in defending the "Papal Aggression." On that question he published a pamphlet entitled "The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the New Hierarchy," which went through several editions. He was also the author of several legal works of reputation: among others, "A Dissertation on the Statutes of the Italian Cities," "Commentaries on the Constitutional Law of England," "Commentaries on the Modern Civil Law," "Commentaries on Universal Public Law," and "Readings before the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple." He was a Knight of Malta and Grand Cross of the Pontifical Order of St. Gregory and of the Constantinian Order of St. George. He enjoyed two baronetcies, the more recent of which was derived from his grandfather, an admiral in the navy, who was created a baronet in 1794 for his gallant conduct in the victory achieved by Lord Howe on June 1, 1794. The older baronetcy was conferred on Mr. William Bowyer, who represented Berks in the first two Parliaments after the Restoration.

**Bishop Colenso.**—John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal, was born on January 24, 1814. His father was a gentleman who long held office under the Duchy of Cornwall. In 1836 Dr. Colenso graduated as Second Wrangler and Second Smith's Prizeman at St. John's College, Cambridge, and became Fellow and assistant tutor of his college. He was assistant master at Harrow School from 1838 till 1842. In the latter year Dr. Colenso was preferred to the rectory of Fornoett St. Mary, in the county of Norfolk, and on November 30, 1853, he was appointed the first Bishop of Natal, in South Africa. His writings were numerous and extended over a wide field. His treatises on algebra and arithmetic had an extensive sale, and became text-books in schools and universities. In addition to these, his mathematical works comprise "Miscellaneous Examples in Algebra," published in 1848, and "Plane Trigonometry," in 1851. In 1853 Dr. Colenso published

his first religious work, "Village Sermons;" and in 1855 an edition of "The Communion Service with Selections from the writings of the Rev. F. D. Maurice." He also published in the latter year a work entitled "Ten Weeks in Natal," and in 1861 "A Translation of the Epistle to the Romans commented on from a Missionary point of view." In 1862 appeared the first part of Dr. Colenso's controversial writings on the Old Testament, which at once attracted a large amount of public attention. He published in 1862 the first part of "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined," calling in question the historical accuracy and Mosaic authorship of those books. This work was condemned as heretical by small majorities in both Houses of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1864, and its author was declared to be deposed from his see by his Metropolitan, the Bishop of Cape Town. An appeal took place to the Privy Council, and in March 1865 the deposition was declared "null and void" in law. It was judicially declared that the Crown had no legal power to constitute a bishopric, or to confer coercive jurisdiction within any colony possessing an independent Legislature; and, inasmuch as the letters patent purporting to create the Sees of Cape Town and Natal were issued after these colonies had acquired Legislatures, the sees did not legally exist, and neither bishop possessed in law any jurisdiction whatever. The bishops forming the council of the Colonial Bishops' Fund having, notwithstanding this decision, refused to pay him his income, he appealed to the Court of Chancery, and the Master of the Rolls delivered an elaborate judgment on October 6, 1866, ordering the payment in future of his income, and all arrears and interest, and declaring that if his accusers had refused to pay his income on the ground of heretical teaching he should have felt it his duty to try that issue—an offer which they declined to accept. Bishop Colenso had many sympathisers in England, and on August 25, 1865, a meeting of the subscribers to the "Colenso Fund" was held in the Freemasons' Tavern, when 3,300*l.* was presented to him as a token of respect, on his leaving for his distant diocese. In 1866 Dr. Colenso published a volume of "Natal Sermons," besides several papers on the controversy he originated. Among his other works were a Zulu Grammar, a Zulu Dictionary, and a Zulu translation of the New Testament and other parts of the Bible

and Prayer Book, for the instruction of the Zulus. The final result of the opposition which Bishop Colenso met with was that the Anglican community at the Cape was divided into two hostile camps. Bishop Colenso still remained the only Bishop of the Church of England in Natal, but the Rev. William Kenneth Macrorie was consecrated Bishop of Maritzburg for the Church of the Province of South Africa at Cape Town on June 25, 1869. Towards the close of the year 1874 Bishop Colenso paid a visit to England in order to report to the Archbishop of Canterbury the unwavering attachment entertained by the members of the Church of England in the Cape Colony to the mother Church, to consult the heads of the Church as to the relation of the diocese of Natal to the new see of Cape Town, and on other matters. During his stay in this country Dr. Colenso was inhibited from preaching in their respective dioceses by the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Lincoln. At the same time he pleaded before the Secretary of the Colonies and the other members of the Government the cause of Langalibele, a Zulu chief, who had been dispossessed of his territory and carried off as a prisoner to Cape Town. From that time forward Bishop Colenso was foremost in advocating the cause of the natives against the oppression of the Boers, and the encroaching policy of the Cape officials. In the war which occurred in the Transvaal Bishop Colenso took up the opposite side to that espoused by Sir Bartle Frere, and followed by the Home Government; but, in spite of the obstacles thrown in his way, he endeavoured to maintain the character of a peace-maker throughout the war and its subsequent negotiations. The captive Cetawayo appealed to the Bishop of Natal to place his case before the English public, and it was in great measure owing to the bishop's efforts that Cetawayo was allowed to come to England to plead his own cause with the Ministry, thereby ultimately obtaining his freedom. Although looked upon with disfavour by a section of the colonists in South Africa, Bishop Colenso was regarded by all the native tribes as their best friend and protector, whilst, even amongst the white population, he had gained over to his more humane and Christian policy towards Zulus, Kaffirs, and other aboriginals a number of the most thoughtful colonial legislators and their supporters. For some time Bishop Colenso had been suffering from the trying effects of the

climate, but had deferred to take the rest he so much needed, thinking the state of affairs too full of peril for the native populations, who looked to him to protect their interests. He succumbed at last quite suddenly, worn out in body but vigorous in mind, at his residence, Bishopstown, on June 20. The more recent works of the Bishop are: "The New Bible Commentary by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church Critically Examined," 1871; "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined," Part VI., 1872; and "Lectures on the Pentateuch and the Moabite Stone," 1873.

Sir William Knollys was born on August 1, 1767, and was the eldest son of the late General William Knollys, who for many years held the title of Earl of Banbury; and in his early youth Sir William bore the title of Viscount Wallingford. He was educated at Harrow, and he commenced his military career as a cadet at the Royal Military College of Sandhurst. It was while he was undergoing his education there that, the Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords having decided against his father's claim to the title of Earl of Banbury, Sir William had to drop that which he had hitherto borne. The order-book of Sandhurst College contains the following note:—"Gentleman Cadet Viscount Wallingford will henceforth be designated as Gentleman Cadet Knollys;" and it was from the reading of this order on parade that Sir William first learnt that the House of Lords had decided against his father's claim to the title and estates of the earldom of Banbury.

The Banbury peerage case came before the House of Lords for the last time in 1813. The case was this:—In 1626 Charles I. advanced Sir William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, to the rank of Earl of Banbury, with precedence anterior to the date of creation, on the ground that the honour and promotion had been inadvertently postponed. To this the peers demurred, urging that the step was unconstitutional. Charles I., however, begged them to acquiesce, on the ground that the Earl of Banbury was old and childless, and on the promise that there should be no further exercise of a similar power. The peers reluctantly acquiesced. On the death of the first Earl the title was claimed in succession by his two sons, whose existence, notwithstanding Charles's message, had been previously known to many of the

peers. Their legitimacy was, however, disputed on account of Lord Banbury's age, which, it was urged, precluded the possibility of his being their father. The civil war breaking out, the case remained in abeyance, but on the Restoration the nominal holder of the title took his place in the House of Lords, the peers protesting. In 1692 Charles Earl of Banbury killed his brother-in-law in a duel, and was tried before the King's Bench for murder as "Charles Knollys." He, however, urged misnomer, as he was "Earl of Banbury," and his plea was admitted. The case came finally before the House of Lords in 1806-13, and by a majority of 8, composed chiefly of Bishops, it was decided that the petitioner had not made out his case. From that date General Knollys and his son dropped respectively their titles of "Earl of Banbury" and "Viscount Wallingford."

In December 1813 William Knollys joined his father's old regiment, the Scots Fusilier Guards, and at once proceeded in company with a draft to the headquarters of the regiment, then serving in Spain. On the first night of his joining his regiment, though only 16 years of age, he was detailed for picket duty, and, being shown round the outposts by Colonel Woodford (afterwards Field-Marshal Sir Alex. Woodford), he came upon a narrow lane on one side of which were the English, and on the other, within a few yards' distance, the French sentinels. The young ensign asked the Colonel why it was that they did not fire upon one another. He was told that it had been arranged that, provided the ground was not infringed, the sentries were not to molest one another. Accompanying his regiment, he crossed the Bidassoa, and subsequently the Ardour. On the occasion of the crossing of the latter river a remarkable incident took place. Two companies of the Guards had pushed across in boats as an advance guard, and, the river becoming swollen, it was found impossible to reinforce them. They were attacked by an entire brigade of the French, and their wholesale destruction seemed inevitable, when as a last resource a rocket battery was brought up and opened fire upon the enemy with such remarkable success that the French retired leaving a number of dead on the field. The Scots Fusiliers took part in the investment of Bayonne, which formed the last military incident of the Peninsular war, and Ensign Knollys was present at the repulse of

the sortie, in which 800 English were killed and wounded. At this place the boundary between the two hostile armies was indicated only by a narrow stream, and Ensign Knollys found the greatest difficulty in carrying out the stringent orders which had been issued forbidding the English sentries fraternizing with the French on the other side. During the action, in the darkness and confusion, he became separated from his men, and he had a narrow escape, for two French Grenadiers, seeing him alone, jumped into the trench and seized him, but his activity enabled him to escape from them. On returning to the camp, which had been for a short time in the hands of the enemy, he found his tent had been plundered and all his effects removed. During the peace which followed immediately after the sortie of Bayonne he returned to England with his battalion, which, though sent to take part in the Waterloo campaign, was despatched to Paris to reinforce the army of occupation there. While in Paris Sir William often mounted guard at the Palais Royal and Luxembourg. When on duty one day at the latter he heard the sharp rattle of musketry, and, inquiring what had occurred, he was informed that Marshal Ney had just been shot.

On returning to England he became adjutant of his battalion, which he subsequently commanded. In 1854 he was made Governor of Guernsey, and in 1855 he was appointed to the command of the division then forming at Aldershot, and under his supervision the camp there was organized. From April 1861 to July 1862 he was Vice-president of the Council of Military Education, and he resigned that appointment to enter the service of the Prince of Wales as his Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household. In 1877 he received from the Queen the appointment of Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and he became Groom of the Stole of the Prince of Wales. A few days before he died he was gazetted, in succession to Lord Rodney, Colonel of the Scots Guards, the regiment in which his father had served, and which he himself had entered 70 years before. The honour thus conferred upon him he highly appreciated, and when it was offered to him he is reported to have declared that he preferred it to the peerage which as a youth he had lost. He died on the 23rd at his official residence in the House of Lords.

**General Sir Edward Sabine, K.C.B.**, was born in Dublin, October 14, 1788, of an old family, said to have come originally from Italy, but latterly to have been settled in Normandy. His father was Mr. Joseph Sabine, of Tewin House, Herts. He was educated at the Royal Military Colleges of Marlow and Woolwich, and obtained his first commission in the Artillery, December 22, 1803, receiving his captaincy in 1813. He did not, however, see much active service, the main incident of his military career being in connection with the campaign against the United States (1813-16), when, in 1814, he commanded the batteries at the siege of Fort Erie. He was also on active duty in Ireland for some time during the disturbances of half a century ago (1830). Sabine was made Lieutenant-colonel in 1841, Colonel ten years later, Lieutenant-General in 1859, retiring with the rank of General in 1874. At a very early period of his career his interest was enlisted in physical science, and especially in the subject of terrestrial magnetism.

During the American campaign he distinguished himself by exceeding his orders, in one instance taking, in the winter, a 24-pound howitzer, instead of a 4-pounder, into a block-house which he expected to have to defend in the spring. In the spring, when the attacking force, a body of militia under a Colonel Williamson, came within range, three or four rounds of shrapnell from the heavy gun put them to flight, and Colonel Williamson was obliged to lead his men back. The result was so brilliant that no notice was taken of his disobedience. On the conclusion of the war he was appointed, on the recommendation of the president and council of the Royal Society, astronomer of the first expedition in search of the North-West Passage, viz. the expedition commanded by Sir John Ross, in 1818, and on the return of that expedition accompanied the second expedition of 1819-20, commanded by Sir Edward Parry, in the same capacity. In 1821-22 he was employed by her Majesty's Government in conducting a series of pendulum experiments for determining the figure of the earth, at several stations at or near the Equator on the coasts of Africa and America, in her Majesty's ship *Pheasant*, and in the following year, 1823, proceeded, in her Majesty's ship *Griper*, to extend the series to Greenland, Spitzbergen, and Norway. In 1824 he was employed in publishing the results of these experiments. In 1825 he was appointed with

Sir John Herschel the British members of a joint commission between the French and English Governments to determine the precise difference of longitudes between the Observatories of Paris and Greenwich, by means of rocket signals. In 1827 he was engaged in ascertaining by direct observation the difference in the length of the seconds pendulum at Paris and Greenwich, and of the magnetic force of the earth at the same stations. For many years after this, in order to verify his theories and complete his knowledge, he carried on by himself a vast series of observations, both in terrestrial magnetism and on the acceleration of the pendulum in different latitudes in all parts of the globe, from the Equator to the Arctic Circle. The results of these observations and of the experiments he made at the Royal Observatory and elsewhere were regularly communicated to the Royal Society and to the British Association, and gave a great impulse to systematic observations in these directions. To the former he can have contributed not less than forty papers, many of them of great length, and embracing many pages of the most elaborate calculations. So early as 1822, for example, we find him giving the Bakerian Lecture of the Royal Society, "On the experiments to determine the amount of dip of the magnetic needle in London in 1821." Next year he had a paper which must have been one of the earliest dealing with the temperature of the ocean depths, describing observations made in the Caribbean Sea. In 1828 he brought before the Society the ratio of magnetic force in Paris and in London, and the differences of the seconds pendulum in the two cities. In 1836 and 1837 he presented to the British Association an account of a magnetic survey of the British Islands, and a report of the variations of the magnetic force in different parts of the globe. Again, in 1840, he again dealt with the great subject of terrestrial magnetism, extending and giving precision to our knowledge of the vastly important question of the lines of declination and intensity on the surface of the earth. Thirty-two years later Sabine was working in the same direction, and in 1872 he read at a meeting of the Royal Society his thirteenth contribution on the subject of terrestrial magnetism.

An immediate result of his earlier reports was that Captain James Ross was in 1838 sent in command of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, to make a magnetic

survey of the Antarctic regions, and to plant, on his way, three magnetical and meteorological observatories at St. Helena, the Cape, and Van Diemen's Land. His indefatigable energy and enthusiastic zeal gave rise to a series of observations in all our colonies and all over the globe as well as at home, the results of which completely changed the aspect of this vast department of science. The colonial observatories were for many years under the guidance of Sabine, and he reduced and published the results obtained at them, as well as those of a general magnetic survey of the globe, begun at that period under the direction of the Admiralty. Indeed, the firm foundations on which the science of terrestrial magnetism have been based, and the vast advances made in its study in recent years, may be mainly attributed to Sabine's exertions. Among other relations, for example, he did much to establish were those between certain magnetic phenomena and sun-spots, and the influence of the magnetic action of the sun and moon on the earth. Scarcely less important were the pendulum experiments which he made in various parts of the globe, to which, combined with those of others, we owe our present conceptions of the exact figure of the earth, not to mention the practical results. Sabine was elected to the Royal Society as early as 1818, was Vice-president in 1850, and succeeded the late Sir Benjamin Brodie in the presidency in 1861. He held the latter post for many years, and so late as 1870 he presided at one of the most brilliant of the Royal Society's *conversazioni*. He resigned in the following year, however, and in 1879 he lost the accomplished and congenial wife whom he had married upwards of half a century before. She herself was the translator of Humboldt's "Cosmos," which Sir Edward edited in 1849-58. He was for many years an active associate of the British Association, at whose meetings some of his most important papers were read; was its general secretary twenty-one years, and the presidential chair of which he filled in 1853. He was a member of the Royal Commission to inquire into the standards of weights and measures (1868), and was made a K.C.B. in 1869. He had the Prussian order *pour le mérite*, the Italian of SS. Maurice and Lazaro, and the Brazilian of the Rose. In 1821 he received the Copley medal of the Royal Society; in 1826 the Lalande medal of the Institute of France; and

in 1829 the Royal medal of the Royal Society. He was elected honorary or corresponding member of many of the principal academies and societies of Europe and America. Up to the close of his long useful life he continued to interest himself in scientific subjects, retaining his clearness of intellect until the very eve of his death, which took place at his house at East Sheen, on May 26, at the age of 95.

**William Spottiswoode, F.R.S.**—William Spottiswoode belonged to a very old Scottish family, which has produced several notable men since the time of the Archbishop of St. Andrews in the 16th and 17th centuries, while a branch of it has achieved in some of its members considerable prominence in the United States. He was born in London on January 11, 1825, son of Andrew Spottiswoode, brother to the Laird of Spottiswoode, and the then head of the printing business. After spending some time at Laleham, at a school kept by Mr. Buckland, brother of Dean Buckland, and a severe disciplinarian, young Spottiswoode was sent to Eton, where, however, he stayed only a short time; he and his brother having attempted some chemical experiments (in which detonation played a prominent part) at a time when science had no place in our public schools. No blame, however, it is admitted, was attached to the brothers, who were transferred to Harrow, then under the rule of the present Bishop of London. Here William Spottiswoode had the reputation of being studious and thoughtful, and, after a stay of three years, entered Balliol College, Oxford, in 1842, having obtained at Harrow a Lyon Scholarship. In 1845 Spottiswoode took a first-class in mathematics, winning in 1846 the Junior and in 1847 the Senior University Mathematical Scholarships. Although on quitting college he entered upon the active management of the business of the Queen's Printers, resigned to him by his father, still he gave lectures for a term or two at Balliol, and ten years later was Examiner in the Mathematical schools. Mr. Spottiswoode was nearly as good a linguist as he was a mathematician, and so accomplished an Oriental scholar was he that he was urged to undertake an edition of a great work on Indian Astronomy, on which he contributed a paper to the Journal of the Asiatic Society. During the 35 years that elapsed after Mr. Spottiswoode left college his life was an unusually busy

one. From the outset he took an active part in the management of the printing business, while a mere list of the subjects on which he wrote papers and made researches would fill considerable space. In 1856 he made a journey in Eastern Russia, the narrative of which ("A Tarantasse Journey through Eastern Russia in the autumn of 1856," Longmans, 1857) is even yet interesting to the thoughtful reader; and in 1860 he, in company with a brother and sister, travelled through Croatia and Hungary. Mr. Spottiswoode's earliest scientific work consisted of five quarto pamphlets, published in 1847, under the title of "Meditationes Analyticæ," and since then scarcely a year passed without a contribution from him to one or other of the branches of science in which he was interested. Many of these papers appealed only to specialists, and dealt with abstruse mathematics: but in these, as in his more purely physical work, fellow-students, both in this country and abroad, admit he showed an intellect not only of the highest training, but of rare clearness, penetration, and even originality. His principal researches in physics were in connection with the exquisite phenomena of polarization, and his work, both as an investigator and expounder, takes the highest rank. While the great bulk of Mr. Spottiswoode's researches was given to the scientific world through the medium of the Royal Society and such journals as

the *Philosophical Magazine*, his many-sidedness found outlets through other channels. To the Geographical Society he read an important paper on "Typical Mountain Ranges, an application of the Calculus of Physical Geography;" to the Musical Society, a Lecture on "Beats and Combination Tones;" and to the Astronomical Society one on "A Method of determining Longitude." He received the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. The Paris Academy of Sciences made him a corresponding member, while other foreign societies gave similar evidence of the estimate in which they held him. Finally, in 1879, he was chosen to the highest honour which science in this country has to bestow—the Presidency of the Royal Society. Mr. Spottiswoode's relations with the workmen in his large establishment were of the best and friendliest, and they were not backward in showing the esteem in which he was held by them. His death was felt as a grievous loss in many quarters, most of all among that wide circle to whom he was endeared as a true and ever-sympathetic friend. In 1861 he married the eldest daughter of the late Mr. William Urquhart Arbuthnot, a distinguished member of the Indian Council. He died, after a comparatively short illness, on June 27, aged only 58 years, and by the generally expressed desire of the scientific world was interred in Westminster Abbey.

To this month also belong the following:—On June 1, at Fretherne Rectory, Gloucestershire, aged 66, **Rev. Sir William Lionel Darell**, fourth Baronet. On June 1, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, **Mrs. Mary Margaret Heaton**, born at Keymer. Nearly related to Douglas Jerrold and to Laman Blanchard, she was known as the compiler of several popular works on subjects connected with art, including the "Life of Albert Dürer," "Works of Sir D. Wilkie," &c. On June 2, at Rome, aged 50, **Albert Mario**, one of the most prominent figures of the Italian Republican party, and one of Garibaldi's most trusted aides-de-camp. He was the head of a distinguished family in Venice, and had been educated for the Bar. He fought under Manin in 1848. In the expedition to Sicily he was chosen to organize the Military College which Garibaldi established on his arrival there, and he took part in the triumphal march on Naples. His writings are numerous, and he edited the Roman journal *La Lega*. He maintained the cause of Italia Irredenta, for which he was sentenced to a fine and imprisonment, which however was not carried out. On June 2, at Leyden, aged 63, **Reinhard Dory**, Professor at the University, a disciplined Oriental scholar, the chief task of whose life had been to investigate Spanish Arabian history. On June 5, at Vienna, **Dr. Sackinson**, the finest writer of Hebrew in his day; for twenty years engaged on a Hebrew Version of the New Testament, making meanwhile translations from Shakespeare and Milton into Hebrew. On June 6, in London, aged 73, **George H. Kent**, one of the last of the old school of reporters associated with Charles Dickens on the *Morning Chronicle*, and sub-edited the *Sunday Times* under S. Kemble Chapman. He reported the first University boat-race, and was one of the earliest police-court reporters. On June 8, aged 84, **Francis Bedford**, distinguished as a bookbinder of artistic merit. On June 8, at Portici, aged 59, **Alexander Castellani**. He took an active part in the revolutionary movement in

Rome in 1848. Deeply implicated in the conspiracy of 1852, he was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, but, successfully feigning madness, was liberated and sent out of the Pontifical States. From that time he devoted himself to antiquarian pursuits, and chiefly to making collections, in which he dealt largely. His knowledge of these matters was profound, and his opinions carried the weight of undoubted authority. In politics he was an extreme Republican, and was president of the Society of the Rights of Man. On June 18, at Berlin, aged 65, **Julius Hoppe**. One of the most influential members of the Central Committee of the Progressist party, he had been early attracted to the study of political questions, and was expelled from Berlin for his share in the events of 1848. On June 24, **Sir James Cochrane, K.B.**, son of Thomas Cochrane, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Nova Scotia, admitted to the Inner Temple 1818, called to the Bar 1829, appointed Chief Justice of Gibraltar in 1841, a post he held for thirty-six years, retiring in 1877. On June 26, at Glenesk, Aberdeenshire, aged 74, **Captain Farquhar**. A Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, he was for eleven years surgeon to the British Consulate at Alexandria, where he organised an hospital for the garrison for Mehemet Ali, from whom he received the title of Bey. During the Crimean War Captain Farquhar organized the hospitals at Balaclava and Sinope, and was present at the fall of Sebastopol. In the later years of his life he was a Captain of the Royal Aberdeenshire Highlanders. On June 28, aged 47, **Henry Frederick Turle**, son of the well-known organist of Westminster Abbey, and editor of *Notes and Queries*. On June 28, at Berlin, aged 98, **Baron John Henry Schröder**. So early as the battle of Leipsic he was already chief of the banking house afterwards well known in Hamburg, London, and Liverpool. His benevolence was equal to his great wealth, and he was called the German Peabody. On June 28, at Florence, **De Fabris**, a distinguished Italian architect, who had just completed the new front to the Cathedral in Florence.

## JULY.

**The Duke of Marlborough, K.G.**  
—John Winston Spencer-Churchill, seventh Duke of Marlborough, Marquess of Blandford, Dorset, Earl of Sunderland, and of Marlborough, Wilts, Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, Warwickshire, and Churchill of Sandridge, Herts, in the peerage of England, K.G., and Prince of Mindelheim, in Suabia, of the Holy Roman Empire, was born at Garboldisham-hall, Norfolk, on June 2, 1822. He was the eldest son of George, sixth Duke, by marriage with Lady Jane Stewart, eldest daughter of George, eighth Earl of Galloway. He was educated at Eton, where he had among his schoolfellows the future Dukes of Buckingham and Beaufort, and Lords Harewood, Nelson, and Kimberley. From Eton he went to Oriel College, Oxford. As Marquess of Blandford he sat in the House of Commons, as the successor of Sir Frederick Thesiger in the representation of Woodstock, from April 1844 till April 1845, when he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, "in consequence of having supported Sir Robert Peel's Free Trade measures without the concurrence of the Duke of Marlborough, whose in-

fluence at Woodstock was paramount." He was, however, again returned for that constituency, without opposition, at the general election in 1847. He stood an unsuccessful contest for Middlesex in 1852, but took his seat for Woodstock, and retained it till his accession to the family honours on the death of his father, in July 1857.

The Duke held a prominent position in more than one Conservative Cabinet, but perhaps his name will be held longest in remembrance as the author of the Act which he helped to pass as Lord Blandford, and which bears his name, for the purpose of strengthening the Established Church in our large towns by the subdivision of extensive parishes and the erection of smaller vicarages or incumbencies. In 1866 he was appointed Lord Steward of her Majesty's Household, and in March of the following year he took office as Lord President of the Council in Mr. Disraeli's Administration. In 1874 he was offered but declined the Viceroyalty of Ireland. In December 1876, however, he succeeded the Duke of Abercorn as Lord Lieutenant, which post he filled with distinction and ability down to

the resignation of Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry in 1880. It was to the Duke of Marlborough that Lord Beaconsfield addressed the famous letter in which he announced the dissolution of the last Parliament, and appealed to the constituencies to give him a fresh lease of power. In 1843 he was appointed a Lieutenant in the 1st Oxfordshire Yeomanry, and in 1857 he succeeded his father as Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire. The Duke married in 1843 Lady Frances Anne Emily Vane, eldest daughter of Charles William, third Marquess of Londonderry, by whom he left surviving issue two sons and six daughters. His death, caused by angina pectoris, was quite sudden and unexpected. He had gone to bed in apparently good health, but his valet, on entering his room the following morning (July 5), found him lying dead upon the floor.

**The Dean of Exeter.** — Archibald Boyd was born in Londonderry, and educated in that city. He entered at Trinity College, Dublin, graduated B.A. in 1825; M.A. in 1832; B.D. and D.D. in 1868; was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Derry in 1828, and Priest by the Bishop of Raphoe in 1829; he was Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Cheltenham, from 1842 to 1859, and Vicar of Paddington from 1859 to 1867; from 1857 to 1867 he was an Hon. Canon of Gloucester Cathedral; in 1867, upon the resignation of the late Viscount Midleton, Canon Boyd was appointed by Lord Derby Dean of Exeter. He had at that time acquired a high reputation as a preacher and theologian, and his appointment was received with general satisfaction by the Evangelical party, of which he was one of the ablest leaders. He had been for nearly thirty years a voluminous author on religious and theological subjects, some of his works being so highly esteemed as to rank as textbooks in the lists supplied by bishops' examining chaplains; but his literary activity, to a great extent, ceased upon his attaining his new dignity. He was principal opponent of the reredos, the erection of which in Exeter cathedral gave rise to so much litigation. Amongst the work done by the Dean outside the Church was the clearing out of Bonville's almshouses in Catherine-street, Exeter, and the transfer of the inmates to new houses, erected by his wife, near St. Matthew's Church, Newtown. He died at the Deanery, on July 11, in his 88th year.

**E. B. Eastwick, C.B.** — Edward Backhouse Eastwick, C.B., the distinguished Oriental scholar, who died at Ventnor on the 16th inst., was born in 1814, and was educated at Charterhouse and at Balliol College, Oxford. In 1836 he went to Bombay as a cadet of infantry, where he at once devoted himself to the study of Oriental languages, and in a few years passed examinations in Hindustani, Maráthi, Persian, Gujaráti, and Kanarese, obtaining the rewards for high proficiency. He served a short time in the political department in Kattywar, and in Upper Scinde. In 1843 he translated the Persian "Kessabi Sanján," or "History of the Arrival of the Parsees in India," also "The Zertusht Námád," or "Life of Zoroaster." He published a "Sindhi Vocabulary," and various papers in the "Transactions of the Bombay Asiatic Society." His health failing, he took up his residence at Frankfort, where he acquired a thorough knowledge of the German language, and translated Schiller's "Revolt of the Netherlands" and Bopp's "Comparative Grammar." In 1845 Mr. Eastwick was appointed professor of Hindustani, at Haileybury. Two years later he published a Hindustani Grammar, and in subsequent years a new edition of the "Gulistán" and a translation of the same work in prose and verse; also translations of the "Presu Sagár," of the "Baghuo Bahar," and of the "Anwari Suhaili." In 1851 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1857 and 1858 he edited "The Autobiography of Lútfullah," and wrote various articles in the 8th edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" on Oude, Persia, the Punjab, &c. He also edited for the Bible Society the Book of Genesis in the Dakhani language. In 1859 he was appointed to the political department in the Indian Office. In 1860 he was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, and also made Secretary of Legation at the Court of Persia. He returned to England in 1863, in the same year publishing "The Journal of a Diplomat." In 1864 he went to Venezuela as Commissioner for settling a loan to that Government. In 1866 Lord Cranborne, the Secretary of State for India, nominated him his private secretary, and he obtained the civil companionship of the Bath. In 1867 he went again on a mission to Venezuela, and on his return, at the request of Charles Dickens, wrote in *All the Year Round* "Sketches of Life in a South American Republic." These papers were after-



wards republished in a separate volume. In 1868 he was elected member for Penrhyn and Falmouth, on the Conservative side, and sat in the House of Commons until 1874. In 1875 he received the degree of M.A., with the franchise, from the University of Oxford, "as a slight recognition of distinguished services." At various periods he wrote for Mr. Murray handbooks for Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and the Punjab. In 1878 he published the first volume of the "Kaisarnámah-i-Hind," "The Lay of the Empress," dedicated by permission to the Queen, the second volume of which appeared in 1882. He married, in 1847, Rosina, daughter of James Hunter, of Hafton, Argyllshire, leaving one son and six daughters.

**John Whyte-Melville**, of Benuochy and Strathkinness, Convener of the county of Fife, died at his estate, Mount Melville, near St. Andrews, on July 16, in the 87th year of his age, and for nearly 50 years had been closely associated with Fifeshire. Mr. Whyte-Melville was married to Lady Catherine, youngest daughter of the fifth Duke of Leeds, by whom he had a son and two daughters. Lady Catherine predeceased him in December 1878, her death being accelerated by the death of their son, the late Major Whyte-Melville, the distinguished novelist, who was killed in the hunting-field. Mr. Whyte-Melville was a keen golfer, and was the oldest member of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews, having joined the club in 1816. He occupied the captaincy of the club in 1823, and was captain-elect for the ensuing year. He also acted in the same capacity as deputy for the Prince of Wales. On the occasion of the visit of the Duke of Albany to St. Andrews as captain of the Royal and Ancient, Mr. Whyte-Melville entertained him as his guest. He was an enthusiastic Freemason, was Provincial Grand Master for Fife, and occupied the position of Grand Master for Scotland from 1864 to 1866. He was deputy-lieutenant of the county, and was assessor to the Duke of Argyll, Chancellor of St. Andrews University, and in that capacity had a seat in the University Court. In politics Mr. Whyte-Melville was a Conservative.

**General Sir Thomas Reed, G.C.B.**, Colonel of the 1st Battalion Essex (late 44th Regiment, died on July 24, at his residence, Baddesley Manor, Romsey, aged 86. He was a son of the late Mr. Thomas Reed, of Dublin, by his

marriage with Eliza, daughter of Colonel Sir Francis James Buchanan, and was born in Dublin, in 1796. He was educated at Sandhurst, and entered the Army in 1813. He served in the campaign of 1815, and was present at the battle of Waterloo. In 1846 he commanded a brigade of the Army of the Sutlej, and was wounded and had a horse killed under him at the battle of Ferozeshah. In 1857 he commanded and made the military disposition of the troops in the Punjab at the breaking out of the Mutiny, which resulted in the tranquillity of that province and constituting it the base of operations against Delhi. For these services he received the "entire approbation" of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and subsequently the acknowledgments of the Governor-General. He was an aide-de-camp to the Queen from 1841 to 1854, and in 1858 he was appointed Colonel of the 44th Regiment. He became a lieutenant-general in the Army in 1860 and general in 1868, and retired in 1877. He was nominated a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath in 1865, and promoted to Knight Grand Cross of that Order in 1875. Sir Thomas Reed married, in 1835, Elizabeth Jane, daughter of Mr. John Clayton, of Enfield Old-park, Middlesex.

**General Sir William Fenwick Williams, of Kars, G.C.B.**, died on July 26, at Garland's Hotel, Suffolk-street, Pall-mall. He was the second son of Thomas Williams, Commissary-General and Barrack-Master at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, by Maria, his wife, daughter of Captain Thomas Walker. The future general was born at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in December 1800. He was educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and entered the Royal Artillery as Second Lieutenant in 1825. He became a Lieutenant in 1827, and was promoted to the rank of Captain in 1840, from which year till 1843 he was employed in Turkey as British Commissioner at the conferences preceding the treaty signed at Erzeroum in 1847. In 1848 he was appointed British Commissioner for the settlement of the Turco-Persian boundary, and received the brevet rank of Colonel in that year for his military and diplomatic services. In 1852 he was nominated a Companion of the Order of the Bath (Civil Division). In 1854, while the British Army was at Varna, he was appointed British Commissioner with the Turkish forces, and in December of the following year he received the local rank of Brigadier-

General. He was granted a pension of 1,000*l.* a year for life, and received the honour of a Baronetcy, the Turkish Order of the Medjidie of the First Class, the freedom of the City of London and a sword, and the honorary degree of D.C.L. from Oxford University, for his gallant defence of Kars against the Russians in 1855. The story of the siege and of the services of General Williams and his "small band of heroes" is one that will always occupy a prominent place in the records of British valour. The principal episode of the siege was the battle of September 29, 1855, when Mouravieff's army was repulsed by the Turks and driven from the field. But reinforcements failed to arrive, and General Williams and his garrison, after suffering the direst privations of war, were compelled to capitulate on terms which reflected great honour on the magnanim-

ity of the Russian general. In 1856 he was nominated a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath (Military Division), and he was promoted to be a Knight Grand Cross of that Order in 1871. He was Commandant of the garrison at Woolwich from 1856 to 1859; was appointed to command the British forces in Canada in the latter year, and in 1865 was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Nova Scotia, a post which he held till 1869. From 1870 to 1876 he was Governor of Gibraltar. In 1881 he was appointed Constable of the Tower of London, but resigned shortly after. Sir William was appointed Colonel Commandant of the Royal Artillery in 1864. He became Major-General in 1855, Lieutenant-General in 1864, and full General in 1868. Sir William F. Williams sat in Parliament as member for Calne from 1856 till 1859.

During the month the following deaths also took place:—On July 4, aged 83, **John Baptist Purcell**, Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati; born and educated in Ireland, but early in life emigrated to America, where he distinguished himself by his zeal. On July 4, aged 66, **John W. Gooch Spicer**, of Spye Park, Wiltshire, some time a Captain in the 9th Lancers and 3rd Dragoon Guards. On July 5, at Forfar, aged 54, **Captain the Honourable John Carnegie, B.N., F.R.S.** The son of the late Sir James Carnegie, sixth baronet, he was raised to the rank of an Earl's son by royal warrant in 1855. He served throughout the Crimean War. On July 7, aged 75, **Rev. Joseph Baylee, D.D.**, Vicar of Shepscombe, Gloucestershire, a well-known champion of the Evangelical school, and for many years Principal of St. Aidan's Theological College, Birkenhead. On July 8, at Old Park, Chichester, aged 59, **Major-General Augustus Frederick Francis Lennox**, son of the late Lord John George Lennox. He entered the Royal Artillery, and served with distinction during the Crimean campaign. On July 9, at Worthing, aged 56, **Sir John Lucie Smith**, Chief Justice of Jamaica, and for some years Attorney-General of British Guiana. On July 9, aged 86, **Retired Commander Francis Harris, B.N.**; served as a midshipman on board the *Téméraire* at Trafalgar. On July 13, in London, aged 63, **John Bruce Norton**, for some years Advocate-General, and member of the Legislative Council of Madras; the author of "Norton's Law of Evidence," and was appointed the first Lecturer in Law to Indian students in the Temple. On July 14, aged 68, **Weston Cracroft Amcotts**, of Hackthorn Hall, Lincoln. The eldest son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Cracroft, of Hackthorn, he assumed the name of Amcotts by royal licence in 1855. Formerly in the Royal Dragoon Guards, from 1868 to 1874 he represented Mid-Lincolnshire in the Liberal interest. On July 14, at Vienna, aged 55, **Baron Heinrich Ferstel**, a correspondent of the Académie de Belgique and the Institut de France, a distinguished architect, to whom are due several public buildings in Vienna. On July 14, **Edward Calvert**, an artist and an illustrator of books. He had been a friend of Blake, whose designs exercised considerable influence over his own works. On July 15, aged 48, **Charles Heywood Stratton**, better known as Tom Thumb. On July 17, aged 79, **Rachel Crookshank, Lady Macaulay**, who was the widow of the Honourable Sir James Buchanan Macaulay, C.B., Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Canada West. On July 18, aged 61, **Sir Thomas Milles Riddell**, of Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire, third Baronet, formerly in the King's Dragoon Guards. On July 19, at Louth Hall, Co. Louth, aged 51, **Randall Percy Otway Plunkett**, thirteenth Baron Louth; succeeded to the title in his 17th year. On July 18, aged 54, **Rev. Alfred Theophilus Lee, LL.D., D.C.L.**, Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn. The author of several books, sermons, and pamphlets, and Secretary of the Church Defence Institution, he had held incumbencies in Hants and in Ireland, where he was Rural Dean of Antrim. On July 20, aged 72, **Rev. Thomas Rawdon Birks, M.A.**, Knightsbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University

of Cambridge. A voluminous author, and a popular preacher of the Evangelical school. On July 21, aged 27, **Richard Ridley Farrer**, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, eldest son of Mr. Henry Richard Farrer, of Green Hammerton Hall, Yorkshire. On July 21, at Brompton, aged 65, **Charles Vacher**, a successful and eminent water-colour artist. On July 22, aged 75, **Robert Hale Blayden-Hale**, of Alderley, Gloucestershire; represented West Gloucestershire from 1847 to 1857. On July 23, aged 55, **Major-General Patrick Robertson Ross, C.B.**, of Glenmoidart, Inverness-shire, son of the late Honourable Lord Robertson, a distinguished Scotch Judge. He assumed the name of Ross. He served in the Kaffir War of 1850-51, and throughout the Crimean Campaign. On July 23, in Sloane Street, aged 37, **Matilda Chaplin Ayrton**, wife of Professor W. E. Ayrton. She was, as Miss Chaplin, one of the first to take up the question of women's professional education. She studied at Edinburgh and in Paris, where she took her M.D. degree, and travelled in Asia and America, practising among her own sex. She was an artist, and the author of "Child Life in Japan" and other works. On July 25, at Brescia, aged 51, **Lieutenant-General Camillo Lombardini**, an Italian soldier and patriot; engaged in all the wars of Independence from 1848-49, and, after passing into the service of the King of Sardinia, served in the Crimean campaign. On July 26, aged 63, **Denis Maurice O'Connor, LL.D.**, of Clonalis, County Roscommon, son of the late O'Connor Don. He had represented the County of Sligo in Parliament as a Liberal Home Ruler since 1868. On July 26, aged 71, **Montgomery Blair**, of Maryland. Educated for the army, he resigned his commission, and devoted himself to the study of the law, and held successively various civil and judicial positions in Missouri. At first a Democrat, on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise he joined the Republicans, but ultimately rejoined the Democrats, and acted with them till his death. On July 28, aged 76, **Admiral Persano**, who commanded the Italian fleet in its disastrous engagement with the Austrians off Lissa, in 1866. On July 28, at Ischia (killed in the earthquake), aged 52, **John Philip Green**, formerly one of the Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay. On July 28, at Tanbuff, aged 35, **Prince Alexis Isretsteff**, for some time Russian Consul-General at Philippopolis. When Secretary of the Embassy at Constantinople he had taken an active part, together with the American Consul, Mr. Schuyler, in investigating "the Bulgarian Atrocities." After the declaration of war against Turkey he served in the ranks of the invading Russian army as a volunteer.

## AUGUST.

**Robert Moffat, D.D.**—Robert Moffat was born on December 21, 1796, at Ormiston, East Lothian. His childhood was spent in the neighbourhood of the Great Carron Ironworks, where his father was employed in the Customs. He first tried the sea, but soon was apprenticed to a gardener. The elder Moffat removed to Inverkeithing, and the boy was employed in the gardens of Lord Moray. Subsequently he went to a situation in Manchester, where he became a member of Grosvenor Street Chapel. It was at a missionary meeting at Warrington in 1815 that he first became inspired with the desire to become a missionary. He sought out the speaker whose words had roused his enthusiasm, and his aspirations were without much difficulty realised. His parents' consent having been obtained, he was accepted as a missionary by the London Missionary Society, and—no long theological training being then deemed necessary for a missionary—he was

ordained at Surrey Chapel, October 13, 1816, with John Williams, the "Martyr of Erromango," and seven others. He was at first destined for South Seas work, in which Williams afterwards lost his life, but his destination was changed, and on October 31 in that year he sailed for Cape Town, whence, after a short delay, he proceeded to Africanders Kraal. In 1818 he made a long exploratory tour in the Damara country. In September 1818 he left Africanders Kraal for Griqua Town, afterwards visiting Lattakoo with Mr. Anderson, and in 1819, at Cape Town, he married Miss Mary Smith, a lady a few months older than himself. He left that place again in 1820 for Kuruman and Griqua Town, his wife participating in his labours. In 1823 he returned to Cape Town on account of the state of Mrs. Moffat's health, but returned to Kuruman in the following year. He made frequent journeys to Cape Town, but for the succeeding twenty years he con-

tinued his labours among the Bechuanas and Kurumans, translating St. Luke's Gospel and other portions of the Holy Scriptures into Bechuana. He returned to Cape Town in 1858 to meet the new mission arriving from England, but left again for Kuruman in 1859. He had several daughters, one of whom was married to David Livingstone. Another of his sons-in-law was M. Fridaux, a French missionary, who met with so tragic a fate. Dr. Moffat was despatched to Africa under the auspices of the London Missionary Society; but he also laboured on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society during the twenty-three years which he spent in that country. His name appears in the reports of the latter society for almost every year since his first departure for Africa, and in 1882 he was made a vice-president of the society for the valuable services which he had rendered. He returned to England in 1870, and did not again visit Africa. Mrs. Moffat died in London on the 10th of January following, the change of climate not having conferred on her the benefit that was anticipated. In 1872 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on Dr. Moffat by the University of Edinburgh, and in 1873 a testimonial, amounting to 5,800*l.*, was presented to him as a mark of the public appreciation of his labours. A testimonial not less gratifying to him was the foundation of the Moffat Institute at Shosung, for the training of native pastors among the Bechuanas. On attaining his 80th year he received a deputation from the congregational ministers of London, congratulating him on having reached that advanced age, and on having been engaged in missionary work for nearly sixty years. Some years before his death he retired to a quiet cottage at Hildenborough, near Tunbridge Wells, his main pursuit being the completion of a translation into Bechuana of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Attacks of sleeplessness, with which he had been troubled during the later years of his life in South Africa, gradually became more frequent, and his health finally gave way, and on the 9th inst. he died, at the advanced age of 86, in the presence of his two daughters, Mrs. Price and Mrs. Vavasour.

**The Comte de Chambord (Henri-Ging).** Henri Charles Ferdinand Marie Dieudonné d'Artois, Comte de Chambord and Duc de Bordeaux, head of the elder branch of the Bourbons, was born seven months after his father's death, in the Tuileries, on September 29, 1820. "The

child of miracle" was baptised with water specially brought from the Jordan by Chateaubriand. The castle and estate of Chambord, from which he took the title he assumed in exile, was purchased by a public subscription and presented to him while still in the cradle. His father, the Duc de Berri, having been assassinated seven months before his birth, he was left very much to the care of his mother, the Duchess de Berri, a woman of strong character, and sister of Queen Christina of Spain. After the death of his granduncle, Louis XVIII., his grandfather, Charles X., came to the throne in 1824. Six years afterwards the ordinances of Polignac precipitated the revolution which brought the reign of the elder Bourbons to an abrupt conclusion. Charles X. abdicated in favour of his little grandson. Louis Philippe, however, obtained the crown, and the "little grandson," no less than his royal grandfather, had to seek safety in exile. The Duchess de Berri and her son, with Charles X., fled to Cherbourg, whence they took ship to Weymouth. For the next fifteen years the young Prince flitted hither and thither with the unrest of an exile, from England to Holyrood in Scotland, thence to Prague, where he remained for more than three years. After leaving Bohemia the royal family settled in Illyria, where Charles X. died. His grandson continued his studies, travelling through England, Germany, and Italy. French influence led to his expulsion from Rome, where he was studying art. Leaving Italy he came to London. Here he held a court in Belgrave Square, and soon afterwards, in 1845, on the death of the Duc d'Angoulême, he launched a manifesto, the first of many such, in which he set forth his own claims to the throne of France. Louis Philippe took no notice of this effusion, and its author shortly afterwards left England for Frohsdorf, where he married the eldest daughter of the Duke of Modena, a lady two years older than himself, by whom he had no offspring. After his marriage until the fall of the Empire, little or nothing was heard of the Comte de Chambord. He spent his time in reading and studying, taking recreation in hunting, of which he was passionately fond. An accomplished linguist, who wrote and spoke most modern languages, he devoted himself principally to the study of social questions. Bismarck was said to have declared on one occasion that on that subject no statesman alive was better informed than the exile at Frohsdorf. His life at his château was very

regular. Rising at five o'clock in the morning he spent the first three hours in visiting his stables, which were splendidly appointed, and in strolling through the park. From eight to ten he despatched his correspondence and read the papers. At ten he breakfasted; after breakfast he retired to his study, where he also received his visitors. In the evening he dined with his guests, and at ten he retired to rest. At Frohsdorf, surrounded by his devoted followers, he maintained a mockery of a Court. To those who surrounded him and to the few scattered Legitimists of France he was known as "the King," but to the great majority of Frenchmen he became little better than a shadowy, mythical figure, whose very existence was well-nigh forgotten. The downfall of the second Empire seemed to leave the field open to all competitors. After Sedan, on October 9, 1870, the Count addressed from the Swiss frontier a proclamation to France calling upon the people to rally "to the true national government, having right as its foundation and honesty as its principle," and promising in return the expulsion of the foreigner and the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the country. On January 7, 1871, he addressed a proclamation to all the Governments of Europe in protest against the bombardment of Paris; and on May 8 he issued a manifesto with the view of dispelling the popular prejudices against the "traditional monarchy." It was not till July 5, 1871, that he assumed in a public document the title of King. The long-entertained expectations of a fusion between the Legitimists and the Orleanists were delayed from time to time by the inopportune declarations and manifestoes of the Comte de Chambord; and in 1871 he withdrew into exile to Lucerne in order not to give by his presence in France new pretexts for popular agitations. After the Commune he issued a manifesto to the nation, in which he declared his readiness to serve his country as her monarch, and concluded by declaring "the word rests with France, the time with God." The word was never spoken, the time never came. In the following year, when the repeal of the laws of exile enabled him to return to France, he issued another manifesto, in which he expressed the utmost confidence in his early restoration to the throne; but one sacrifice he refused to make—the substitution of the tricolour for the white flag. At length, however, on August 5, 1873, the long-deferred fusion was ac-

complished: the Comte de Paris had an interview with the Comte de Chambord at Frohsdorf, and did homage to him as the head of the Royal House of France. The hopes of a restoration of the monarchy had at all times been dashed by the reactionary opinions that the Count persistently expressed. He never receded from his declaration of October 27, 1873: My personality is nothing; my principle is everything. France will see the end of her trials when she is willing to understand this. I am a necessary pilot—the only one capable of guiding the ship to port, because I have for that a mission of authority." Since that time comparatively little was heard of the Comte de Chambord, save when occasional discussions were raised by his followers as to the precise extent to which their royal master was prepared to have given way to the desires of the people for a popular government, or when a letter from Frohsdorf appeared in one or other of the Royalist journals, expressing his views upon the incidents of the day. At the end of June he was taken ill, and at the beginning of July his life was despaired of. Prayers were offered for his recovery by the Royalists throughout France, and, contrary to almost universal expectation, it seemed at one time as if he would recover. The Comte de Paris paid a visit to the sick bed of the Comte de Chambord, and renewed at that solemn hour his allegiance to the representative of the principle of hereditary monarchy, of which, by the death of his cousin on August 24, he became the representative; but private jealousies or intrigue prevented his appearing at the funeral, in consequence of the post of honour having been assigned to a foreigner, the Comte de Bardi. The French Legitimists, however, as a body, endorsed the action of the head of the Monarchical party.

**Sir Francis Savage Reilly, K.C.M.G., Q.C.**, who died on August 27 at Bourne-mouth, was a son of the late Mr. James Miles Reilly, of the Irish Bar, by Emily Montgomery, his wife, and was born at Dublin in February 1825. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he obtained the Foundation Scholarship and other honours, and he was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn in Easter term 1851, and practised for many years with considerable success as a Parliamentary draughtsman in Westminster, enjoying a large practice both in public and

private legislation. He acted as assessor to Lord Salisbury and Lord Cairns in the London Chatham and Dover Railway arbitration; to Lord Cairns in the Albert Life Assurance Company arbitration; and to Lord Westbury and Lord Romilly successively in the European Assurance Society arbitration. He was appointed counsel to the Speaker

of the House of Commons in 1883, and in the same year was nominated a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in recognition of legal services rendered to the Foreign and Colonial Departments. Sir Francis Reilly was made a Queen's Counsel the year before his death.

Also, on August 1, at Sundridge Park, aged 41, **Sir Edward Henry Scott**, of Ardvoirlic Castle, Inverness-shire, fifth baronet, and a banker in London.—On August 4, aged 64, **Sir John Rivett Carnae**, second baronet. He was formerly in the army, and represented Lynton in the Conservative interest from 1852 to 1860.—On August 4, at Venice, aged 94, **Filippo Pisani**, a veteran among the Carbonari before Mazzini commenced his operations; he took an active part in the Garibaldian movement.—On August 12, at Paris, aged 63, **Edward Dubufe**, a distinguished French painter.—On August 12, at Stockholm, aged 56, **Dr. T. F. Grafstrom**, a member of the Upper House of the Swedish Riksdag, and a poet of some note. He was Chief Chaplain to the King of Sweden, and pastor of St. Clara, Stockholm, with the title of Bishop. During a portion of his career he had lived in London as Chaplain to the Swedish and Norwegian Legation.—On August 13, at St. Petersburg, aged 83, **Archpriest Basil Bajanoz**, Chaplain to the Emperor and Empress of Russia, instructor in theology, and spiritual adviser in the Imperial family under three Emperors. He was the author of several theological works, and it is partly to him that Russia owes the translation of the Bible into excellent modern Russian.—On August 14, at Correen, Aberdeenshire, aged 60, **General William Gordon, L.B.**, of the 17th Foot, with which regiment he had served during the Crimean war with distinction.—On August 14, at Botzen in Tyrol, aged 68, **Baron von Wullerstorf-Urbain**, Vice-Admiral of the Austrian Navy, and a distinguished man of science. In recognition of his attainments he was appointed to command the *Norona* in her celebrated expedition round the world. On his return he held for a couple of years the position of Minister of Commerce.—On August 18, at Ince Hall, Liverpool, aged 51, **The Most Rev. Rodger Bede Vaughan**, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney.—On August 18, aged 81, **William Dindorf**, the celebrated Greek scholar and editor of the Greek Classics. Formerly a Professor in the University of Leipzig, he resigned his office in 1832 in order to pursue his studies.—On August 23, at Sidcup, Kent, aged 78, **Henry Hulse Berens**, for many years a director of the Bank of England.—On August 25, at Venice, aged 80, **Bawdon Brown**, appointed by the Public Record Office to calendar the state papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs preserved in the Archives of Venice and Northern Italy. He published five volumes of his calendar.—On August 25, at Baden, near Kama, aged 78, **Baron August von Koller**, for many years Austrian Minister resident at the Court of Hanover, and one of the most influential supporters of Austrian interests among the minor German States.—On August 28, in Hainaut, Belgium, aged 23, **Louise Lateau**, the Belgian fasting girl, to whom were attributed divers miraculous appearances and stigmata.—On August 28, at Rome, aged 84, **August Heinrich Riedel**, a well-known German painter, whose pictures found a ready sale among his compatriots visiting Rome, where he had lived for more than fifty years.—On August 28, at Petersfield, **Lieut.-Col. Ughtred Shuttleworth**, who served in the Crimean Campaign of 1854-55, and in the New Zealand war of 1864-66.—On August 30, at Farcham, Hants, aged 92, **Admiral Robert Patton**; he entered the Navy in 1804, and served as a midshipman on board the *Hellographos*, at the battle of Trafalgar.—On August 31, whilst travelling, aged 69, **Thomas Plant**, a meteorologist of Birmingham, widely known for his systematic study of the winds and weather. To his compilations much of the science required for preparing the daily weather chart is indebted.

## SEPTEMBER.

Ivan Turguénieff, the Russian novelist, died at Bougival, near Paris, on September 3, in his 65th year. He came of a noble and ancient family belonging to the southern provinces of Russia, and was himself born at Orel, November 9, 1818. His early education was given at Moscow, but in 1833 he entered the St. Petersburg University, and remained there as a student until 1838, when he went to Berlin to study metaphysics and the system of Hegel, by which he had been much attracted. On returning to St. Petersburg he entered the Russian Civil Service, and he was appointed to a post in the Home Office in 1842, and at once began to devote his leisure to literature. He soon became favourably known for several volumes of national poems and tales; but an essay on the dramatist and novelist Gogol (1852), in which he spoke with much freedom of the evils of Russian officialism, brought him into disgrace, and he was banished to his paternal estate. The decree of practical exile was not cancelled until shortly before the Russian war, this act of "grace" being due to the Grand Duke Alexander, the successor of Nicholas. From this time until his death, however, Turguénieff spent but little time in his native country; he had made troops of distinguished literary friends in Berlin and Paris, and his later life was passed alternately in Germany and France. His early works bore traces of his close study of the Russian people. Living quietly on his estate for some years, devoted to reading and shooting, and making occasional journeys and sporting tours through the interior, he had become familiar with the serfs, and greatly interested in their welfare. To the "Contemporary" ("Sovremenik"), a literary journal and review of Moscow, he contributed from 1846 to 1851 sketches of serf life, which were afterwards collected, together with other sketches, into a volume entitled "Memoirs of a Sportsman." This work had a very large circulation, and created an intense excitement throughout the whole of Russia. There was no sensationalism in Turguénieff's sketches; they were very natural yet striking pictures of Russian life and manners. But while they were a revelation of the national life, they furnished at the same time a strong argument against serfdom, much

as Mrs. Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" brought home to the world at large the horrors of slavery. This was achieved by simply showing what serfdom was, without exaggeration of statement or violence of rhetoric. It would be impossible, perhaps, to over-estimate the influence which was attained by this one book, and the Emperor Alexander declared that it was one of the first incitements to the decree which gave freedom to thirty millions of serfs. For some years after the publication of this volume Turguénieff's literary activity was shown in a number of short tales and dramas contributed to Russian periodicals as well as to the French "Revue des Deux Mondes." In 1856 appeared "A Host of Nobles," followed at short intervals by "The Evening Before" (1859) and "First Love" (1860). A more important work, with the title of "Fathers and Sons," published in 1861 in the columns of the "Russian Messenger," a Moscow serial, and shortly afterwards appearing in book form, was hailed by quite a tempest of adverse criticism. It was a picture of two generations of Russian life—the departing and the coming race—and described the change that had taken place of recent years in the thoughts and feelings of the educated classes of Russian society. It was in this work that the title of "Nihilist" was for the first time applied to the party of action in politics, and by them was subsequently chosen as their watchword; although at a later period the Government took up the word and applied it to all revolutionary tendencies. "Smoke," its immediate successor, which appeared in 1868, was chiefly occupied by descriptions of the changes in Russian life in progress at the time of its composition, and explaining the author's views respecting the future of Russia, and the relations it is likely to assume towards Western Europe. But by far the most important of these politico-social novels was "Virgin Soil," published in 1877, and translated almost immediately into English by the late Mr. Ashton Dilke. The work had a special interest from the fact that it dealt with those secret societies which play so important a part in Russian history, as well as from the almost prophetic tone it adopted with regard to the struggle between Russia and

Turkey—realised a year or two later. For many years he resided principally in Switzerland and France, although in later life there was no legal obstacle to his return to his own country. The bringing back of his body to St. Petersburg, to be interred in accordance with his own wish beside that of his friend and critic, Bellinsky, gave the police more uneasiness. Demonstrations were made along the road from the frontier to the capital wherever the coffin rested. Deputations from universities, corporations, and public bodies requested to take part in the funeral ceremonies; and fears of a public demonstration so gained upon the St. Petersburg police that precautions of the most exaggerated description were taken to repress any outburst of patriotic impatience. The Court and Government were credited with a desire to deprecate to the utmost the man who had done so much to awaken the national life, to expose the scandals by which it was weighed down, and to vindicate for Russia a place among the literature of Europe.

**Right Hon. Hugh Law**, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.—Hugh Law, a son of Mr. John Law, of Woodlawn, county Down, by marriage with Margaret, youngest daughter of Mr. Christopher Crawley, of Cullaville, county Armagh, was born in the year 1818. He was educated at the Royal School, Dungannon, and afterwards at Trinity College, Dublin, where he obtained a scholarship in 1837, his name appearing eighth in the list just below that of Dr. Salmon, the well-known mathematician and subsequent Regius Professor of Divinity. In 1878 he obtained a senior classical moderatorship, and graduated B.A. in 1839, at which point his University career closed, although at a later period he for some years held the post of Professor of English Law at the Queen's College, Galway. In 1840 he was called to the Irish Bar, but for actions solely in the Court of Chancery, where advocates are not brought prominently before the public, and, undistinguished by those powers of oratory not rare at the Irish Bar, he did not gain the same reputation as men of far less professional conceit. Moreover, unlike most Irish lawyers, he took no part in politics, and it was only in 1865, after he had been five years a Q.C., that he registered his name as a voter for the University. Up to this time he was generally supposed to be a Conservative, but since the beginning of the agitation against the Irish Esta-

blished Church he had been identified with the Liberal party. He married, in 1863, Helen, youngest daughter of William White, of Shrubs, county Dublin. To Mr. Law was entrusted the task of drafting the Irish Church Bill, and the comparative ease with which it has been interpreted and worked bears testimony to the technical skill and legal knowledge of its framer. Even those who were most bitterly opposed to the policy of the Bill, and were filled with resentment against all who assisted in procuring its enactment, felt constrained to pay the tribute of their admiration to the counsel who had drawn the measure so well. Mr. Law had not at that time appeared upon the surface of political life, and was known only as a lawyer, more sound than showy, whose business, except on circuit, was almost exclusively at the Chancery Bar. In 1870, after drafting the Land Act of that year, he was elected a bencher of the King's Inns, and in 1872, on the promotion of Mr. Richard Dowse, the then Attorney-General, to the Bench, was selected by the Liberal Government for the position of Solicitor-General, in the place of Mr. Pales, who became Attorney-General. He was not long in office, owing to the result of the elections of 1874, when he was returned for county Derry. In 1880, on the return of Mr. Gladstone to power, Mr. Pales was raised to the Bench as Lord Chief Baron, and Mr. Law became first law officer of the Crown. It fell to his lot in that capacity to conduct the prosecution of Mr. Parnell and others of the Land League leaders for conspiracy, but he displayed so much tact and moderation in the task as to escape altogether the popular odium which fell so heavily on those responsible for the maintenance of law and order. No one doubted the ability which he displayed in the general management of the trials, and the calm but clear, impressive, and forcible manner in which he presented the case to the Court. The proceedings were carried out without any hitch or flaw, though the evidence was complex and voluminous, requiring the utmost care and skill in the grouping and application of it. The jury disagreed, but the failure was in no respect due to the law officers engaged for the Crown. In 1881, on the retirement of Lord O'Hagan from the Lord Chancellorship, Mr. Law was appointed to the vacant office, and was at once acknowledged the fittest successor. His death, which occurred just after the conclusion of the



Trinity sittings, was quite unexpected. He had retired for the vacation to Rathmullen House, on the shores of Lough Swilly, where he was seized with inflammation of the lungs, which terminated fatally on the 10th, after a few days' illness.

**Hendrik Conscience**, the most popular of modern Flemish novelists, died at Brussels in the house attached to the Musée Wiertz (of which he was keeper), on September 10, aged 71. His father was a Frenchman, who early in the century had settled at Antwerp, and it was in that city that Henri (or Hendrik) Conscience was born, on December 3, 1811. When the revolution broke out in 1830, he enlisted in the Belgian army, and he then began to write a number of martial songs expressing the natural aspirations for independence. They were simple songs in the style of Beranger's and Desaugier's, some in French, some in Flemish; politics were treated in them from the peasant's and private soldier's point of view; and, set to catching tunes, several of which Conscience himself composed, they at once caught the people's fancy. At the close of the campaign in 1836, Conscience left the army, with the grade of sergeant-major, and was offered the alternative of entering business and ceasing to write, or else of shifting for himself without a franc to start with. He chose the life of freedom, and first found employment as a journeyman gardener, then as a village school-master, then as a clerk in a small counting-house. All this time he continued to write Flemish novels; but, as the reading public of Flanders was small, the sale of his works was not remunerative. In 1838, however, there arose in Belgium an anti-French league, which strove to make of Flemish the national language of the kingdom, and the leaguers resolved to circulate Conscience's books broadcast, and the son of a Frenchman was selected as the apostle of anti-French ideas. His first work, "The Year of Miracles," was a collection of stories about Flemish heroes like Braedel and de Konninck; and his "Lion of Flanders," published in 1838, related in glowing style the exploits of Robert de Bethune against the French King Philip the Fair. After this Conscience began to choose his subjects from contemporary life, and a succession of short tales suited to the popular understanding flowed from his untiring pen. "Evening Hours," "The Executioner's Child," "Rikketikke-

Tak," and "The Conscript," stories full of incident, portraying the trials of poor people, and devoid of any hard words or abstruse thoughts, were amongst the more popular, the natural simplicity of their language rendering them special favourites with the young and the less educated. Conscience's novels had a large sale, and the author's reputation reached such a point that he was engaged by the late King Leopold to teach the Flemish language to the royal children—that is, the present King, the Count of Flanders, and the Princess Charlotte, afterwards Empress of Mexico. From this time honours were showered upon the novelist. He received an appointment in the civil service, which was almost a sinecure, and possibly this sudden bettering of his circumstances contributed to slacken his faculties, for there was a marked deterioration of style and fancy in some of his subsequent works. He revived on losing his appointment through a change of Ministry, and his "Martyrdom of a Mother," "The Child-Stealer," and the "Blue House" may be reckoned as equal to his earlier works. In 1868 he was appointed keeper of the Musée Wiertz, a sinecure office, which provided him with pleasant quarters in a large garden, and there he passed the later years of his life. Decorations and distinctions were pressed upon him, some of which he refused, and a few weeks before his death his statue at Britwert was unveiled amid public rejoicing and with great pomp. The Antwerp Town Council voted him a public funeral, and headed a subscription for a national monument to be erected over his vault. A funeral service performed at Ixelles, the faubourg of Brussels, where Conscience lived, was attended by representatives of the royal family, the Ministry, and the principal Flemish Corporations. He left an only daughter, married to M. Anthéunis, a poet of some local celebrity.

**John Payne Collier**, an eminent man of letters, but especially distinguished as a Shakespearean critic, was born in London, 1789. His father, who had been of the circle of which Charles Lamb and S. T. Coleridge were the chiefs, had in later life been the publisher of the *Monthly Register*, and the proprietor of the *Literary Review*. At an early age young Collier was entered as a student at the Inner Temple, but he speedily gave up the study of the

law, and became a Parliamentary reporter on the staff of the *Morning Chronicle*, to which he contributed literary essays and reviews, and soon afterwards was appointed editor of the *Evening Chronicle*. In 1816 he, however, gave up all other work to devote himself to the literature of the English drama of the Elizabethan period. Not only in the *Chronicle* and his father's *Literary Review*, but in the *Edinburgh Magazine* also, by means of frequent contributions, he drew the attention of scholars, and eventually of general readers as well, to a group of dramatists who were but little known and studied, with the single exception of Shakespeare himself, and possibly Ben Jonson, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher. Their works he read and studied and got by heart; and he resolved to take part in the pleasant labour of dragging them out of their undeserved obscurity. He was, perhaps, the most successful seconder of Charles Lamb and Hazlitt in reviving a study of the works of the Elizabethan writers, whom he rendered at once familiar to and popular with the public by his first important publication, "The Poetical Decameron," which consisted of dialogues and conversations on the subject of their writings—the Helicon, in fact, from which Keats, Barry Cornwall, and Tennyson derived much of their inspiration. He next brought out a new edition of "Dodsley's Old Plays," to which he added six other plays of high merit which had not been included in previous issues of the work, following it up with a supplemental volume containing five or six other Elizabethan plays which had most undeservedly been consigned to oblivion. He next ventured on a more important, because a more original, work—"The History of Dramatic Poetry." This largely extended his literary reputation, and at once gave him a foremost place among the writers of the time, and opened up to him the literary treasures of Lord Ellesmere (then known as Lord Francis Egerton) and the Duke of Devonshire; the latter nobleman appointing him his librarian. With free access to these two valuable libraries, he compiled and published his "Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue," a manual well known to every lover and collector of old English books. But it was by a further elucidation of the life of Shakespeare that he desired to make himself known, and for such a work he found abundant material in the two storehouses mentioned, and

in other libraries, public and private. His industry in this field of labour was shown by his publication of "New Facts regarding the Life of Shakespeare," and by two supplementary works entitled "Further Particulars" on the same subject. He took an active part in the foundation of the Camden and the Shakespeare Societies, being an officer and a member of the Council of both those bodies, and to one of them acting as treasurer. For these associations he also edited several valuable works, all more or less directly bearing upon his favourite subject and era; during this time working hard on his own account as well, for he spent twenty of the best years of his life in gleaning materials for his new "Life of Shakespeare" (1842-44), which he published in 1857, uniform with his edition of Shakespeare's plays. Many of Mr. Collier's emendations and some of the plays which he edited were attacked as worthless figments; but he outlived most of his assailants, and also the memory of their attacks. His discovery of a second folio of Shakespeare (1632), in a parcel of books purchased at Mr. Rodd's, Great Newport Street, with what he maintained to be contemporary marginal notes, it will be remembered produced a great sensation, not only in this country but also in America and in Germany, and much controversy arose as to the merits and worth of the textual corrections based upon it. Mr. Collier, while he published them (1852), expressed himself as doubtful about some and even opposed to others, though he thought that in their bulk they were such as to claim a place in every future reprint of Shakespeare's dramatic works, whilst Sir Frederick Madden and other experts of the British Museum, as well as Dr. Ingloby, condemned the marginal corrections in the volume as spurious imitations of ancient handwriting. The controversy on the subject was chiefly carried on through the medium of the *Times* newspaper, the files of which, for 1859 and 1860, bore testimony to the extent of the arguments adduced by the rival critics. Some years previously Mr. Collier had been chosen to act as secretary to the Royal Commission appointed by Sir Robert Peel to inquire into and report upon the British Museum, and in this capacity he proposed and projected a new catalogue, which, however, was not carried out. Not long afterwards a Civil List pension of 100*l.* a year was conferred upon him in recognition of his services to English literature. In 1880

he was nominated a vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries, to whose Transactions he had long been a frequent contributor, and of which he lived to be nearly, if not quite, the senior member. Among Mr. Collier's other and more recent works may be mentioned his "Book of Roxburghe Ballads," "Shakespeare's Library," "Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company," and "Memoirs of the Principal Actors of the Plays of Shakespeare." To these must be added a variety of small publications on the first folio edition of Shakespeare and on other subjects connected with the Elizabethan drama, and three series of reprints of the scarce and scattered productions of our early poets and contemporary pamphleteers, including a collection of our old English poetical "Miscellanies" of the Tudor age. Mr. Collier spent the latter years of his life in the retirement of a pleasant villa on the banks of the Thames at Maidenhead, where he devoted his leisure hours to the compilation of a large work of "Autobiographical Recollections," which he distributed among a large circle of literary friends. He died at Maidenhead on September 17, from simple decay of nature, the Nestor of English literature of the day.

**The Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D., F.R.S.**, was born at Great Yarmouth, August 26, 1799, of a family long connected with the eastern counties, his mother being a member of the Suffolk family of Rede. He took his degree of B.A. at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1823, and was ordained by Bishop Bathurst, and for a short time was second master, under Dr. Valpy, at Norwich Grammar School. With the exception of a short period, during which he was persuaded to hold the vicarage of Hughenden by Mr. Norris, the predecessor of Lord Beaconsfield in the ownership of that estate, London was his home. He resigned the vicarage of Hughenden to become in 1829 minister of St. James, in the Hampstead Road, a chapel of ease to St. James, Piccadilly, of a very poor and neglected neighbourhood, and with it held the chaplaincy during 44 years of University College Hospital. In 1857 he was by the Bishop of London (Dr. Tait) collated to the rectory of St. Mary Somerset with St. Mary Mounthaw, in the City of London, with which, on the demolition of the parish church under the Act for the union of bene-

lices, the thinly peopled parishes of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey with St. Nicholas Olave, and St. Benet with St. Peter, were successively united. As a clergyman he was always a moderate Churchman, inclining to the Evangelical party, and his sermons, which were extempore, attracted large congregations. In politics he took no part except on the occasion of the Crimean war, into which he considered the nation had been drawn unawares; but from his youth throughout his long life he devoted himself to literary pursuits. He won recognition very early as a poet. His first poem, "The Wanderers," was published when he was 17; his latest poems, "Jesus," with a reprint of "The Guardian Angel," and "The Long Railway Journey," appeared in 1851-52. His historical publications, comprised the Histories of the Church and Reformation in "Lardner's Cyclopædia," a continuation of Milner's "Church History," a "History of the Universal Church," and "The History of Chivalry and the Crusades," praised by Professor Wilson (Christopher North). The "Lives of the Italian Poets," published in 1831, and reprinted in 1860, and a novel, "Near the Cloisters," which appeared in 1868, describing provincial life in the early part of the century from the author's own experience. Other works by him, volumes of sermons, translations from German, editions of English classics, and magazine articles, together with Biblical and Liturgical annotations appeared at short intervals. When Mr. Silk Buckingham founded the *Athenæum* in 1828, he was its first working editor, and he wrote its first article. He continued to conduct it until it became the property of Mr. Sterling and Mr. F. D. Maurice, from whom it soon passed to his friend Mr. Dilke, Sir Charles Dilke's grandfather. Dr. Stebbing was a member of various learned bodies—among others, of the Royal Society, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1842, in acknowledgment of his literary distinction. He enjoyed the friendship of a multitude of persons of high rank in letters, art, and science, including Coleridge, Sir Walter Scott, Southey, Thomas Campbell, and Charles Dickens, and the once famous and ill-fated "L.E.L.," and Thomas Moore. He was intimate with most of the great surgeons and physicians of his time from Liston to Sir William Jenner, with Barham, the author of the "Ingoldsby Legends," Hugh James Rose and Croly, with John Martin the painter, George

Cruikshank, the Roscoes, and Sir Charles Wheatstone. He kept all his faculties of mind unimpaired to the very last, and preached extempore with force and animation in his City pulpit

within three months of his death. He married Miss Mary Griffin, of Norwich, in 1824, who died in February 1882, shortly before the close of her 77th year.

During the month, the deaths of the following also occurred:—On September 1, at Linton Park, Kent, aged 38, **Julia, Viscountess Holmesdale**, last surviving child of the last Earl Cornwallis, and wife of Viscount Holmesdale, eldest son of Earl Amherst.—On September 1, in Belgium, aged 40, **Léonie, Lady Dormer**, wife of the 12th Lord Dormer, and the daughter of M. Fortamps, Senator of Belgium. She had been previously married to Count Alfred de Beuren.—On September 1, aged 56, **Colonel D. F. A. Colman**, grandson of the celebrated dramatist, George Colman the younger. He entered the army in 1843, and served throughout the Sutlej campaign of 1845-46.—On September 2, at Bexley Heath, Kent, aged 54, **Gromwell Fleetwood Varley, I.R.S. and M.I.C.E.**, son of the artist, Cornelius Varley; distinguished himself in the science of telegraphy by many discoveries and inventions.—On September 3, at Cambridge, aged 81, **Henry John Hayles Bond, M.D.**, for 21 years Regius Professor of Physic at the University of Cambridge. Owing to his judicious advocacy of the claims of Medical Science, the Natural Science Tripos was established.—On September 4, at Horncastle, aged 56, **Marwood**, the Hangman.—On September 5, at Stuttgart, aged 48, **Gerard Francis Gould, C.B.**; entered the Diplomatic Service in 1854, serving in Europe, Mexico, and South America.—On September 7, aged 66, **Dowager Countess of Orkney**, the daughter of the 3rd Lord Boston, and the widow of the 5th Earl of Orkney.—On September 7, aged 73, **George Cole**. A self-taught artist; in 1850 elected a member of the Society of British Artists; father of the Royal Academician, Vicat Cole.—On September 7, at St. Germain-en-Laye, aged 81, **Léon Halévy**, a distinguished French littérateur and dramatic writer, and author of a Life of his brother, F. Halévy, the composer. In early life M. Léon Halévy was joint Professor of Literature in the Polytechnic School, and for some years he held a post in the office of the Minister of Public Instruction attached to the Department of Historical Manuscripts.—On September 8, at Enghien, aged 71, **Paul Sirandin**, a well-known French dramatic author.—On September 8, aged 55, **Colonel Edward Thomas Shiffner**, son of the Rev. Sir George Shiffner, Bart., of Coombe Place, Sussex, in command of the 38th Regimental District, Chichester.—On September 8, at Southsea, aged 76, **Margaret, Dowager Lady Judkin Fitzgerald**, daughter of the late William Warner, of Kitwell, Worcestershire, and the widow of Sir John Judkin Fitzgerald, 2nd Bart.—On September 9, aged 66, at Moorland, Wiltshire, **Hugh Birley, M.P.** As the head of a firm of East India merchants, he went early in life to India. Afterwards he became a partner in the cotton-spinning firm of Birley and Co., and subsequently was a partner in the firm of Charles Macintosh and Co., india-rubber manufacturers. In 1868 he was elected as the Conservative member for Manchester, and sat for that place until his death.—On September 10, at St. John's, Newfoundland, aged 51, **Sir Henry FitzHardinge Berkeley Maxse, K.C.M.G.**, Governor of Newfoundland, son of James Maxse, of Effingham Hill, Surrey. He entered the army in 1849, and served in the Crimean campaign as A.D.C. to the Earl of Cardigan. In 1863 he was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Heligoland, and Governor in the succeeding year, and in 1881 was promoted to the Governorship of Newfoundland. He was the English translator of Prince Bismarck's Letters from 1844 to 1870.—On September 11, at Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park, aged 52, **Dutton Cook**. Originally intended to follow his father's profession as a solicitor, but, turning his attention to art and literature, he became known as the author of works of fiction, and still better as a dramatic critic.—On September 12, at Ealing, aged 72, **Admiral Sir Richard Collinson, K.C.B., F.R.G.S.**, son of the Rev. John Collinson, Rector of Boldon, and Canon of Durham. He served in China in 1841, distinguished himself as an Arctic explorer, and in 1875 was elected Deputy Master of the Trinity House.—On September 14, at Paris, aged 72, **Victor Lefranc**, a Life Senator, of Liberal principles; educated for the bar, he became, after the fall of the Empire, successively Minister of Commerce and of the Interior.—On September 15, aged 70, at Inverleithen, Perthshire, **Sir William Taylor Thomson, K.C.M.G., C.B.**, attaché at Teheran in 1837, and successively chargé d'affaires at Persia (1853-55) and in China (1858-72). He went to Persia in 1872 as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and retired in 1879.—On September 18, at Notting Hill,

ged 45, **J. Scot Henderson**, a well-known journalist and littérateur; he was originally a banker at Paisley, but, turning to literature, he edited various country papers, until he came to London in 1872, when he became a regular contributor to magazines and reviews on the systems of German philosophy, and cognate subjects.—On September 19, at Gipsy Hill, Norwood, aged 59, **J. B. Holman, M.D.**, Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets (retired). He served in two Arctic expeditions, and as Fleet surgeon of the flagships on the China, Mediterranean, and Home Stations.—On September 23, at Harmston Hall, Lincolnshire, aged 84, **Benjamin Hart Thorold**, a member of a family of Saxon or Scandinavian origin, claiming to have given sheriffs to Lincoln before the Norman Conquest.—On September 24, at Carlton House Terrace, aged 71, **Lilian Charlotte, Dowager Viscountess Milton**, daughter of the 3rd and last Earl of Liverpool: married, first the 1st Viscount Milton, and second, George Savile Foljambe, of Osberton Hall, Nottinghamshire.—On September 25, at Winwick Rectory, Northamptonshire, aged 74, **Rev. George Ayliffe Poole, M.A.**, the author of various historical works, and of a "History of Ecclesiastical Architecture." He was one of the most active of the early promoters of the revival of Gothic Architecture in the Church of England.—On September 26, at Berkhamsted House, Herts, aged 64, **Charles Somers Somers Cocks**, third Earl Somers, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1840; represented Reigate as a Conservative from 1841-47. Leaving only two daughters, the Earldom of Somers and Viscounty of Eastnor became extinct, but the barony (1784) and the baronetcy (1772) which he also enjoyed devolved upon a cousin, the descendant of the first Baron Somers.—On September 26, at Edinburgh, aged 74, **Rev. James Begg, D.D.**, a distinguished Scotch divine, who for 54 years of ministry had been connected with all the great movements of the Free Church; for many years he edited "The Bulwark" periodical.—On September 29, at Mechlin, aged 73, **Cardinal Deschamps**, Archbishop of Mechlin and Primate of Belgium. He began life as a journalist, taking an active part in the movement by which the independence of Belgium was gained. On its attainment in 1831 he commenced his theological studies, and entered the Order of the Redemptorists, and rapidly rose through the various grades of the priesthood and episcopacy. He took a leading part in the Ecumenical Council, as well as in the conclave for the election of Pope Leo XIII.—On September 29, at Geneva, aged 58, **Amédée Roget**, an historian, journalist, and politician. At the time of his death he was engaged in a detailed History of Geneva.

## OCTOBER.

**Right Rev. Augustus Short, D.D.**, was the third son of the late Mr. Charles Short, of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law, by his marriage with a daughter of Mr. Humphrey Millett, of Enys, Cornwall, and was born in 1803. He was educated at Westminster School, and at Christ Church, Oxford, of which he was successively a student, a tutor, and Censor, and where he took his Bachelor's degree in 1823, obtaining a first-class in the School of *Literæ Humaniores*. He was ordained Deacon in 1826 by the Bishop of Oxford, and was admitted into priest's orders in the following year. He held the vicarage of Ravenshorpe, Northamptonshire, from 1835 to 1847, and preached the Bampton Lectures before the University of Oxford in 1846. In 1833-34 he acted as one of the Public Examiners in Classics in the University of Oxford. He was consecrated the first Bishop of Adelaide on the foundation of that see in 1847,

and he resigned his bishopric in 1882. The Bishop, who was a moderate High Churchman of the old school, married in 1836 a daughter of the late Mr. John Philips, of Culham, Oxfordshire. He died at Eastbourne on October 5, aged 80.

**The Right Hon. Wm. Beresford** was the second son of the late Mr. Marcus Beresford, grandson of the first Earl of Tyrone, and nephew of the first Marquis of Waterford, by his marriage with Lady Frances Arabella Leeson, younger daughter of Joseph, first Earl of Milltown, and was born in 1797. He was educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, where he took his Bachelor's degree in 1819, and proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1824. Mr. Beresford was formerly a major in the Army, and served for 11 years in the 9th and in the 12th Lancers; he was also for some time a Groom of the Privy Chamber. In 1837

he was an unsuccessful candidate for the representation of Waterford, but in 1841 he was returned as member for Harwich, and he sat for that constituency till 1847, when he was elected for North Essex. He retained his seat for that constituency till 1865. From March to December 1852 Mr. Beresford held the post of Secretary at War, and he was sworn a member of the Privy Council on accepting that office. For many years before his death he held the sinecure office of Keeper of the Tennis Court at Hampton Court Palace. He married in 1833 Catharine, youngest daughter of the late Mr. George Robert Heneage, of Hainton Hall, Lincolnshire, and he died in Eccleston Square, on October 6, in his 88th year.

**The Marquis of Donegall, K.P., G.C.H., &c.**—George Hamilton Chester, third Marquis, who died at Brighton on October 20, was born in 1798, and educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He entered the Army, serving successively in the 18th and 7th Hussars, but after a short time he went into Parliament as Liberal member, sitting for Carrickfergus (1818-19), Belfast (1820-30), and Antrim (1830-37). He was the principal owner of the land on which the town of Belfast is built, and presented Ormeau Park, in which his residence formerly stood, to form as a public recreation ground, building for himself on Cave Hill a house, New Castle, which he never occupied. Since 1844 he never visited Belfast, residing for the most part in England; but he identified himself with his fellow-countrymen by accepting the Colonelcy of the London Irish Volunteer Rifles on the formation of the Corps, and retaining the post until his death. He was Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of County Antrim, Colonel of the Antrim Militia. He was twice married—(1) in 1822 to Lady Harriet Anne Butler, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Glengall, (2) in 1862 to Harriet, widow of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick Ashworth, K.C.B. He left no male issue.

**Rev. Charles Clayton** was born at Cambridge in 1813, and was sent as a boy to the Perse School, and thence to Caius College. His University course was a distinguished one. He was twice Browne's Medallist; and, taking his degree in 1836, was a wrangler and in the first class of the Classical Tripos. He was elected subsequently to a fellow-

ship and became tutor in his college—a position which he retained until he left the University in 1866, to become rector of Stanhope, Darlington. In 1851 he succeeded Carus as incumbent of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, an appointment of no great value, tenable with his College Fellowship, and so held by him until his removal to the more valuable preferment of Stanhope. In 1857 he was made examining chaplain to the Bishop of Ripon, and in 1864 became honorary Canon of Ripon. The rectory of Stanhope, which he received in the year following, on the presentation of the Bishop of Ripon, he retained during the remainder of his life. Clayton, as a college tutor, was entitled to more respect than actually fell to his share. His attainments as a scholar were respectable, but it was not for these that he was best known in the University or in the outside world. His real position was that of an inheritor of the Simeonite traditions. As incumbent of Holy Trinity, he succeeded to a place which Simeon and Carus had held before him, and it was their example that he followed and their work that he most heartily took in hand. He died on October 21, at his rectory, aged 70, having outlived nearly all his contemporaries who had at any time been leaders of the Evangelical School in the Church.

**Captain Mayne Reid**, the well-known novelist, was born in 1819, in the North of Ireland, and was originally intended for holy orders; but imbibing a love for adventure he suddenly left Europe, in 1838, for America. On reaching New Orleans he set out upon excursions up the Red River. For four or five years he was half-trader and half-trapper in the then unsettled land about the Missouri. In 1845 came the war with Mexico, and young Mayne Reid accepted a commission in the United States Army. Immense marches, under a burning sun, aimless skirmishes, indecisive battles, furious sieges that seemed to lead to nothing—this was the history of the Mexican war. The battle of Cherasusco, where Captain Mayne Reid led a charge of infantry, was the bloodiest struggle of the war, and may rank with the battles of the War of Secession, or of the war between Chili and Peru, now happily ended, for the ferocity with which it was fought. The attack on Chapultepec, which gave to the army of General Scott possession of the capital, was also a desperate fight, and in this

Captain Mayne Reid was selected to lead the forlorn hope, and after being severely wounded was mentioned for his courage in the General's despatches. It was among such scenes that he found the material for his subsequent career. It was not, however, till his return to this country that he began to write. At the close of the war he came to Europe, and at one moment thought of raising a band of volunteers to help in the Hungarian insurrection. But he arrived in Europe too late, and lost his chance of stemming the tide of Austrian victory. He came to London, and began to write stories, which at once met with favour. For some considerable time he prospered, and year after year brought out some work in the well-known manner, finding readers, and making a fair income by his books. His mind still harped on Mexico, and in peaceful Buckinghamshire he hankered after the adventures of the prairie. He rented a house from a sober Oxford college, and boldly called it "The Rancho." After a period of prosperity, however, misfortunes came upon him in 1866, and from that time onwards he seems to have had but little success. His invention failed him; and his later books had nothing like the spirit of his earlier ones. He resided at different periods in Buckinghamshire, the West of England, and in London, where he died at Maida Vale, on October 22, aged 65. Among his best-known works may be mentioned "The Scalp Hunters," and "The Rifle Rangers," in both of which Captain Mayne Reid details his experiences of prairie life and warlike adventure; "The Desert Home, or Family Robinson," "The Bush Boys, or Adventures in South Africa," "The White Chief," "The Wild Huntress," "The Maroon," "Ocean Waifs," "The Headless Horseman," "The Guerilla Chief," "The Castaways, a Story of Adventure in the Wilds of Borneo," "The White Squaw," "The Yellow Chief, a Romance of the Rocky Mountains," and "The Mountain Marriage, or the Bandolero."

**Lord Congleton.**—The Right Hon. John Vesey Parnell, Lord Congleton, of Congleton, Cheshire, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, and a baronet of Ireland, was the eldest son of Henry Brooke Parnell, first lord, by his mar-

riage with Lady Caroline Elizabeth Dawson, eldest daughter of John, first Earl of Portarlington. He was born in Baker Street, on June 16, 1805. He was educated first in France and afterwards at Edinburgh University, where he took a prize in Mathematics. His father, better known as Sir Henry Parnell, who was successively lord of the Irish Treasury, Secretary at War, and Paymaster of the Forces, under Whig Administrations, designed his son for the Army, but, finding the peculiar religious views his son had adopted rendered him unsuited for such a vocation, he gave up the idea. Lord Congleton, then Mr. J. Parnell, about the spring of 1830, started for Dublin in concert with some other of the religious community known as the Plymouth Brethren, or, as they prefer to be called, the "Brethren," and it is said that he himself fitted up by his own manual labour their first Meeting Room. Later in the year we find him setting off with Professor W. F. Newman, Dr. Cronin, whose sister he had married in 1831, and others, on a Mission to Bagdad. His wife succumbed to the hardships of their lot. His second marriage was a romantic episode in his life. An Armenian lady converted by their preaching found herself cast adrift by her family, and under the circumstances it was decided that one of the missionaries should make the lady his wife. Lord Congleton accepted the duty, and by general consent had no cause to regret the step he found himself called upon so unexpectedly to take. His father had been raised to the Peerage in 1841, but in the following year he put an end to his life in a fit of mental depression, and Mr. Parnell, the missionary of Bagdad, now became Lord Congleton. He continued up till his death, which took place in London on October 23, connected with the religious body which he had started in his youth, and spent most of his life in advancing, by travelling over the country on preaching tours. Although an enthusiast, he was a man of very gentle manners and retiring disposition; his great kindness made him much respected. At his funeral, which took place at Kensal Green Cemetery, more than 2,000 assembled to pay a last tribute of respect to his memory.

The following deaths took place during the month:—On October 1, at the Château de Guercy, in Seine et Marne, **The Marquis d'Harcourt**, formerly French Ambassador in London.—On October 5, at Blackheath, aged 62, **General Andrew Macqueen**, of the Bengal Staff Corps. He served with the Candahar

force under General Nott in 1840-42, and during the Indian Mutiny campaign.—On October 5, at Herrnhut, in Saxony, **Heinrich Augustus Jaschke**, a well-known philologist. Formerly a Moravian missionary in Thibet, he translated the Bible into Thibetan, and published a Thibetan lexicon in English and German.—On October 6, at Newhaven, near Edinburgh, **Robert Gavin, R.S.A.**, a Scotch artist who devoted himself almost exclusively to depicting Eastern subjects.—On October 8, at Sand Hutton, aged 80, **Sir James Walker**, first baronet, of Sand Hutton and Beverley Hall, Yorkshire, and Beachampton, Bucks, the son of the late Mr. James Walker, of Beverley.—In London, aged 91, **The Rt. Hon. Stephen Moore**, third Earl of Mount Cashell, the eldest member of the House of Peers, in which he had sat since 1826. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1812.—On October 11, at Brighton, aged 61, **Lady Adelaide Georgiana Fitz-Clarence**, daughter of the first Earl of Munster.—On October 11, at Barrogill Castle, Caithness-shire, aged 29, **Lady Fanny Georgiana Elizabeth Sinclair**, the daughter of the fourteenth Earl of Caithness.—On October 11, at Rio Janeiro, aged 85, **Senhor A. T. Limpo de Abreo**, Viscount of Abraete, a Senator and Councillor of State. He drew up the Ultimatum which in 1831 drove the Emperor Don Pedro to abdicate in favour of the present Sovereign.—On October 14, at Clevedon Court, Somerset, aged 64, **Sir Arthur Hallam Elton**, member for Bath (1857-59).—On October 19, at Whitwell Hall, Malton, aged 80, **Egerton Vernon Harcourt**, tenthson of the late Archbishop of York. After graduating at Oxford with high honours, he was called to the Bar, went the Northern Circuit, and was for some time Registrar for the Diocese of York.—On October 20, in London, aged 76, **Stephen Gaselee**, son of the late Sir Stephen Gaselee, some time Judge of Common Pleas. He was a Barrister of the Inner Temple, and appointed a Serjeant-at-law in 1840, and for a short time represented Portsmouth in the Liberal interest.—On October 20, at Trafalgar House, Lymington, aged 66, **George Inman**, the designer and builder of some of the best-known racing and other yachts, one of the earliest of which was the schooner yacht *Alarm*, built for Mr. Joseph Weld in 1831; his most recent the *Samena*, built in 1880 for Mr. Jameson.—On October 22, at Eibly Mills, aged 73, **Sir Samuel Stephens Marling**, of Stanley Park, Stroud, first baronet. He represented West Gloucestershire (1868-74), and Stroud (1875-80), in Parliament, as a Liberal.—On October 22, at Birmingham, aged 52, **John H. Chamberlain**, the architect of the Local Board Schools, the new wing of the Midland Institute, and many other public buildings in that town.—On October 22, at Frankfort-on-Maine, aged 49, **Albert Henschel**, well known throughout Germany for his numerous sketches.—On October 26, at Camfield Place, Herts, aged 81, **Edmund Potter, F.R.S.**, the head of the large firm of Manchester calico printers. He was the early and intimate friend of the late Richard Cobden, and an ardent supporter of the Liberal cause in Lancashire. In succession to Sir James Graham, he sat from 1871-74 as one of the Liberal members for Carlisle. The Manchester School of Art, the Royal Institution, the Athenæum, and Owens College owed their creation or success to his warm and generous support. On October 27, at Paris, aged 68, **M. Bréguet**, a distinguished electrician, who was also the head of the Paris house, famous for its chronometers, grandson of the famous Paris watchmaker, who died in 1823.—On October 23, at Zante, aged 98, **Count Demetrius Solomos, G.C.M.G.**, brother of the Greek poet, Dionysius Solomos, who died in 1857, and formerly the President of the Senate of the Ionian Islands. He retired to Zante after the cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece.—On October 24, at Pottaire, Penzance, aged 57, **Colonel Harry Reginald Salusbury Trelawny**, son of the late Sir William Trelawny, M.P., appointed 1871 Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the Royal Cornwall Rangers Militia, after a long and excited dispute with the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, who had nominated his brother, Colonel Edgcumbe, to the post.—On October 25, in Craven Street, Strand, aged 47, **Sir H. Holyoake-Goodricke**, the eldest son of the late Sir Francis Holyoake-Goodricke. He entered the army, and served with the 90th Light Infantry in the Crimean campaign; was severely wounded in the assault on the Redan. Subsequently he went through the Indian campaign of 1857-58, and retired as Major in 1871 on half-pay.—On October 28, at Rouen, aged 83, **Cardinal de Bonnechose**, Archbishop of Rouen. A Protestant by birth, and educated for the magistracy, he became a convert to Catholicism in 1830, and in 1834 he entered the priesthood. In 1847 he was chosen Bishop of Carcassonne, was translated to Eiveux in 1854, and to Rouen in 1858. In 1863 he was created a Cardinal, and consequently became a member of the French Senate, where he ardently defended the Pope's temporal power.—On October 30, in London, aged 83,



**General John Lawrenson**, Colonel of 13th Hussars. Towards the close of the Crimean campaign he succeeded Sir James Scarlett in the command of the British Cavalry in the East, a post which he held until the return of the army in 1856. On October 30, at Madrid, **General Cordova**, Marquis of Mandigorría, who commanded the Spanish expedition to Rome for the defence of the Pope, in 1848. At one time he had been minister with Narvaez, and a later date with Ruiz Zorilla.

## NOVEMBER.

**Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, Bart., C.B.**, who died in Paris on November 10, within a few days of completing his 55th year, was the elder son of Sir Theophilus Thomas Metcalfe (fourth Baronet), one time Resident at Delhi, and grandson of Lord Metcalfe, Governor-General of India, and one of Warren Hastings' captains. Theophilus John Metcalfe, born in 1828, was originally intended for the Army, but his career was subsequently changed to that of an Indian civilian; so that, after a short time spent at Addiscombe College, he was sent to Haileybury. In 1848 he left for India, and was forthwith ordered to Delhi, where his father was British Resident, and there he remained until the Mutiny broke out in 1856. On May 25, when the mutineers crossing the river brought the first news of the risings at Meerut, he was joint magistrate at Delhi. The rapidity with which the revolt spread left but short time for reflection, but Sir J. Metcalfe was able to take rapid but effectual measures for the preservation of the European residents, whom he succeeded in bringing in safety to Hansi, eighty miles off. He then started at once to join General Anson's force, where his special knowledge and capabilities were of immense use to the commander in keeping up relations with the native princes, stimulating the loyalty of the weak, and recalling the wavering to their allegiance. By the rebels, on the other hand, he was specially feared and hated, and a price was set upon his head, and on repeated occasions his intimate acquaintance with the district lying round Delhi enabled him to act as guide to Sir Henry Barnard's soldiers, and especially in General Nicholson's expedition to Nujáfghur. It was Metcalfe, also, who, in the first advance on Delhi, piloted the body of cavalry which was to fall upon the enemy's rear. On this and on many subsequent occasions throughout the siege he voluntarily endured many hardships and exposed himself to constant danger. When the city was at length stormed and the 52nd Regiment was advancing to occupy

the position assigned to it, Metcalfe, with two or three native followers, rushed forward under heavy fire, and, forcing his way into the Chaudree Choke—a principal street of Delhi—threw open the gates to the British troops.

The exertion and excitement of the campaign, however, had broken down his health, and, in spite of a prolonged stay in Europe, he found himself unable to resume work in India, and in 1864 formally resigned. After a long lapse of time his numerous public services were rewarded by the Companionship of the Bath. He was twice married: first, to Charlotte, daughter of Sir John Low, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., who died in 1855; and, secondly, to Katherine Hawkins, daughter of James Whitelaw Dempster, of Dunnichen, co. Forfar.

**Lord Overstone.**—Samuel Jones Loyd, first Baron Overstone, who died in Carlton Gardens on the 17th, was born on September 25, 1796. He was educated at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1817, having previously studied for a year under Blomfield, the future Bishop of London. He was the only son of the Rev. Lewis Loyd, who in 1793, having married Sarah, the only daughter of John Jones, a banker and manufacturer in Manchester, gave up his orders and accepted his father-in-law's offer of a partnership in his business. Shortly afterwards Mr. Loyd was despatched to London to establish a branch banking establishment there, under the style of the Manchester firm, and that was the origin of the famous house of Jones, Loyd, & Co., which was subsequently merged in the London and Westminster Bank. By his business ability, energy, and integrity Mr. Loyd soon brought together a strong connection, and on his retirement, in 1844, he was succeeded by his son, who had already won considerable distinction in political life. In 1819 he had been elected for the borough of Hythe, and sat for that constituency as a Liberal until 1826, and in 1829 he

married Harriet, the daughter of Ichabod Wright, of Mapperley Hall, Notts. In 1832 he was a candidate for Manchester, but was defeated, and never again sought to enter Parliament.

It was in the year 1833 that he was first examined before a Parliamentary Committee on the working of the Bank Act. Even then he was widely known as a leading financial authority, with decided convictions and very definite views. The length to which his examination was protracted, the searching and almost offensive cross-questioning to which he was subjected, show the importance attached to his evidence. As a banker he saw, or fancied that he saw, fatal blots in our national banking system. It had stood the strain in times of agitation, but with difficulty; he apprehended worse consequences in the future; and he had made up his mind that, if possible, it must be altered. In a preface to the republication of that evidence he wrote: "Bearing in mind the excitement of 1825, I expressed my opinion—first, against the multiplication of issues of paper money; secondly, that a single bank of issue was the best system; thirdly, as to the importance of a regular publication of accounts, including bullion."

In 1840 he was again examined before the Committee of the House of Commons which sat upon Banks of Issue. What he said then was chiefly the repetition or amplification of the views he had previously expressed on the subject. The excitement, panics, and disasters of 1837 and 1839 were then fresh in the public recollection, and the necessity for additional and more stringent protective measures had been very generally recognised. To Mr. Jones Loyd it appeared to be indispensable that fresh security must be found for always paying the bank notes in specie. It seemed essential that the privilege of issue must be detached from the business of banking or dealing in money. He dwelt upon the excessive and dangerous drains that had aggravated the periodical panics. He set forth at length what he held to be the safe principles for regulating and adjusting the circulation. Consequently, he advocated the separation of the departments of the Bank of England, and the adjustment of the fluctuation in notes to the fluctuation in metals, as indicated by regular bullion returns. As before, the opinions that were distasteful to so many were warmly disputed, and the tone of the examination

must often have been trying to his temper; but the passing of the Bank Act of 1844 must have given him satisfaction, since it seemed to embody his opinions and to be based on his most cherished principles. But in 1847 an important provision of that Act had been suspended, and a Committee was appointed in the following year to investigate the causes of commercial distress. Then Mr. Jones Loyd endeavoured to show that the disastrous incidents of 1817 were really no condemnation of the working of the Act. He argued that, on the contrary, the effectual protection of the bullion reserves through an almost unprecedented succession of troubles and convulsions was entirely attributable to the Act; that the difficulties had arisen out of insolvencies complicated by panic, and even more, perhaps, from an imperfect understanding of the practical working of the Act. And, meanwhile, in a succession of pamphlets he had been doing his best to enlighten the commercial public and to dissipate the prejudices which encouraged misapprehensions. In 1857, as it was competent either to repeal or revise the Bank Act, it was again subjected to the scrutiny of a Committee. His views on monetary and financial affairs had been expressed in a number of pamphlets which appeared at various times, the first of which, on the state of the currency, appeared as early as 1837. In addition to his own views on the subject, he collected a number of scarce and valuable tracts dealing with the National Debt, the Sinking Fund, currency, and commerce. Amongst the papers brought together in these volumes was one attributed to Raleigh, and others, with more probability, to Evelyn and Defoe.

Lord Overston took an active part with the Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard in defeating the decimal coinage scheme; while, with Sir G. Nicholls and Mr. Senior, he interested himself warmly in the Commission for Poor Law Reform. He was chairman of the Irish Famine Committee in 1847, and was one of the most influential promoters of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Yet with all these more serious avocations he found time to relax in lighter pursuits. Fond of art, he formed a very choice collection of pictures, chiefly of the Dutch school, which were purchased jointly with Sir Thomas Baring and Mr. Mildmay from the well-known Verstoff collection at the Hague. In 1850 he became a trustee of the National Gallery; he was one of the senators, of the University

of London, and a trustee of the Atheneum Club.

In 1850, also, he was raised to the peerage, and on more than one occasion subsequently was invited to accept office in successive Ministries. Although he declined to take an active part in public affairs, his advice in financial matters was freely given to those who sought it; and during Sir Charles Wood's long tenure of the Exchequer (1846-52) he was notoriously the adviser of some of the Chancellor's most important measures.

**Sir William Siemens.**—Charles William Siemens was born at Leuth, in Hanover, on April 4, 1823. He was educated at the Gymnasium at Lübeck, afterwards at the Polytechnic School at Magdeburg, and finally at the University of Göttingen. Here he studied under Wöhler and Himly. In 1842 he became a pupil in the engine works of Count Stolberg, and here he laid the foundation of his engineering knowledge—knowledge he afterwards turned to such good practical account. The fact that he was one of a family of inventors makes it rather difficult to say what was the precise personal share he had in the many inventions for which the world is indebted to the four gifted brothers—Werner, William, Carl, and Frederick. They all worked so harmoniously together—the idea suggested by one being taken up and elaborated by another—that it is hardly possible to attribute to each his own proper credit for their joint labour. The task, too, is rendered all the harder by the fact that each brother was always ready to attribute a successful invention to any of the family rather than to himself. It may, however, be said that in electrical discovery the two brothers William and Werner were principally associated, while the regenerative furnace is due not only to William but also to Frederick. It was in 1843 that William Siemens first came to England to introduce to the English public a joint invention of his own and his brother Werner in electro-gilding. With the aid of Mr. Elkington the patent was disposed of, and the following year William Siemens returned to this country with a new invention—"the chromometric governor": an apparatus which, though not very successful commercially, introduced him into the engineering world, and was really the cause of his settling in this country. The chief use of this apparatus, intended originally for steam engines, has

been found in its application to regulate the movement of the great transit instrument at Greenwich.

His studies in the dynamical theory of heat led him to pay special attention to methods of recovering the heat generally allowed to run waste in various engineering and manufacturing processes. The first application of these researches was in the regenerative steam engine which he set up in 1847 in the factory of Mr. Hicks, at Bolton. In this superheated steam was employed, but its use was attended with certain difficulties which have prevented the commercial introduction of the invention. The Society of Arts has the credit of being the first public body in England which recognised the value of the principle by awarding Mr. Siemens a gold medal in the year 1850 for his regenerative condenser. The direction in which he was then working was stated in a paper he read before the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1853 on the conversion of heat into mechanical effect, and gained for its author the Telford premium and medal of the institution.

In 1857 William Siemens, in connection with his younger brother and then pupil, Frederick, turned his attention to regenerative furnaces for metallurgic purposes. The regenerative gas furnace, as it is certainly the greatest invention due to the Siemenses, so is the one in which William Siemens is believed to have had the largest share. The first successful application of these furnaces was in 1861. The principle of the regenerative furnace is tolerably well known; it may suffice to say here that its main feature consists in an arrangement by which the waste heat of the products of combustion is utilised by being imparted to the air and to the gaseous fuel by which combustion is supported. This is effected by causing the products to pass through chambers in which the heat is taken up by masses of brickwork, and afterwards passing the in-coming currents of air and gas among the heated brickwork. The earlier applications of this principle to steel and glass making have been followed by its extension to many other industrial purposes, in which great heat is required, the powers of the furnace being only limited in practice by the nature of the materials of which it can be constructed.

The application of the furnace to the making of iron and steel naturally led the attention of its inventor to other improvements in the same manufacture.

In 1862 he endeavoured to reduce to practice the result of Réaumur's experiments in making steel by fusing malleable iron with cast steel. After some years experimenting the Siemens process of steel making was perfected, and a little later still the Siemens-Martin process. In the latter, scrap iron is melted in a bath of pig-iron on the hearth of the furnace; in the former, ore is reduced. The production of steel in this country under Sir William Siemens's processes was over 340,000 tons in 1881.

In 1859 Mr. C. W. Siemens became a naturalised subject of the Queen, and a year previously he had established, in conjunction with his brothers, the telegraphic works of Siemens, Halske, & Co. in London, he having, notwithstanding his attention to other work, devoted much time to the study of electrical science. From those works telegraphic cables have been shipped to all parts of the world; and Sir C. W. Siemens designed the *Faraday*, the best cable-carrying ship afloat, for the purpose of laying submarine cables. This ship was designed for the laying of the Direct United States Cable. His work in electric telegraphy would of itself have entitled him to no mean share of fame; but to this must be added his work in connection with the electric railway, for the invention and successful carrying out of which he was entitled to a large share of the credit. He was also largely identified with the transmission of power by means of electricity. At his own place near Red Hill he utilised a stream about a quarter of a mile from the house to turn a water-wheel, the power of which he transmitted by means of a wire and dynamo-electric machines, so as to use it to work chaff-cutters, washing machines, &c., and to supply light to the house. Here also he grew and ripened melons, &c., by means of electric light. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1862, and in the years 1869 and 1870 he served on its council; member of Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers, and of the British Association; a manager and vice-president of the Royal Institution; and had been president of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. He was also the first president of the Society of Telegraph Engineers, and in 1878 was re-elected. He was elected president of the Mechanical Section for the conferences held under the auspices of the Loan Exhibition, and gave a valuable inaugural address on "Measures." In

February 1877, after his recent visit to America, he was elected an honorary member of the American Philosophical Society; and in October of the same year was elected with Mr. Bessemer the first honorary members of the Gewerbe-Verein of Berlin. In 1871 he was brought into the Athenæum Club by the managing committee, and had since then served as a member of the same committee. He was also a member of the Philosophical and Royal Society Clubs. Dr. Siemens presented many scientific papers to various learned societies. In 1869 the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, *honoris causa*, was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford, and in 1874 he received the Royal Albert medal for his researches on heat and for his metallurgic processes. In 1875 he received the Bessemer medal of the Iron and Steel Institute. Dr. Siemens was appointed first a Commander and subsequently a Dignitario of the Brazilian Order of the Rose. He was the first constructor of an electric railway in Paris during the Exhibition; and was last engaged on the Portrush and Giant's Causeway Electric Railway in Ireland, which has lately been opened.

Some years before his death, Dr. Siemens endeavoured to obtain the sanction of Parliament to a scheme which would have gone far to render London a smokeless city. It was to construct gas furnaces in the depths of coal pits, and thence to convey the crude gas through pipes to the kitchens of our dwellings. There this gas should be burned with the coke conveyed from the pits and a perfect combustion obtained. The committee of the House of Lords, however, rejected the bill on the sufficient ground that if the plan were of such a profitable nature as was represented it would long ago have been worked by private enterprise. Contrivances based on modifications of the same principle were, however, exhibited at the Smoke Consuming Exhibition at South Kensington in 1882.

In April 1883 the Queen conferred upon Dr. Siemens the honour of knighthood, but before the close of his life he extended his researches into a new region of scientific investigation—viz. the conservation of solar energy. His last paper, read on November 5 to the Royal Society, was on this subject, in which he detailed his own researches on the various gases which lie between the earth and the sun, and their power to absorb and retain solar heat. This brought him letters from many eminent

correspondents connected with learned societies of various nations, and he was induced, by the interest it had created, to publish his paper. Returning home from this meeting he met with an accident in Park Lane, falling down in a state of apparent unconsciousness. No danger was at first anticipated, but symptoms of acute heart disease declared themselves, and he died, after much suffering, on November 18.

**Count de Lagrange.**—Comte Frédéric de Lagrange, the well-known stud-master and owner of Gladiateur, the winner of the Derby in 1865, died at Paris on November 22 of heart disease. He was born in 1815, his father and cousin being Generals, and the latter, who died in 1864, a Senator. He married a daughter of the Prince de Chimay, but had long been a widower. He possessed large estates and glass works in the Gers, and was Deputy for that department from 1849 till the fall of the Empire, after which he took no further part in political life. His first great success at Epsom was the Oaks in 1864, with Fille de l'Air, and on his second, the Derby in 1865, with Gladiateur, he was appointed Officer of the Legion of Honour. His stable was one of the largest and most important in France. Rumour says that his taste for sport was singularly developed by the late Lord Pembroke, who persuaded him to buy a horse called Fénélon, the first which carried the colours of the Comte de Lagrange at Chantilly. Afterwards he bought the entire stables of M. Alexandre Aumont, and among the lot was Monarque, the sire of some of the winners of more than one classic event. He was not satisfied with victories at home, and perhaps he remembered that he was a Waterloo man, having been born in the year 1815. At any rate he turned his attention to the English Turf. In 1858 he won the City and Suburban at Epsom, bringing home to France a hat-box filled with English bank-notes, astonishing the Custom-house authorities, who were curious to examine the "*quid pro quo* of Waterloo," as the Comte termed his winnings, when the officer pointed to the box and asked him what he had to declare. After the victory of Ventre St. Gris in the French Derby, the Comte de Lagrange went into partnership with Baron Nivière, with whom he remained until 1863, when a confederacy

or association was formed to found that truly international stable which produced Fille de l'Air, Gladiateur, and other great winners. The sums of money won by the famous Gladiateur were augmented by the bets made in his favour by the stable, and after the Comte had won the Gold Cup at Ascot in 1866 he received a most flattering ovation from his colleagues, when he resumed his seat in their midst at the Palais Bourbon. In 1869 the sum of 16,000*l.* was refused by the Comte de Lagrange for Gladiateur, who was sold at the outbreak of the war for 6,000*l.* The peasants of Dangu, where the Comte had his stud farm and training stables, behaved with much patriotism and fidelity during the war. Consul and some valuable mares were hidden away in the woods, and neither threats nor entreaties could prevail on any one to discover the hiding-places of mares or stallions.

In 1872 the Comte formed another association, which does not appear to have been successful, financially speaking, since after ten years' experiences the whole of the stud, including the stallions, brood mares, foals, and horses in training were put up to auction. The Americans and Germans vied with the Frenchmen in trying to secure some of the horses belonging to that international stud, of which the colours had been brilliantly represented in every country. The heavy expenses, amounting to upwards of 40,000*l.* per annum, had swallowed up all the profit, but even this result did not quench the ardour of the sportsman, sorely tried with gout and that heart disease which had been fatal to more than one of his race. He bought in several of the colts, among them Farfadet and Archiduc. His opinion as to their merits was amply verified, and it is said that the confidence shown in him by those who were willing to join him in forming a new confederacy induced him to bestow his attention on a stable likely to regain all that prestige which surrounded it in the day of Gladiateur. The Comte was to be seen at every large race meeting, and even when suffering from gout, which crippled his powers of locomotion, he might have been seen at Longchamps and Chantilly seated with some friends in his open barouche at the distance post, where the real struggle for home commenced.

Also, during the same month:—On November 1, at Osterley Park, Middlesex, aged 91, **Dowager Duchess of Cleveland**, daughter of the first Earl of Lonsdale,

and widow of the third Duke of Cleveland.—On November 1, at Tulliebetton, Ballathie, Perthshire, aged 73, **General Robert Richardson-Robertson, C.B.**, the son of the late Mr. James Richardson, of Pitfour, N.B. He assumed the name of Robertson in right of his mother. He served in Africa with the 3rd and afterwards with the 7th Dragoon Guards.—On November 2, at Brighton, aged 55, **Sir William Morgan, K.C.M.G.** Engaged in mercantile pursuits in South Australia, he entered political life as a member of the Legislative Council, and in 1878 he formed a ministry, of which he was for three years Chief Secretary and Premier.—On November 2, at Acomb Priory, aged 41, **Joseph Leeman, M.P.** for the City of York, the son of the late George Leeman, M.P. for York, and a partner in his father's firm of solicitors.—On November 2, at Langley Marish, Slough, aged 62, **Maurice Charles Merttens Swabey, D.C.L.**, for many years one of the principal advocates in the Probate and Divorce Court and Chancellor to the dioceses of Oxford and Ripon. He was a Bencher of Gray's Inn, and in conjunction with Dr. Tristram he was the author of the well-known "Reports."—On November 2, at Andover, aged 73, **Alan Legge Gardner**, third Baron Gardner.—On November 4, at Edinburgh, aged 74, **Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, D.D.**, son of the late Lord Moncrieff, Judge in the Court of Sessions, Edinburgh, and for many years Principal Clerk to the General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland.—On November 5, at Berlin, aged 82, **Count William von Redern**, Grand Chamberlain and Chancellor of the High Order of the Black Eagle, the highest office in the Prussian Court.—On November 5, at Dolforgan Hall, Newtown, Montgomeryshire, aged 80, **James Walton**, of the firm of James Walton and Sons, Haughton Dale Mills, Denton, Manchester. He was known for his inventive genius, which enabled him to increase the productive powers of cotton spinning. Linoleum floor cloth and Lincrusta-Walton wall decoration were invented by his son.—On November 15, in Paris, aged 73, **Marquis Jules de Lasteyrie**, grandson of General de Lafayette. In early life he had fought in the army of Dom Pedro. In 1842, devoting himself to politics, he entered the French Chamber of Deputies, became a Life Senator in 1875, and was throughout his life one of the most respected members of the Liberal party.—On November 20, at Hill Hall, Essex, aged 68, **Sir William Bowyer-Smyth, Bart.** He succeeded his father as eleventh baronet in 1850, and represented South Essex in the Conservative interest from 1852 to 1857.—On November 21, at his seat, aged 50, **Thomas Clement Cobbold, C.B., M.P.**, son of John Chevallier Cobbold, of the Holywells, Suffolk, M.P. for Ipswich. He entered the diplomatic service in 1854, quitting it in 1875, when he had risen to be Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon. In 1876 he succeeded to his father's seat at Ipswich, which he retained until his death.—On November 24, at the Episcopal Palace, aged 69, **Right Rev. William Fitzgerald, D.D.**, Bishop of Killaloe. He was a son of Maurice Fitzgerald, M.D., one time Professor of Moral Philosophy and Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Dublin, and was successively Rector of Monkstown and Archdeacon of Kildare, and Bishop of Cork (1857) before his translation to Killaloe (1862).—On November 25, at Basset, Southampton, aged 73, **Major-General John George Augustus Ayles, R.M.** He served at the battle of Navarino, and was in command of the Royal Marines at the capture of Aden in 1839.—On November 28, at Sunbury-on-Thames, aged 46, **Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Adolphus Frankland.** He succeeded his father as ninth baronet in 1878, and was formerly in the Royal Engineers.—On November 29, at Wanstead Park, Essex, aged 82, **Thomas Quedsted Finnis**, the senior Alderman of the City of London. He was Lord Mayor in the year of the Indian Mutiny, when by his exertions a large fund was raised for the relief of the sufferers.—On November 29, at Manor Owen, Pembrokeshire, aged 95, **Moses Griffith.** The son of the late Mr. Samuel Griffith, of Pointz Castle, he served as an army surgeon in the Peninsular war, and in India, Arabia, and Burmah.

## DECEMBER.

**Lord Howard of Glossop.**—Edward George Fitzalan Howard, Baron Howard, of Glossop, county Derby, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, who died December 1, at his residence,

Rutland Gate, Hyde Park, was the second son of Henry Charles, sixteenth Duke of Norfolk, K.G., by his marriage with Lady Charlotte Leveson Gower, eldest daughter of George Granville,

first Duke of Sutherland, and was born January 20, 1818. He married, in 1851, Augusta, only daughter and heiress of the Hon. George H. Talbot, brother of John, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, whose position in the Roman Catholic Convent at Clifton excited so much interest and discussion about 1860. By this lady, who died in July 1862, he had surviving issue an only son and five daughters. He married, secondly, in 1863, Winifred Mary, third daughter of the late Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillips de Lisle, of Garendon and Grace Dieu, county Leicester. Lord Edward Howard, before being created a peer in December 1869, was in the House of Commons for twenty years, having represented Horsham from 1848 to 1852, and Arundel from the last date up to 1868. He was Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen's Household from 1846 to 1852, when, on accepting that office, he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. He was Deputy Earl Marshal of England from 1861 until 1868, during the minority of his nephew, the present Duke of Norfolk.

**The Earl of Craven.**—The Right Hon. George Grimston Craven, third Earl of Craven and ninth Baron Craven, and also Viscount Uffington in the peerage of the United Kingdom, was born in March 1841. He was the second son of William, the second earl, by marriage with Lady Emily Mary Grimston, second daughter of the late Earl of Verulam. He was educated at Harrow School, and served for some years in the Scots Fusilier Guards, but retired with the rank of lieutenant and captain in 1866. He had held a captaincy in the Warwickshire Yeomanry since 1867. His Lordship was a deputy lieutenant for Warwickshire, and was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Berkshire on the resignation of Lord Abingdon in 1881. In 1865 he contested Berkshire in the Liberal interest, but was unsuccessful. A keen sportsman, he became master of the Old Berkshire hounds, gave great support to the coursing meetings at Ashdown Park, and kept up a large hunting establishment there. Lord Craven married, in 1867, the Hon. Evelyn Laura Barrington, daughter of the late and sister of the present Lord Barrington. He died after a prolonged illness at Ashdown Park on December 7. The first Lord Craven, so created in 1626, was the eldest son of Sir William Craven, Alderman and Lord Mayor of London. He distinguished himself as

a gallant officer on foreign service and as the favourite of the Queen of Bohemia. He was not less distinguished for the gallantry which he showed by remaining in London, along with Monk, Duke of Albemarle, through the terrible period of the Great Plague.

**François Lenormant** died on December 9 at Paris, where he was professor of archaeology, at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The son of the *savant* Charles Lenormant, who died at Athens in 1859, François was born in Paris January 17, 1837. He was a singularly precocious child, and was gifted with a prodigious memory and an extraordinary facility for the acquisition of knowledge. His father was his tutor during his early years, and to him was due the direction which his studies afterwards took. When he had only just attained his fourteenth year, the younger Lenormant was the author of a learned dissertation, which was published in the *Revue Archéologique*. He pursued numismatic and archaeological researches with ardour, labouring frequently beyond his physical strength. In the year 1857 he gained the numismatic prize awarded by the Academy of Inscriptions, and shortly afterwards he made several archaeological tours through Italy, Germany, and the East, laying up stores of practical knowledge which were afterwards of great service to him in the composition of his very voluminous works. At the time of the rising of the Druses of the Lebanon against the Maronite Christians, M. Lenormant was travelling in Syria on an official mission. His letters then written and subsequently republished give a graphic account of the horrors of the persecution.

In the same year, 1860, M. Lenormant made important excavations at Eleusis. In 1866 he was appointed a member of the scientific commission sent out to investigate the volcanic phenomena of the island of Santorin. He was named sub-librarian of the Institute in 1862, but resigned that post in 1872, and two years later was appointed Professor of Archeology in the Bibliothèque Nationale. He was distinguished for his patriotic spirit during the Franco-German War; and in the siege of Paris he served as a volunteer in the 9th Regiment of the National Guard of Paris. He was wounded during the engagement at Buzenval. In September 1878 he attended the Congress of Orientalists, held at Florence, and contributed a paper on the myth of Tammuz. In religion M. Lenormant was a devoted

Catholic, like his father, and he contributed many papers to the *Ami de la Religion*, the *Correspondant*, and the *Gazette de France*. Notwithstanding the close nature of his studies and his numerous engagements he acted as editor of the *Moniteur des Architectes* from 1869 to 1872, and in 1874 he founded the *Gazette Archéologique*, in conjunction with M. de Witte. To this and other French architectural and archaeological periodicals he was not only a frequent contributor, but he also furnished articles to various German, Italian, and English serial publications.

**Signor Mario.**—The date and the place of Mario's birth are a matter of dispute. According to some, that event took place at Genoa in 1814, according to others at Turin in 1808. He descended from an ancient family, his style and title in private life being Marchese di Candia. Like his father before him, he entered the Piedmontese Army, in which he served as an officer till 1836, when he came to Paris. Here, as in Italy, his appearance, the refinement of his manner, and the beauty of his voice made him the favourite of fashionable circles, and the last-named gift soon attracted the attention of operatic managers, ever on the look out for tenors. For some time Mario's aristocratic prejudices prevented his accepting a professional engagement, but at last his straitened circumstances and the tempting offer of M. Duponchel, the Director of the Grand Opera at Paris, overcame his scruples. Thus it came to pass that in 1838 the greatest Italian singer of modern times made his first appearance on the national stage of France. Mario's success was at once decisive, in spite of inexperience and nervousness, and he continued at the Grand Opera till 1840, when he joined the Théâtre Italien of Paris. His *début* in London was made June 6, 1839, in *Lucrezia Borgia*, and is thus referred to by a critic of the time:—"The vocal command which he afterwards gained was unthought of; his acting did not then get beyond that of a southern man, with a strong feeling for the stage. But physical beauty and geniality such as have been bestowed on few, not exclusively belonging to gentle birth, but sometimes associated with it, made it clear from Signor Mario's first hour of stage life that a course of no common order of fascination was begun." From that day till shortly before his retirement from the stage Mario visited Lon-

don every season, and soon became the unrivalled favourite of the public. To name all his parts would be to give a list of the principal operas of the French and Italian *répertoires*, performed in the space of nearly thirty years, to the success of many of which he materially contributed. His greatest triumphs were achieved, perhaps, as Raoul in the *Huguenots* and as Fernando in *La Favorita*. The duet in the fourth act of Meyerbeer's opera, as sung by him and Madame Grisi, and the tenderness imparted by him to Donizetti's lovely cantilena "Spirto gentil" will not soon be forgotten. Equally admirable was the high-born grace of his Almaviva in Rossini's *Barbiere*. But even minor parts, when they fell to his lot, Mario treated with artistic conscientiousness, and thus gave them an importance not naturally belonging to them. Thus, in the season of 1860, he assumed the character of Raimbaldo in *Robert le Diable* to Tamberlik's Roberto, Grisi's Alice, Castellan's Isabella, and Formes's Bertram, a cast, by the way, which well may fill modern opera-goers with regret. "The gem of the opera," we are assured by an eye-witness, "was Mario's Raimbaldo, the music of which part can never be sung better by any one else, and never had been before, or has been since equalled." In the next following season Mario undertook Tamino in Mozart's *Magio Flute*, but apparently with less success. His Don Giovanni, transposed for a tenor voice for the purpose, was also a comparative failure. For a number of years Mario shared his artistic triumphs with Giulia Grisi, to whom he was married in 1844, and by whom he had five children.

Like most great singers, Mario continued his operatic career too long for his fame. His expensive habits prevented him from taking the rest necessitated by his failing power. Innumerable times the "last appearance" of both Mario and Grisi was more or less officially announced, and still the famous couple continued to appeal to their faithful admirers of former years. It was not till after the death of his wife in 1869 that Mario finally relinquished the stage, his last appearance taking place at St. Petersburg, the scene of many of his triumphs. He retired to Rome, where he remained, with few interruptions, till his death. He had there been rewarded by the modest and apparently not very remunerative post of conservator at one of the public museums, where he died on December



**Vice-Chancellor Sir Charles Hall.**—Born in 1814; the fourth son of John Hall, a Manchester merchant who had become impoverished by a great bank failure in the North, Mr. Hall went to no public school or college. Like another Lancashire lawyer, Sir J. Holker, before him, Charles Hall went into an attorney's office; but soon left his desk at Manchester, and entered as a student at the Middle Temple in 1835. He read for an unusually long period with a pleader (William Taprell, of Hare Court), and afterwards with Mr. Lewis Duval, the most accomplished legal draughtsman of the day. Joshua Williams, Lord Blackburn, the late Mr. Bagehot, of the *Economist*, and Mr. Frederick Lucas, of the *Tablet*, were fellow-pupils of Mr. Hall. The latter became at the end of the year his chief's principal "devil." He worked so hard for Mr. Duval that he was able to make 700*l.* or 800*l.* a year by an exceptionally small proportion (one-fourth) of the fees on the drafts he drew. He had then occupied chambers in the Temple, but afterwards took rooms at 4 Stone Buildings, which he long retained. He married, 1837, Miss Sarah Duval, niece of his teacher, at whose death he succeeded to much of the latter's lucrative practice. He began to appear before the Courts, argued against Rolt and Roundell Palmer, drew Lord Westbury's will, and then Lord Westbury was guilty of the rashness of altering it without having it re-settled by the same eminent draughtsman who was responsible for its frame. Other subjects which occupied the late Sir Charles Hall were the statute which altered the period of limitation in land from twenty to twelve years, the Contingent Remainders Bill, the Vendors and Purchasers' Act, the Registration of Titles Act. He drew this as a compulsory measure, but it was impaired in effect by being made permissive. Mr. Hall began his appearances in Court so long ago as to have been with Sir John Jervis at a Maidstone assize, but his greatest achievement as a comparatively young man in Court was to prompt Sir Richard Bethell and Sir Fitzroy Kelly as their junior in the great Bridgewater case in 1853, in which the House of Lords took the opinion of the Judges, and then overruled them in favour of the contention which Mr. Hall had supported. Of his later forensic successes, the most signal was won in *Allgood v. Blake*, a case which he argued alone (Sir John Karslake being his absent leader), in the Exchequer and the Exchequer Chamber

in 1872, on behalf of the successful parties. Many of the most eminent counsel, Sir Roundell Palmer, Sir Geo. Jessel, Mr. (now Baron) Pollock, Mr. Day, Mr. Jacob Waley appeared for opposing litigants, but the unvarnished reasoning of Mr. Hall prevailed, and the Lord Chief Baron said that Mr. Hall's address in the Court of Exchequer was the most perfect argument he had ever listened to. Mr. Hall was under-conveyancer to the Court in 1862, and became a Bencher of his Inn in 1872. Mr. Hall and Mr. Wickens were long rivals for the heaviest real property business, and when Mr. Wickens was raised to the Bench Mr. Hall had a monopoly.

Probably no stuff-gownsmen made a larger professional income. In his last years at the Bar Mr. Hall's earnings were nearly half as much as those of Sir J. Holker when Q.C. and Attorney-General—that is to say, they exceeded 10,000*l.* A conveyancer is always to a certain extent a teacher as well as a practitioner of law. Mr. Hall received in his pupil-room many young men who afterwards rose to distinction. Among them were Mr. Justice Lopes, Lord Justice Fry, Mr. Justice North, the late Sir John Karslake, Mr. Fox, Premier of New Zealand, Mr. Justice Richmond of the same colony, Mr. R. H. Hutton of the *Spectator*, and others. After his elevation to the Bench Sir Charles Hall had to decide on many important cases.

He lived to the last in the old house on Bayswater Hill where he courted Miss Duval. When he first used to go out from Lincoln's Inn with his old master there were only a few scattered country-houses between Bayswater and Bloomsbury, the latter then the common place of residence for lawyers. Sir Charles Hall lived to see the town creep up to his suburban villa and pass it, but continued to dwell in what he regarded as the healthiest district of London. His house was that which local tradition assigns as the habitation of Peter the Great when in London, St. Petersburg Place and Moscow Road being close at hand. Sir Charles Hall had also a beautiful country-house in Buckinghamshire, Farnham Chase, in the ancient manor of Farnham Royal, which has incidents of tenure specially interesting to a real property lawyer, and has the further advantage of being in one of the most picturesque spots of the Thames valley, close to Burnham Beeches, to Stoke, the legendary scene of Gray's "Elegy," and to the old manor-house in which the poet of the

"Long Story" saw in his mind's eye "the grave Lord Keeper lead the brawls, the seals and maces dance before him." Sir Charles Hall was fond of literature and of pictures, and found great pleasure in tracing the scenes of the poet who has done so much to illustrate Berks and Buckinghamshire. The Vice-Chancellor's chief amusement in the country was fishing, and he rented of the Duke of Sutherland a river in Sutherlandshire, the Shin, to which he annually repaired to kill salmon. It is a well-known salmon stream, which has been fished by, amongst others, Mr. John Bright.

Sir Charles Hall never stood for Parliament; he was appointed by Mr. Gladstone (after some delay) on his legal reputation alone, but was a moderate Liberal. In June 1882, when returning home on foot from his Court, he was struck by paralysis, and resigned his post as Vice-Chancellor before the close of the Long Vacation. He rallied slightly for a time, but his illness at length became critical, and he died at Farnham Chase, on December 12, in the 70th year of his age.

**Thomas Holloway.**—Mr. Holloway, according to one account, was born at Devonport, and at an early age went from Devonport to Penzance, where his father kept an inn. Upon the father's death, Mrs. Holloway and her two sons entered upon a grocery business at Penzance; but when "Tom" came to the metropolis he appeared in the rôle of an interpreter and secretary to a gentleman. How he got into the ointment and pill business—for the ointment preceded the pills in the market—is not very clear, the accounts varying upon the important point as to his share in the discovery of the valuable commodities. One report has it that the receipt for the pills was given to Mr. Holloway's mother by an old German woman, and the son ultimately determined to try his fortune with it in London; but this tale has its value very considerably minimised by the fact that that was the ointment in which Mr. Holloway originally dealt. His first shop was in Broad Street Buildings, and he has left it on record in one of his advertisements that "15th day of October, 1837, was the first day his advertisements appeared in any paper." One authority states that he spent 100*l.* the first week in advertising, while another statement, scarcely carrying so much authority, gives the impression that he did not start with so confident a faith in the

value of advertising as the expenditure of such a sum in those days would indicate, but that it was by a slowly developed experience that he realised how vital a factor in the growth of a business is judicious advertising. His advertising at first, it would seem, did not apparently benefit him in any appreciable way; though after a time his wares began to be inquired for to a slight extent by the public. And he used to visit the docks in order to bring them under the notice of captains of ships and passengers sailing to all parts of the world. All his advertising and all his exertions, however, did not avail him much, and he got into desperate straits, and eventually had to declare himself insolvent, and he became an inmate of Whitecross Street Prison. His creditors were newspaper proprietors who had trusted him largely on the strength of a reputation he had made at the commencement of his business career by paying "cash down" for all the advertisements he inserted. He effected his release by arranging with them for the payment of a composition, and it is reported that some years afterwards he repaid the generosity thus exercised towards him by settling in full, with a bonus of 10 per cent. added, the claims of all his old creditors, except a few who had declined to sanction the "composition."

Holloway speedily got into business again, and next took a shop in the Strand, a few doors west of Temple Bar, on the site where the Law Courts now stand. Working without any assistance except the help of his wife, Mr. Holloway used to devote his whole energies to his business from four o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock at night. Occasionally, in later years, he would refer briefly to the labour and anxiety which have to be expended in the building up of a great business, and speaking of one period he remarked that "if I had then offered the business to any one as a gift they would not have accepted it." But to adversity succeeded prosperity, and judicious advertising testified to the ability of the press to work miracles. At the time of Mr. Holloway's death the firm was advertising at the rate of nearly 1,000*l.* a week; and, without counting various branches of out-of-door assistance, there were nearly one hundred employés in Holloway House, and the proprietor was making about 50,000*l.* a year profit from his patent medicines alone. For many years he dwelt above the shop in the Strand, which was extended gradually until at the time of the

removal to Oxford Street it comprised two houses in the rear as well as the premises in front; and afterwards, for several years he lived with his wife in rooms above the great shop in Oxford Street. Subsequently, when his great prosperity led him to take a residence in the country, he lived in a quiet way; and even at Sunninghill (where his grounds were prettily laid out) he possessed a very modest establishment. He was a plain-living and abstemious man, drinking nothing stronger than claret and water. The title "Professor" had probably been adopted, for business purposes, at an early stage of his career, and he had in later years, at any rate, no special regard for it. He had no desire for title or public prominence of any kind, and when it was hinted he ought to expect a baronetcy in the way of thanks for his munificence, he would not listen to the suggestion. Although there was nothing in his manner to denote a humble origin, he preferred to lead a retired, quiet life. He had originally intended to bequeath by will the money he had determined to devote to public philanthropy. Mr. Holloway, like many other eminent men, appears to have dealt oddly with his will, for he bequeathed the whole of his property to Miss Driver, his wife's sister, only intending this late-in-life will to be a temporary matter until his regular solicitor should prepare a proper testamentary document.

At the advice of his friends he commenced to carry out during his own

lifetime the benevolent schemes with which his name will be in future associated. At the suggestion of Lord Shaftesbury he decided on building a Sanatorium or hospital for the mentally afflicted of the lower middle class; whilst after his wife's death (1877) he commenced the building of the Ladies' College at Egham in her memory. These two institutions, when completed, will have cost a million sterling. In fulfilment of Mr. Holloway's ambition that these structures should be the best in England, if not, indeed, the best in the world, his brother-in-law, Mr. Martin, to whom these institutions were given in charge, travelled throughout Europe and America in order to obtain for them model interiors, and to make them architecturally excellent. The superintendence of these two important institutions became the second business of Mr. Holloway's life, and when their efficiency or adornment was concerned his customary principles of economy failed to restrain him. He bought for the College for 6,000*l.* Landseer's "Man Proposes and God Disposes," which had only cost the seller 2,000 guineas; and the art gallery now contains pictures for which he paid in the aggregate 100,000*l.* Until a few years of his death he attended daily at his establishment in Oxford Street; but more recently, whilst retaining the sole control and management, he left its administration to others. He died, after a comparatively brief illness, at Sunninghill on December 26, aged 83.

In the same month:—On December 1, at Quiddendam, aged 83, **Hon. and Rev. Edward Southwell Keppel**, son of the fourth Earl of Albemarle, Rector of Quiddendam for fifty years, Rural Dean of Rockland, Honorary Canon of Norwich, and for some years Deputy Clerk of the Closet to the Queen.—On December 3, at Darnhall Hall, Winetford, Cheshire, aged 59, **Thomas Knowles**, M.P. for Wigan. He began life as a worker in a mine, attending a night-school after fifteen hours' work. From this he rose to be a partner in the Ince Collieries, and at the same time carried on cotton-spinning works at Wigan.—On December 3, at Brussels, aged 84, **General Baron Jolly**, a member of the Belgian Provisional Government of 1830; descended from an English family which settled in Belgium in the eighteenth century.—On December 3, at Sandybrook Hall, Ashbourne, Derbyshire, aged 72, **Sir Matthew Blakiston**, fourth baronet.—On December 7, at Wychbold Hall, Droitwich, aged 74, **Right Hon. Sir Richard Paul Amphlett**, eldest son of Rev. Richard Amphlett, Rector of Hadzov, Worcestershire, called to the bar 1834, appointed Q.C. in 1868, M.P., as Conservative, for East Worcestershire 1868-74, when he was made Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and in 1876 promoted to be Judge of the Court of Appeal.—On December 9, in London, aged 64, **John James Bond**, Senior Assistant-Keeper in her Majesty's Record Office, and the author of a valuable treatise on the "Art of Verifying Dates." On December 9, at Windermere, aged 76, **James Edmondson**, at one time a prominent citizen of Manchester, an active member of the Anti-Corn Law League, and a close personal friend of the late Richard Cobden.—On December 11, at London, aged 58, **Richard Doyle**, a well-known artist and caricaturist, who inherited his humorous qualities from his father, Mr. John Doyle, the author of "Political Sketches by H. B." Up to the time of the Papal

Aggression in 1852, he had been one of the chief contributors to *Punch*, but from conscientious scruples he then gave up a very lucrative post.—On December 14, at Arco, Lago di Garda, **Princess Marie Amélie of Würtemberg**, daughter of his Royal Highness Prince Philip and of her Imperial Royal Highness the Princess Marie Thérèse, a daughter of the Archduke Albrecht. She was born as a twin with Prince Albrecht of Würtemberg on Christmas Day 1865.—On December 14, at Bolton Percy, aged 87, **Venerable Stephen Greyke**.—On December 14, at Paris, aged 71, **Victor de Laprade**, a poet, who was for some years Professor of French Literature at Lyons, was the successor of Alfred de Musset at the Academy. He was for a time an Orleanist Deputy.—On December 16, at Paris, aged 73, **Henri Martin**. He was an historian and a member of the Academy, and had been since 1876 a Senator for Aisne.—On December 17, at Harvard College, N.S., **Professor E. A. Sophocles**. He was the author of the well-known "Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods."—On December 18, at Harpton Court, Radnorshire, aged 75, **Rev. Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis**, for some years Canon Residentiary of Worcester. He was the younger brother of the statesman Sir George Cornwall Lewis, whom he succeeded as third baronet.—On December 18, aged 80, **W. Sheldon**. At the commencement of his life an organiser of stage-coach traffic, he subsequently developed the London Omnibus service, and he worked the first London tramway, afterwards building tramways in many foreign towns.—On December 21, at Biel, Prestonkirk, aged 82, **Lady Mary Nisbet-Hamilton**, the daughter of the seventh Earl of Elgin, and the widow of Mr. Robert Adam Dundas, of Blockholm, Lincolnshire, who assumed the name of Christopher, and subsequently that of Nisbet-Hamilton. He was formerly member for North Lincolnshire, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.—On December 22, at Bainhills, aged 74, **Hon. Mrs. Stapleton-Bretherton**. The only child of Bartholomew Bretherton, a very wealthy coach proprietor of Liverpool. she married, first, Mr. William Gerard, the brother and heir-presumptive of the late Sir John Gerard, of Garswood; and, secondly, the Hon. Gilbert Stapleton, brother of the late Lord Beaumont. After his death she reassumed her maiden name by royal licence, and she was created a Marchesa by Pope Pius IX. in recognition of her services to the Jesuit refugees from Germany.—On December 23, aged 40, **Colonel Edward Chaplin**. Represented Lincoln in Parliament from 1874 to 1880.—On December 25, at Madeira, aged 35, **Hon. Edward Sherborne Plunkett**, eldest son of Lord Dunsany. He sat in Parliament for West Gloucestershire from 1874 to 1880, in the Conservative interest.—On December 25, at Galltfaenen, Rhyl, Denbighshire, aged 76, **Townshend Mainwaring**, son of the late Rev. Charles Mainwaring, of Oteley Park, Shropshire, formerly member for Denbigh.—On December 26, at Bath, aged 85, **Rev. George Musgrave**, author of several books upon "Rural France," and also of some translations from the Italian and Greek. At one time rector of Borden, Norfolk.—On December 28, in London, aged 66, **Sir John Bayley Darvall, K.C.M.G.**, formerly Attorney-General of New South Wales, and a member of the first Senate of the University of Sydney.—On December 28, at Rome, aged 78, **Cardinal de Luca**, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, and one of the three Cardinals to whom Pope Leo XIII. addressed his letter on the opening of the Vatican Archives.—On December 29, at Naples, aged 65, **Francesco de Sanctis**, an accomplished scholar, who during the brief period of constitutional liberty in 1848 was Under-Secretary of State for Public Instruction. He subsequently held the same office under Cavour and Bicasoli and Cairoli.—**John Oxenford**, aged 100, the last survivor of the official agents in her Majesty's Customs Long Room, and father of Mr. John Oxenford, the playwright and dramatic critic, who predeceased him.

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action of the people, proclaimed Chief of the Government at Guayaquil, with full and independent powers, and he maintained himself in power up to the close of the year. An attempt to arrive at an approximate return of the population gave about 1,000,000 souls, of whom 100,000 were white, 300,000 mixed, and 500,000 pure Indian.

#### CHILI AND PERU.

The war between the Western Republics which, since 1879, had been carried on with unbroken success to Chili, would, under ordinary circumstances, have come to an end by the exhaustion of her antagonist in 1881. Chili, already holding Lima and the coast, was in a position to dictate terms of peace. Instead of this she had declined all discussion. She would neither recognise Pierola's plenipotentiaries nor allow any other Peruvian Government to conclude a treaty; and so the war had dragged on in a desultory fashion until, at the beginning of 1883, Peru was reduced to a state of utter prostration. European opinion, once wholly sympathetic to Chili, had veered round, disgusted at the pertinacity with which she demanded impracticable terms as the price of peace, and shocked at the policy of extermination she was pursuing. Flogging, incendiarism, pillage, and murder were carried on at the discretion of officers of the lowest rank. The 300,000 volumes of the National Library were stolen; the scientific instruments of the Observatory taken away; the national archives, dating from Pizarro, plundered and sold by weight as wastepaper; the portraits of the Incas and Viceroy torn down and used by the soldiers as materials for making tents; the museums and public offices rifled of their treasures; and whatever was portable, including the lanterns and machines of the new lighthouses of Payta and Pisco, was sent to Chili; whilst railways were torn up and the rails and rolling stock carried off. When all public property had been stolen or destroyed the turn came for the private houses. Furniture was seized and the inmates turned into the streets, the men being either sent to the extreme south of Chili, or, if they escaped, declared outlaws. Further, to prevent a revival of commerce, Customs duties were increased 100 per cent. Ordinary articles, hitherto free, were similarly taxed, and heavy duties placed on exports. Everything pointed to a determination on the part of Chili to deliberately wear out her foe, and she began the new year by voting a fresh War Budget. Rumours, nevertheless, of impending negotiations got abroad, and it was generally believed that a treaty might be arranged if Peru were allowed to retain her independence, and not be deprived by the terms of the settlement of all her sources of regeneration. A primary difficulty, however, arose from the want of a central authority with which to negotiate. Of the various Peruvian leaders, Ex-President Pierola had renounced

politics and come to Europe; President Calderon was a State prisoner in Chili; Vice-President Montero, who claimed to exercise the executive power in Calderon's absence, was a prisoner in Peru; Cacères was in command of the only semblance of an army in the field; Garcia was in England, which he preferred to a Chilian prison, having with his wife and children been turned into the street; and Iglesias was acting as President in the northern provinces. The last-named had been for some time in favour of peace, and had summoned representatives of those provinces to express their views, though he had no intention of acting apart from the rest of the nation. On the other hand, Montero had issued a manifesto that the alliance between Bolivia and Peru was stronger than ever, and that, if hostilities were renewed, the Bolivian army would come to his support. There was, however, very little actual fighting during the early part of the year, the Chilians finding it more politic to await the collapse of their enemy, and knowing that Peru would be forced sooner or later to accept the hard terms required of her. In March a Chilian expedition set out to crush the forces under Cacères, but returned without discovering the place of his retreat. Another started from Lima somewhat later and came upon him near Punabamba. The Chilians, who were short of water, found Cacères fortified and in occupation of the only springs. Infuriated with thirst they at once attacked the Peruvian position, driving out its defenders, and forcing the commander to withdraw the remnant of his forces to Chicla.

Meanwhile the Northern Congress of Peru had voted in favour of peace, and Iglesias forthwith proposed to negotiate in accordance with the vote. The demands put forward by the conquerors included the absolute cession of the district of Tarapaca with its nitrate deposits; the occupation of Tacna and Arica for ten years, at the expiration of which a plébiscite was to decide to which country the inhabitants desired to adhere, the country acquiring them to pay the other an indemnity of \$10,000,000. Many weeks passed before even these hard terms were admitted. On the reassembling of the Chilian Congress (June) the President stated that he hoped peace would soon be finally sanctioned, but that at that moment it was only signed provisionally. He added, too, that if General Iglesias, who had signed the treaty with its onerous conditions on behalf of Peru, should become the head of the Peruvian Government, Chili would agree to the proposed conditions, but otherwise she held herself at liberty to ignore them; and their reluctance was increased when (July) the Chilians gained a victory at Huachuco over the united forces of Cacères, Vocabarren, Elias, and other Peruvian leaders, the latter losing nearly 1,000 men killed and 11 cannon, together with many wounded, including Cacères; whilst the Chilian loss was only 50 killed and 104 wounded.

By the beginning of September Iglesias had formed a Ministry, and, supported by a duly-organised Government, he called together a general Peruvian Assembly at Ancon. He took steps

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